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APPIAN

(c. AD 95–c. 165)



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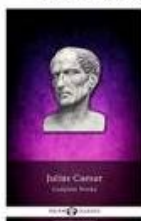
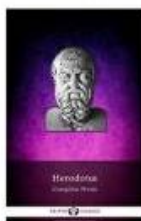
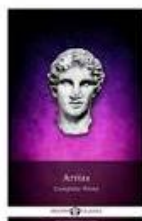
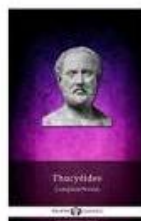
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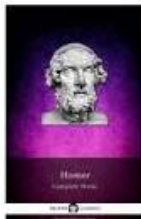
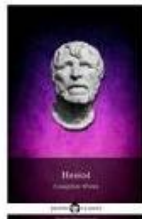
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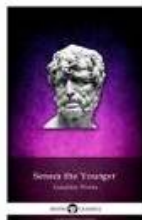
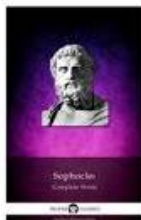
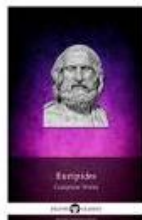
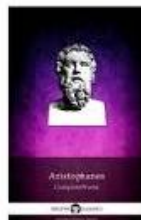
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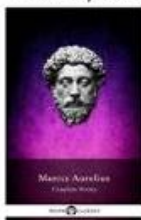
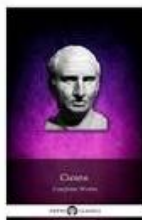
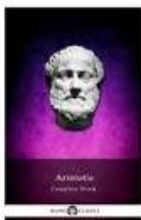
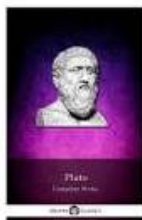
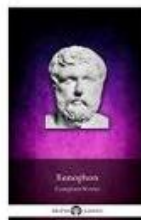
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The Complete Works of
APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA



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The Translations



Alexandria, the capital of Roman Egypt — Appian's birthplace



Roman ruins at Alexandria

ROMAN HISTORY



Translated by Horace White

Appian of Alexandria was a Roman historian of Greek origin, who flourished during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. In AD c. 95 he was born in Alexandria, where he spent his early years, gradually moving up the political system. After having filled the chief offices in the province of Egypt, in c. 120 he went to Rome, where he practised as an advocate, pleading cases before the emperors. In AD 147 at the earliest time possible, he was appointed to the office of procurator, probably in Egypt, on the recommendation of his friend Marcus Cornelius Fronto, a well-known literary figure. Securing the position of procurator, which was only available to members of the equestrian order, he must have enjoyed a privileged family life.

Appian's principal surviving work, *Ρωμαϊκά* (History of Rome), was written in Greek in twenty-four books. It is mostly formed as a series of monographs, rather than a connected history, providing an informative account of various peoples and countries, starting with Romulus and Remus and progressing on to figures of the early Roman Empire. Appian began writing his history around the middle of the second century AD. Only sections from half of the original twenty-four books survive today. Eleven have come down to us mostly complete, including the sections on the Spanish, Hannibalic, Punic, Illyrian, Syrian and Mythridatic wars, while other parts survive in considerable fragments.

An honest admirer of the Roman Empire, though ignorant of the institutions of the earlier Roman Republic, Appian wrote in the simple common man's dialect, narrating conquests, from Rome's earliest beginnings to the times of Trajan (AD 98–117). Appian's *Roman History* continues to be regarded as a valuable source of information on historical events that would otherwise have been lost long ago.



*Marble bust of Trajan (AD 53-117), who was emperor from 98 until his death in 117. Officially declared by the Senate *optimus princeps* (the best ruler), Trajan is remembered as a successful soldier-emperor who presided over the greatest military expansion in Roman history, leading the empire to attain its maximum territorial extent by the time of his death.*



Marble bust of Antoninus Pius (AD 86-161), who was emperor from 138 to 161. He was one of the Five Good Emperors in the Nerva–Antonine dynasty and the Aurelii. Appian died during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

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Capitoline Wolf — traditional scholarship says the wolf-figure is Etruscan, 5th century BC, with figures of Romulus and Remus added in the 15th century AD by Antonio Pollaiuolo. The legend of Romulus and Remus opens the 'Roman History' of Appian.



Mithridates VI (135–63 BC) was king of Pontus and Armenia Minor in northern Anatolia (now Turkey) from c. 120–63 BC. Mithridates is remembered as one of the Roman Republic's most formidable and successful enemies, who engaged three of the prominent generals from the late Roman Republic in the Mithridatic Wars — these form the subject of Appian's final book in his 'Roman History'.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

REDUCED FACSIMILE, VATICAN MS. GR. 141. XII CENTURY, FIRST PAGE OF AUTHOR'S PREFACE INTENDING to write the history of the Romans I have deemed it best to begin with the boundaries of the nations under their sway. They are as follows: In the ocean, the major part of those who inhabit the British Isles. Then entering the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules and circumnavigating the same we find under their rule all the islands and the mainlands washed by that sea. The first of these on the right hand are the Mauritanians of the coast and various other African nations as far as Carthage. Farther inland are the nomad tribes whom the Romans call Numidians and their country Numidia; then other Africans who dwell around the Syrtes as far as Cyrene, and Cyrene itself; also the Marmaridæ, the Ammonii, and those who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt, and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

[2] Here turning our course we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part of Arabia. The Phœnicians hold the country next to Palestine on the sea, and beyond the Phœnician territory are Cœle-Syria, and the parts stretching from the sea as far inland as the river Euphrates, namely Palmyra and the sandy country round about, extending even to the Euphrates itself. The Cilicians come next to the Syrians, and their neighbors are the Cappadocians, and that part of the Armenian country called Lesser Armenia. Along the Euxine are other nations called by the common name Pontic, subject to the Roman rule. The Syrians and Cilicians border on the Mediterranean, the Armenians and Cappadocians extend to the Pontic nations and to the interior as far as Greater Armenia, which is not subject to the Romans in the way of tribute, but its people appoint their own kings. Descending from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Ionia we find the great peninsula bounded on the right by the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Ægean, and on the left by the Pamphylian or Egyptian sea, for it is called by both names. Some of the countries embraced in it look toward the Egyptian sea, namely: Pamphylia and Lycia and after them Caria extending to Ionia. Others look toward the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, namely: the Galatians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In the interior are the Pisidians and Lydians. So many nations inhabit this peninsula and all are under Roman rule.

[3] Crossing from these coasts they rule other nations around the Euxine, the Mysians of Europe and the Thracians who border that sea. Beyond Ionia are the Ægean sea, the Adriatic, the straits of Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining Thracians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest of all,

extending from the Adriatic and bordering the greater part of the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the country of the Celts (whom the Romans call Gauls), some of whom border the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain and Celtiberia on the Northern and Western oceans as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to deal with each nation. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire along the sea.

[4] On the landward side the boundaries are a part of Mauritania lying against western Ethiopia and the remainder of Africa (having a very warm climate, or much infested with wild beasts) extending to eastern Ethiopia. These are the Roman boundaries in Africa. Those of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the kingdom of Greater Armenia, the Colchians who dwell along the Euxine sea, and the remainder of that coast. In Europe the two rivers, Rhine and Danube, for the most part bound the Roman empire. Of these the Rhine empties into the The Roman Empire at the Time of Hadrian Northern ocean and the Danube into the Euxine. On the other side of these rivers, however, some of the Celts beyond the Rhine are under Roman sway, and beyond the Danube some of the Getæ, who are called Dacians. These, with the nearest approach to accuracy, are the boundaries on the mainland.

[5] All the islands of the sea also, the Cyclades, Sporades, Ionian isles, Echinades, the Tuscan isles, the Balearic isles, and all the rest in Libyan, Ionian, Egyptian, Myrtoan, Sicilian, and Mediterranean waters, by whatever names called; also those which the Greeks by way of distinction call the great islands, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Eubœa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small — all are under Roman rule. Crossing the Northern ocean to Britain, a continent in itself, they took possession of the better and larger part, not caring for the remainder. Indeed, the part they do hold is not of much use to them.

[6] Although holding the empire of so many and so great nations the Romans labored five hundred years with toil and difficulty to establish their power firmly in Italy itself. Half of this time they were under kings, but having expelled them and sworn to have kingly rule no longer, they adopted aristocracy, and chose their rulers yearly. In the two hundred years next succeeding the five hundred their dominion increased greatly, they acquired unexampled foreign power, and brought the greater part of the nations under their sway. Gaius [Julius] Cæsar having got the upper hand of his rivals possessed himself of the sovereignty, holding it in a firm grasp, and preserved the form and name of the republic but made himself the absolute ruler of all. In this way the government, from that time to this, has been a monarchy; but they do not call their rulers kings, out of respect, as I think, for the ancient oath. They call them imperators [emperors], that being the title also of those who formerly held the chief command of the armies for the time being. Yet

they are very kings in fact.

[7] From the advent of the emperors to the present time is nearly two hundred years more, in the course of which the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved toward a lasting prosperity. Some nations have been added to the empire by these emperors, and the revolts of others have been suppressed. Possessing the best part of the earth and sea they have, on the whole, aimed to preserve their empire by the exercise of prudence, rather than to extend their sway indefinitely over poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians, some of whom I have seen at Rome offering themselves, by their ambassadors, as its subjects, but the chief of the state would not accept them because they would be of no use to it. They give kings to a great many other nations whom they do not wish to have under their own government. On some of these subject nations they spend more than they receive from them, deeming it dishonorable to give them up even though they are costly. They surround the empire with great armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single strong-hold.

[8] No government down to the present time ever attained to such size and duration. That of the Greeks, even if we count the mastery of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes successively from the invasion of Darius, which was the beginning of their glory, to the hegemony of Greece held by Philip the son of Amyntas, lasted comparatively but few years. Their wars were not for conquest abroad but rather for preëminence among themselves, and they were most distinguished for the defence of their freedom against foreign invaders. Those of them who invaded Sicily with the hope of extending their dominion made a failure, and whenever they marched into Asia they accomplished small results and speedily returned. In short the Greek power, although ardent in fighting for the Grecian hegemony, never advanced steadfastly beyond the boundaries of Greece, but took pride in holding itself unenslaved and seldom conquered, and from the time of Philip the son of Amyntas, and of Alexander the son of Philip, they seem to me to have done very badly and to have been unworthy of themselves.

[9] The mastery of Asia is not to be compared, as to labor and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire I think was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean,

so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. The greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included either the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of a sea is that?

[10] The history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighboring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own country [Egypt] alone had an army consisting of 200,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 300 war elephants, and 2,000 armed chariots, and arms in reserve for 300,000 soldiers more. This was their force for land service. For naval service they had 2,000 barges propelled by poles, and other smaller craft, 1,500 galleys with from one and a half to five benches of oars each, and galley furniture for twice as many ships, 800 vessels provided with cabins, gilded on stem and stern for the pomp of war, with which the kings themselves were wont to go to naval combats; and money in their treasuries to the amount of 740,000 Egyptian talents. Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king of Egypt second in succession after Alexander, who was the most formidable of these rulers in his preparations, the most lavish in expenditure, and the most magnificent in projects. It appears that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors by warring with each other. By means of such civil dissensions alone are great states destroyed.

[11] Through prudence and good fortune has the empire of the Romans attained to greatness and duration in gaining which they have excelled all others in bravery, patience, and hard labor. They were never elated by success until they had firmly secured their power, nor were they ever cast down by misfortune, although they sometimes lost 20,000 men in a single day, at another time 40,000, and once 50,000, and although the city itself was often in danger. Neither famine, nor frequently recurring plague, nor sedition, nor all these falling upon them at once could abate their ardor; until, through the doubtful struggles and dangers of seven hundred years, they achieved their present greatness, having enjoyed the favors of fortune through wisdom.

[12] These things have been described by many writers, both Greek and Roman, and the history is even more copious than that of the Macedonian empire, which was the longest history of earlier times. Being interested in it, and desiring to compare the Roman prowess carefully with that of every other

nation, my history has often led me from Carthage to Spain, from Spain to Sicily or to Macedonia, or to join some embassy to foreign countries, or some alliance formed with them; thence back to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer, and again elsewhere, while the work was still unfinished. At last I have brought the parts together, showing how often the Romans sent armies or embassies into Sicily and what they did there until they brought it into its present condition; also how often they made war and peace with the Carthaginians, or sent embassies to them or received the same from them, and what damage they inflicted upon or suffered from them until they demolished Carthage and made Africa a Roman province, and how they rebuilt Carthage and brought Africa into its present condition. I have made this research also in respect to each of the other provinces, desiring to learn the Romans' relations to each, in order to understand the weakness of these nations or their power of endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance contributing to the result.

[13] Thinking that the public would like to learn the history of the Romans in this way, I am going to write the part relating to each nation separately, omitting what happened to the others in the meantime, and taking it up in its proper place. It seems superfluous to put down the dates of everything, but I shall mention those of the most important events now and then. The Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one name each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery. In like manner surnames have been added to the names of certain Greeks. For purposes of distinction I shall sometimes mention all the names, especially of illustrious men, but for the most part I shall call these and others by the names that are deemed most characteristic.

[14] As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three must together be considered the Italian Roman history; but on account of the great number of events in them the division has been made. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the second Italian book of Roman history. With the last nation, the Samnites, who dwelt on the Adriatic, the Romans struggled eighty years under the greatest difficulties, but finally they subjugated them and the neighbors who were allied with them, and also the Greeks who had settled in Italy. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the Samnite Roman history. The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on. The order of these histories with respect to each other is according to the time when the Romans began to be embroiled in war with each nation, even though many other things intervened before that nation

came to its end. The internal seditions and civil wars of the Romans — to them the most calamitous of all — will be designated under the names of their chief actors, as the wars of Marius and Sulla, those of Pompey and Caesar, those of Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, against the murderers of the first Caesar, and those of Antony and Augustus against each other. At the end of this last of the civil wars Egypt passed under the Roman sway, and the Roman government itself became a monarchy.

[15] Thus, the foreign wars will be divided into books according to the nations, and the civil wars according to the chief commanders. The last book will show the present military force of the Romans, the revenues they collect from each province, what they spend for the naval service, and other things of that kind. It is proper to begin with the origin of the people of whose prowess I am about to write. Who I am, who have written these things, many indeed know, and I have already indicated. To speak more plainly I am Appian of Alexandria, having reached the highest place in my native country, and having been, in Rome, a pleader of causes before the emperors, until they deemed me worthy of being made their procurator. And if any one has a great desire to learn more [about my affairs] there is a special treatise of mine on that subject.

CONCERNING THE KINGS

Fragments

“ÆNEAS, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at that part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping-place is shown to this day, and that shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The Aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four hundred stades in circuit. Here Æneas built a town, which he named after his wife, Lavinium. Three years later, at the death of Faunus, Æneas succeeded to the kingdom by virtue of his marriage relationship, and he called the Aborigines Latins, from his father-in-law, Latinus Faunus. Three years later still, Æneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king. He was succeeded in the government by Euryleon, otherwise called Ascanius, the son of Æneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Æneas and Lavinia.

[2] Ascanius died four years after the founding of Alba (for he also built a city and gave it the name of Alba, and settled it with a colony from Lavinium), and Silvius succeeded to the throne. They say that this Silvius had a son named Æneas Silvius, and he a son named Latinus Silvius, and he a son named Capys, and he a son named Capetus, and he a son named Tiberinus, and he a son named Agrippa, who was the father of the Romulus who was struck by lightning, and who left a son Aventinus, who was the father of Procas. All of these bore the surname of Silvius. Procas had two sons, the elder named Numitor, and the younger Amulius. When the elder succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, the younger took it away from him by force and violence. He also killed Egestus, his brother's son, and he made Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, a vestal, so that she might remain childless. Notwithstanding a conspiracy against his life, Numitor himself was saved because of the gentleness and clemency of his manners. Silvia having become pregnant contrary to law, Amulius cast her into prison by way of punishment, and when she had given birth to two sons he gave them to some shepherds with orders to throw the babes into the neighboring stream called the river Tiber. These boys were Romulus and Remus. Being of the lineage of Æneas, on their mother's side, for their father's lineage was unknown, they always boasted their descent from the former.”

FROM PHOTIUS

“My first book contains the deeds of Rome's seven kings, viz.: Romulus,

Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (a descendant of Numa), Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius, a son of the other Tarquinius. The first of these was the founder and builder of Rome, and although he governed it rather as a father than as an absolute monarch, he was nevertheless slain, or, as some think, translated. The second, not less kingly, but even more so than the first, died at the age of . . . The third was struck by lightning. The fourth died of a disease. The fifth was murdered by some shepherds. The sixth lost his life in a similar manner. The seventh was expelled from the city and kingdom for violating the laws. From that time kingly rule came to an end, and the administration of government was transferred to consuls."

FROM PHOTIUS

"Having kept careful watch against her father's return, she (Tarpeia) promises Tatius to betray the garrison."

FROM SUIDAS

"At the command of Tatius they threw pieces of gold at the girl until she succumbed to her wounds and was buried under the heap."

FROM SUIDAS

"When Tatius waged war against Romulus, the wives of the Romans, who were daughters of the Sabines, made peace between them. Advancing to the camp of the parents they held out their hands to them and showed the infant children already born to them and their husbands, and testified that their husbands had done them no wrong. They prayed that the Sabines would take pity on themselves, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their daughters, and either put an end to this wretched war between relatives, or first kill them in whose behalf it was begun. The parents, moved partly by their own difficulties and partly by pity for the women, and perceiving that what the Romans had done was not from lust but necessity, entered into negotiations with them. For this purpose Romulus and Tatius met in the street which was named from this event Via Sacra and agreed upon these conditions: that both Romulus and Tatius should be kings, and that the Sabines who were then serving in the army under Tatius, and any others who might choose to come, should be allowed to settle in Rome on the same terms and under the same laws as the Romans themselves."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"The general, learning this fact from one of his personal friends, communicated it to Hostilius."

FROM SUIDAS

“Some blamed him [Tullus Hostilius] because he wrongly staked everything on the prowess of three men (the Horatii).”

FROM SUIDAS

“[The Romans thought] that peace might be made [by Tarquinius] on the terms that the Gabini considered just.”

FROM SUIDAS

“[Tarquinius] bought three books [from the Sibyl] at the price [previously asked] for the nine.”

FROM THE ANONYMOUS GRAMMARIAN

“Horatius [Cocles] was a cripple. He failed of reaching the consulship, either in war or in peace, on account of his lameness.”

FROM SUIDAS

“The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquinius. (Y.R. 250)”

FROM SUIDAS

“Tarquinius incited the Sabines against the Roman people. (B.C. 504) Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus, opposed any violation of the treaty, and being condemned for this action, he took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves, to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and the Claudian gens received its name from him.”

FROM PEIRESC (Y.R. 256) (B.C. 498) “The Latins, although allied to the Romans by treaty, nevertheless made war against them. They accused the Romans of despising them, although they were allied to them, and of the same blood.”

FROM SUIDAS

[Here follow, in the Teubner edition, four detached sentences, or parts of sentences, which, without their context, convey no meaning.]

CONCERNING ITALY

Fragments

“The Volsci, in nowise terrified by the misfortunes of their neighbors, made war against the Romans and laid siege to their colonies.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 263) “The people refused to elect Marcius (Coriolanus) when (B.C. 491) he sought the consulship, not because they considered him unfit, but because they feared his domineering spirit.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 265) “Marcius being inflamed against the Romans when they (B.C. 489) banished him went over to the Volsci, meditating no small revenge.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 266) “When he arrived there, having renounced his own country (B.C. 488) and kin, he did not meditate anything in particular, but intended to side with the Volsci against his country.”

FROM SUIDAS

“When Marcius had been banished, and had taken refuge with the Volsci, and made war against the Romans, and was encamped at a distance of only four hundred stades from the city, the people threatened to betray the walls to the enemy unless the Senate would send an embassy to him to treat for peace. The Senate reluctantly sent plenipotentiaries for this purpose. When they arrived at the camp of the Volsci and were brought into his presence and that of the Volscian chiefs, they offered oblivion and permission to return to the city if he would discontinue the war, and they reminded him that the Senate had never done him any wrong. He, while accusing the people of the many wrongs they had done to him and to the Volsci, promised nevertheless that the latter would come to terms with them if they would surrender the land and towns they had taken from the Volsci and admit them to citizenship on the same terms as the Latins. But if the vanquished were to keep what belonged to the victors, he did not see how peace could be made. Having named these conditions, he dismissed the ambassadors and gave them thirty days to consider. Then he turned against the remaining Latin towns, and having captured seven of them in the thirty days, he came back to receive the answer of the Romans.

[2] They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms.

When he refused this, they sent ten others to beg him that nothing should be done unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honor of his country and the principles of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and brought stones and missiles upon the walls to fight off Marcius from above.

[3] Now Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, brought a company of women to Veturia, the mother of Marcius, and to Volumnia his wife. All these, clad in mourning garments and bringing their children to join in the supplication, implored that they would go out with them to meet Marcius, and beseech him to spare them and their country. The Senate allowed these women to go alone to the camp of the enemy. Marcius admiring the high courage of the city, where even the women were inspired by it, advanced to meet them, sending away the rods and axes of the lictors, out of respect for his mother. He ran forward and embraced her, brought her into the council of the Volsci, and told her to tell what she wanted.

[4] She said that, being his mother, she was as much wronged as he in his banishment from the city; that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a sufficient penalty, so much of their territory had been laid waste and so many of their towns demolished, and themselves reduced to the extremity of sending their consuls and priests, and finally his own mother and wife, as ambassadors to him, and offering to rescind the decree and to grant him forgetfulness of the past and a safe return to his home. "Do not," she said, "cure an evil by an incurable evil. Do not be the cause of calamities that will smite yourself as well as those you injure. Whither do you carry the torch? From the fields to the city? From the city to your own hearthstone? From your own hearthstone to the temples of the gods? Have mercy, my son, on me and on your country as we plead." After she had thus spoken Marcius replied that the country which had cast him out was not his, but rather the land which had given him shelter. Nothing was dear to him that was unjust, nor was anybody his enemy who treated him well. He told her to cast her eyes upon the men here present with whom he had exchanged the pledge of mutual fidelity, who had granted him citizenship, had chosen him their general, and had intrusted to him their private interests. He mentioned the honors bestowed upon him and the oath he had sworn, and he urged his mother to consider his friends and enemies hers also.

[5] While he was still speaking, she, in a burst of anger, and holding her hands up to heaven, invoked their household gods. "Two processions of women," said she, "have set forth from Rome in the deepest affliction, one in the time of King Tatius, the other in that of Gaius Marcius. Of these two

Tatius, a stranger and downright enemy, had respect for the women and yielded to them. Marcius scorns a like delegation of women, including his wife, and his mother besides. May no mother, unblessed in her son, ever again be reduced to the necessity of throwing herself at his feet. This I must submit to. I must prostrate myself before yours." So speaking she flung herself on the ground. He burst into tears, sprang forward and lifted her up, exclaiming with the deepest emotion: "Mother, you have gained the victory, but it is a victory by which you have lost your son." So saying he led back the army, in order to give his reasons to the Volsci and to make peace between the two nations. There was some hope that he might be able to persuade the Volsci, but on account of the jealousy of their leader Attius he was put to death."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Marcius did not think proper to gainsay either of these [demands]."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 275) "(The Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their misfortunes (B.C. 479) as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For it was a great misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 283) "The army was incensed against the general (Appius Claudius) (B.C. 471) from remembrance of old wrongs, and refused to obey him. They fought badly on purpose, and took to flight, putting bandages on their bodies as though they were wounded. They broke up camp and tried to retreat, putting the blame on the unskilfulness of their commander."

FROM SUIDAS

"Bad omens from Jupiter were observed after the capture of Veii. The soothsayers said that some religious duty had (Y.R. 359) been neglected, and Camillus remembered that it had been (B.C. 395) forgotten to appropriate a tenth of the plunder to the god that had given the oracle concerning the lake. Accordingly the Senate decreed that those who had taken anything from Veii should make an estimate, each one for himself, and bring in a tenth of it under oath. Their religious feeling was such that they did not hesitate to add to the votive offering a tenth of the produce of the land that had already been sold, as well as of the spoils. With the money thus obtained they sent to the temple of Delphi a golden cup which stood on a pedestal of brass in the treasury of Rome and Massiliat until Onomarchus melted the cup during the Phocæan war. The pedestal is still standing. (Y.R. 363)

[2] Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of (B.C. 391) being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some time set against him, fined him heavily, having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep grief he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came (Y.R. 365) to pass very soon, for when the Gauls captured the city, the (B.C. 389) people fled for succor to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.”

FROM PEIRESC

“When Marcus Manlius, the patrician, saved the city of Rome from a Gallic invasion, he received the highest honors. (Y.R. 370) At a later period when he saw an old man, who had often (B.C. 384) fought for his country, reduced to servitude by a money lender, he paid the debt for him. Being highly commended for this act, he released all his own debtors from their obligations. His glory being much increased thereby, he paid the debts of many others. Being much elated by his popularity, he even proposed that all debts should be cancelled, or that the people should sell the lands that had not yet been distributed and apply the proceeds for the relief of debtors.”

FROM PEIRESC

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

Fragments

(Y.R. 411) “WHEN the Roman generals Cornelius and Corvinus, and (B.C. 343) the plebian Decius, had overcome the Samnites they left a military guard in Campania to ward off the Samnite incursions. These guards, partaking of the luxury and profuseness of the Campanians, were corrupted in their habits and began to envy the riches of these people, being themselves very poor and owing alarming debts in Rome. Finally they took counsel among themselves to kill their entertainers, seize their property, and marry their wives. This infamy would perhaps have been carried out at once, had not the new general Mamercus, who was marching against the Samnites, learned the design of the Roman guard. Concealing his intentions, he disarmed some of them and dismissed them, as soldiers entitled to discharge for long service. The more villanous ones he ordered to Rome on the pretence of important business, and he sent with them a military tribune with orders to keep a secret watch over them. Both parties of soldiers suspected that their design had leaked out, and they broke away from the tribune near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working under sentence in the fields, armed them as well as they could, and marched to Rome to the number of about 20,000. (Y.R. 412)

[2] About one day’s march from the city they were met by Corvinus who went into camp near them on the Alban mount. He remained quietly in his camp while investigating what the matter was, and did not consider it wise to attack these desperadoes. The men mingled with each other privately, the guards acknowledging with groans and tears, as among relatives and friends, that they were to blame, but declaring that the cause of it all was the debts they owed at (B.C. 342) Rome. When Corvinus understood this he shrank from the responsibility of so much civil bloodshed and advised the Senate to release these men from debt. He exaggerated the difficulty of the war if it should be necessary to put down such a large body of men, who would fight with the energy of despair. He had strong suspicions also of the result of the meetings and conferences, lest his own army, who were relatives of these men and not less oppressed with debt, should be to some extent lacking in fidelity. If he should be defeated he said that the dangers would be greatly increased; if victorious, the victory itself would be most lamentable to the commonwealth, being gained over so many of their own relatives. The Senate was moved by his arguments and decreed a cancellation of debts to all Romans, and immunity also to these revolters. The latter laid down their arms and returned to the city.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 414) “Such was the bravery of the consul Manlius Torquatus. (B.C. 340) He

had a penurious father who did not care for him, but kept him at work with slaves in the fields and left him to partake of their fare. When the tribune Pomponius prosecuted him for numerous misdeeds and thought to mention among others his bad treatment of his son, young Manlius, concealing a dagger under his clothes, went to the house of the tribune and asked to see him privately as though he had something of importance to say about the trial. Being admitted, and just as he was beginning to speak, he fastened the door and threatened the tribune with instant death if he did not take an oath that he would withdraw the accusation against his father. The latter took the oath, dismissed the accusation, and explained the reason to the people. Manlius acquired great distinction from this affair, and was praised for being such a son to such a father.”

FROM PEIRESC

“With jeers he challenged him to single combat. The other [Manlius, the consul’s son] restrained himself for a while; but when he could no longer endure the provocation, he dashed on his horse against him.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 432) “While the Samnites were raiding and plundering the territory (B.C. 322) of Fregellæ, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them out of the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of the men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold taken from their store. Wherefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, or if they disputed any, they either entreated and begged for better terms, or referred the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they could not bear even to hear anything on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable, implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. (Y.R. 433)

[2] A god humbled this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win the gratitude of the Romans, such as not many opportunities offer. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him unless they were prepared to surrender their arms and their persons.

There-upon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him either to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep (B.C. 321) them for ransom, but not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate.

[3] Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: "My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure, — either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Regard this first and greatest victory as a treasure-house of good fortune. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so that the greatness of the benefit may inure to your advantage. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honor. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in deeds of kindness. It is in your power to attain this state of kindly action as a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time."

[4] When he had thus spoken his son answered: "I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of a god and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I shall not do that. Such unreasonable leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed like meritorious persons? Therefore let us discard the two extremes — the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of others, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed to put upon

others. Then I will establish peace between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have accomplished what belongs to a victor and to a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others.”

[5] While Pontius was speaking the old man burst into tears, then seated himself in his carriage and went back to Caudium. Pontius then summoned the Roman envoys and asked them if they had any fetial priest with them. There was none present because the army had marched to undertake an irreconcilable, implacable war. Accordingly he commanded the envoys to make this announcement to the consuls and other officers of the army and to the whole multitude: “We had concluded perpetual friendship with the Romans, which you yourselves violated by giving aid to the Sidicini, our enemies. When peace was concluded again, you made war upon the Neapolitans, our neighbors. Nor did it escape us that these things were part of a plan of yours to seize the dominion of all Italy. In the first battles, where you gained the advantage on account of the unskilfulness of our generals, you showed us no moderation. Not content with devastating our country and occupying towns and villages not your own, you planted colonies in them. Moreover, when we twice sent embassies to you and made many concessions, you treated us disdainfully, and demanded that we should yield you the supremacy and obey you, as though we were not a nation to make terms with but a conquered race. Thereupon you decreed this irreconcilable, implacable war against your former friends, descendants of the Sabines whom you made your fellow-citizens. On account of your insatiable cupidity we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you despised), and mindful of our former relationship and friendship, will permit each one of you to pass under the yoke safe and sound with the clothes you stand in, if you swear to give up all of our lands and strongholds and withdraw your colonies from the same, and never wage war against the Samnites again.”

[6] When these terms were communicated to the camp there was wailing and lamentation, long and loud, for they considered the disgrace of passing under the yoke worse than death. Afterwards, when they heard about the knights who were to be held as hostages, there was another long lament. Yet they were compelled by want to accept the conditions. Accordingly they took the oaths, Pontius on the one side, and the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, on the other, together with two quæstors, four division commanders, and twelve tribunes, — all the surviving officers. When the oaths had been taken, Pontius opened a passage from the defile, and having fixed two spears in the ground and laid another across the top, caused the Romans to go under it as they passed out, one by one. He also gave them some animals to carry their sick, and provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This method of

dismissing prisoners, which they call sending under the yoke, seems to me to serve only to insult the vanquished.

[7] When the news of this calamity reached the city there was wailing and lamentation like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. The senators discarded their purple-striped tunics. Feasts, marriages, and everything of that kind were prohibited for a whole year, until the calamity was retrieved. Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city by night. The consuls entered by day according to law, and they wore their usual insignia, but they exercised no further authority.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 464) “On account of admiration for his bravery a multitude of (B.C. 290) chosen youths numbering eight hundred were in the habit of following Dentatus, ready for anything. This was an embarrassment to the Senate at their meetings.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 471) “Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic tribe, aided (B.C. 283) the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were furnishing mercenaries to fight against the Romans. Although they bore the caduceus, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and flung the parts away, alleging that his own father had been slain by the Romans while he was waging war in Etruria. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, abandoned his campaign against the Etruscans, dashed with great rapidity by way of the Sabine country and Picenum against the towns of the Senones, and devastated them with fire and sword. He carried their women and children into slavery, and killed all the adult youth except a son of Britomaris, whom he reserved for awful torture, and led in his triumph.

[2] When the Senones who were in Etruria heard of this calamity, they joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome. After various mishaps these Senones, having no homes to return to, and being in a state of frenzy over their misfortunes, fell upon Domitius [the other consul], by whom most of them were destroyed. The rest slew themselves in despair. Such was the punishment meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 472) “Cornelius went sight-seeing along the coast of Magna (B.C. 282) Græcia with ten ships with decks. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named

Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nicknamed Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium. By his passion he persuaded them to excitement against Cornelius, and they sunk four of his ships and seized one of them with all on board. They accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans overpassing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison that was stationed there under a treaty.

[2] When the Romans learned of these events, they sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand that the prisoners who had been taken, not in war, but as mere sight-seers, should be surrendered; that the citizens of Thurii who had been expelled should be brought back to their homes; that the property that had been plundered, or the value of what had been lost, should be restored; and finally, that they should surrender the authors of these crimes, if they wished to continue on good terms with the Romans. The Tarentines made difficulties about admitting the embassy to their council at all, and when they had received them jeered at them because they did not speak Greek perfectly, and made fun of their togas and of the purple stripe on them. [The text here describes an indignity put upon Postumius, the chief of the embassy, by one Philonidas, which will not bear translation.] This spectacle was received with laughter by the bystanders. Postumius, holding out his soiled garment, said: "You will wash out this defilement with plenty of blood — you who take pleasure in this kind of jokes." As the Tarentines made no sort of answer the embassy departed. Postumius carried the soiled garment just as it was, and showed it to the Romans. (Y.R. 473)

[3] The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Æmilius, who was waging war against the Samnites, to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy (B.C. 281) had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and designate him the leader of this war." This was done."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 474) "After a shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrived at the (B.C. 280) harbor of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of

war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, tired out by these most unusual exercises and orders, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Some Roman soldiers were stationed in Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were observing a public festival, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of an outrage on their hosts not long before.

[2] Suffering from an affection of the eyes and distrusting the physicians of Rhegium, Decius sent for a medical man who had migrated from Rhegium to Messana so long before that it was forgotten that he was a Rhegian. The latter persuaded him that, if he wished speedy relief, he should use certain hot drugs. Having applied a burning and corrosive ointment to his eyes, he told him to bear the pain till he should come again. Then he secretly returned to Messana. Decius, after enduring the pain a long time, washed off the ointment and found that he had lost his eyesight.

[3] Fabricius was sent by the Romans to restore the city to those Rhegians who still remained. He sent the guards who had been guilty of this revolt back to Rome. They were beaten with rods in the forum, then beheaded, and their bodies cast away unburied. Decius, being placed under strict guard, in the discouragement of a blind man, committed suicide.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, having gained a victory over the Romans and desiring to recuperate his forces after the severe engagement, and expecting that the Romans would be particularly desirous of coming to terms, sent to the city Cineas, a Thessalian, who was so renowned for eloquence that he had been compared with Demosthenes. When he was admitted to the senate-chamber, he extolled the king for a variety of reasons, and among others for his moderation after the victory, in that he had neither marched directly against the city nor attacked the camp of the vanquished. He offered them peace, friendship, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, provided the Tarentines should be included in the same treaty, and provided the other Greeks dwelling in Italy should remain free under their own laws, and provided the Romans

would restore to the Lucanians, Samnites, Daunii, and Bruttians whatever they had taken from them in war. If they would do this, he said that Pyrrhus would restore all his prisoners without ransom.

[2] The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said: "I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Have you become so forgetful of yourselves all of a sudden, by reason of one misfortune, as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give back to the Lucanians and Bruttians the property that your ancestors took from them? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator in Roman affairs.

[3] The Senate made answer to Cineas as Appius advised. They decreed the levying of two new legions for Lævinus, and made proclamation that whoever would volunteer in place of those who had been lost should put their names on the army roll. Cineas, who was still present and saw the multitude hastening to be enrolled, is reported to have said to Pyrrhus on his return: "We are waging war against a hydra." Others say that not Cineas, but even Pyrrhus himself said this when he saw the new Roman army larger than the former one; for the other consul, Coruncanius, came from Etruria and joined his forces with those of Lævinus. It is said also that when Pyrrhus made some further inquiries about Rome, Cineas replied that it was a city of generals; and when Pyrrhus wondered at this, he corrected himself, and said that it seemed more like a city of kings. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no expectation of peace from the Senate, he marched toward Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

[4] Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and his other allies whom they held. He replied that if they were ready for peace on the terms proposed by Cineas, he would release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. Otherwise he treated them in a kingly way. Perceiving that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would

bring about a treaty of peace, he (Pyrrhus) would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who perfected the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer as to public matters, but said: "Neither you nor your friends, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear." Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."

[5] Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus learned again that everything depended on the arbitrament of arms."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 476) "While Pyrrhus was perplexed by the Roman complication (B.C. 278) he was disturbed by an uprising of the Molossians. At this time also Agathocles, the king of Sicily, had just died. As Pyrrhus had married his daughter Laneia, he began to look upon Sicily as more of his concern than Italy. Still he was loath to abandon those who had summoned him to their aid, without some kind of arrangement for peace. Seizing eagerly the occasion of the sending back of a traitor who had deserted from him, he testified his gratitude to the consuls for this act and sent Cineas again to Rome to repeat his thanks for the man's safe-keeping, and to surrender the prisoners by way of recompense, — instructing him to procure peace in whatever way he could. Cineas brought a large number of presents both for men and women, knowing that the people were fond of money and gifts, and that the women had had large influence among the Romans from the earliest times.

[2] But they warned each other against the gifts, and replied that no man or woman would accept anything. They gave Cineas the same answer as before. If Pyrrhus would withdraw from Italy and send an embassy to them without gifts, they would agree to fair terms in all respects. They treated the embassy, however, in a sumptuous manner and sent back to Pyrrhus in exchange all the Tarentines and others of his allies whom they held as prisoners. Thereupon Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with his elephants and 8000 horse, promising his allies that he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, for the Carthaginians had driven him out of Sicily."

(Y.R. 478) "After the battle and the armistice with the Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily promising he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much (B.C. 276) larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sunk seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except twelve. Fleeing with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. Such savage vengeance did he take on them in the way of killing and plundering that he did not spare even the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying by way of joke that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labor.

[2] Loaded down with spoils, a tempest overtook him, sunk some of his ships with the men in them, and cast the others ashore. The waves cast all the sacred things safe upon the Locrian beach. Wherefore Pyrrhus, perceiving too late the consequences of his impiety, restored them to the temple of Proserpina and sought to propitiate the goddess with numerous sacrifices. As the victims were unpropitious he became still more furious, and he put to death all those who had advised the temple-robbing, or had assented to it, or had taken part in it. Thus had Pyrrhus come to grief."

THE GALLIC HISTORY

Fragments

(Y.R. 365) "AT an early period the Gauls waged war against the (B.C. 389) Romans, took Rome itself, except the Capitol, and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and expelled them. At a later period, when they had made a second invasion, he overcame them again and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being then in his eightieth year. A third army of Gauls which invaded Italy was destroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to rush forward suddenly with a shout and join battle at close quarters. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by an immediate charge, would throw the enemy into confusion. The spears of the Gauls were not like javelins, but what the Romans called , four-sided, part wood and part iron, and not hard except at the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans. (Y.R. 404)

[2] Another Gallic force was defeated by Popillius, and (B.C. 350) after this Camillus, son of the former Camillus, defeated the same tribe. Afterwards Æmilius Pappus won some trophies from the Gauls. Shortly before the consulships of Marius a most numerous and warlike horde of Celtic tribes, most formidable in bodily strength, made incursions into both (Y.R. 649) Italy and Gaul, and defeated some of the Roman consuls, (B.C. 105) and cut their armies in pieces. Marius was sent against them and he destroyed them all. The latest and greatest war of the Romans against the Gauls was that waged under the command of Cæsar, for, in the ten years that he held command there, he fought with more than 4,000,000 barbarians, taken all together. Of these 1,000,000 were captured and as many more slain in battle. He reduced to subjection 400 tribes and more than 800 towns, which had either revolted from their allegiance or were conquered for the first time. Even before Marius, Fabius Maximus Æmilianus with a very small army killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only fifteen of his own men; and he did this although suffering from a recent wound, urging and encouraging his troops and showing them how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others.

[3] Cæsar began his war against them by gaining a victory over some 200,000 of the Helvetii and Tigurini. The latter at an earlier period had captured a Roman army commanded by Piso and Cassius and sent them under

the yoke, as is related in the writings of Paulus Claudius. The Tigurini (Y.R. 696) were now overcome by Labienus, Cæsar's lieutenant, and (B.C. 58) the others by Cæsar himself, together with the Tricorii, who were aiding them. He also overcame the Germans under Ariovistus, a people who excelled all others, even the largest men, in size; savage, the bravest of the brave, despising death because they believe they shall live hereafter, bearing heat and cold with equal patience, living on herbs in time of scarcity, and their horses browsing on trees. It seems that they were without patient endurance in their battles, and did not fight in a scientific way or in any regular order, but with a sort of high spirit simply made an onset like wild beasts, for which reason they were overcome by Roman science and endurance. For, although the Germans made a tremendous rush and pushed the legions back a short distance, the Romans kept their ranks unbroken, and outmanœuvred them, and eventually slew 800000 of them. (Y.R. 697)

[4] Afterwards Cæsar fell upon the so-called Belgæ as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies. The Nervii defeated him by falling suddenly upon his army as it (B.C. 57) was getting itself into camp after a march. They made a very great slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. Cæsar himself took refuge on a hill with his bodyguard, and there he was surrounded by the enemy. The latter being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion were destroyed, although they were 60,000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones. (Y.R. 699) Cæsar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered (B.C. 55) 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tenchteri, armed and unarmed together. The Sicambri with 500 horse put to flight 5000 of Cæsar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

[5] Cæsar was also the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine. He also passed over to Britain, an island larger than a very large continent, and still unknown to the men of Rome. He crossed by taking advantage of the movement of the tide. As it rose the fleet was impelled by the waves, slowly at first, then more rapidly, until finally Cæsar was carried with great swiftness to Britain."

AN EPITOME OF APPIAN'S BOOK "DE REBUS GALLICIS"

(Y.R. 364) "In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt along the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate the country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared no mortal man in threat or war, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while

they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief of that band, stripped his body, and (B.C. 390) carried his arms back to Clusium.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, though he had refused to recognize the Roman embassy, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were now holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still in a bad humor. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an insult and took it hard. Accordingly they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause of war with them. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 365) “He (Cædicius) promised to carry letters through the (B.C. 389) enemy’s ranks to the Capitol.”

FROM SUIDAS

“When Cædicius bore the decree of the Senate to Camillus, by which he was made consul, he exhorted him not to lay up against his country the injury it had done him. The latter, interrupting him, said: “I could not have prayed to the gods that the Romans might some time long for me if I had cherished any such feeling as that towards them. Now I pray the nobler prayer that I may render my country a service equal to the calamity that has befallen her.”“

FROM PEIRESC

“When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed safely, with the sacred utensils, through the

ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and his venerable appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us.”

FROM PEIRESC

“The Gauls filled themselves to repletion with wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature, and inhabiting a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other productions. Thus their large bodies became delicate, distended with fatness, and heavy by reason of excessive eating and drinking, and quite incapable of running or hardship; and when any exertion was required of them they speedily became exhausted by perspiration and shortness of breath.”

FROM SUIDAS AND PEIRESC

“He (Camillus) showed them naked to the Romans and said: “These are the creatures who assail you with such terrible shouts in battle, and clash their arms and shake their long swords and toss their hair. Behold their weakness of soul, their slothfulness and flabbiness of body, and gird yourselves to your work.”“

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 394) “The people beheld the battle from the walls, and constantly (B.C. 360) sent fresh troops to take the place of the tired ones. But the tired Gauls having to engage with fresh opponents took to disorderly flight.”

FROM THE SAME

“The Gaul, furious and exhausted with loss of blood, (B.C. 349) pursued Valerius, hastening in order to grapple with him. As Valerius was all the time dodging just in front of him, the Gaul fell headlong. The Romans felicitated themselves on this second single combat with the Gauls.”

FROM THE SAME

(Y.R. 471) “The Senones, although they had a treaty with the Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, wherefore the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the caduceus in their hands, and wore the garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius,

learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, moved with great speed against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword. He reduced the women and children to slavery, killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for anybody else. He carried off Britomaris alone as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones (who were serving as mercenaries), having no longer any homes to return to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being (B.C. 283) defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 633) “The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by the Romans, (B.C. 121) took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnæus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants likewise arrayed, and also by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as body-guards. A musician was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; for which reason chiefly their illustrious ambassadors usually take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 641) “A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no attempt in this direction he attacked them, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would keep hands off. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then marched by (B.C. 113) a shorter one and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, though they were still desisting from hostilities, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in

progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans fled in small bands through the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“He ordered them to leave the bodies of the Cimbri intact till daylight because he believed they were adorned with gold.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 696) “Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion (B.C. 58) into the Roman province of Gaul. When Cæsar heard of this movement he built a wall along the river Rhone about a hundred and fifty stades in length to intercept them. When they sent ambassadors to him to endeavor to make a treaty, he ordered them to give him hostages and money. They replied that they were accustomed to receive these things, not to give them. As he wished to prevent them from forming a junction he sent Labienus against the Tigurini, who were the weaker, while he marched against the Helvetii, taking with him about 20,000 Gallic mountaineers. The work was easy to Labienus, who fell upon the Tigurini unawares on the river bank, defeated them, and scattered the greater part of them in disorderly flight.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 695) “Ariovistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, (B.C. 59) crossed to this side before Cæsar’s arrival and made war against the Ædui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from Ædui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Cæsar being consul and voting for it.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, who had been voted a friend of the Roman people, came to Cæsar to have a colloquy. After they had separated he wished to have another. Cæsar refused it, but sent some of the leading men of the Gauls to meet him. Ariovistus cast them in chains, wherefore Cæsar threatened him and made war on him, but fear fell upon the army on account of the military reputation of the Germans.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 699) “It is believed that the Usipetes and the Tenchteri, German tribes, with 800 of their own horse, put to flight about 5000 of Cæsar’s horse. When

they sent ambassadors to Cæsar he held them as prisoners and made an attack on them, and took them so completely by surprise that 400,000 of them were cut to pieces. One writer says that Cato in the Roman Senate proposed that Cæsar should be surrendered to the barbarians for this deed of blood perpetrated while negotiations were pending. But Cæsar in his own diary says that when the Usipetes and Tenchteri were ordered to go back forthwith to their former homes, they replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi, who had driven them away, and that they were waiting for their answer; that while these negotiations were pending, they set upon his men with 800 of their horse, and by the suddenness of the attack put to flight his 5000; and that when they sent another embassy to explain this violation of good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before (B.C. 55) giving his answer."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Straightway they stirred up the Britons to violate the oath, complaining that while a treaty with them was in force the camp was still among them."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 700) "Cæsar apprehending an attack on [Quintus] Cicero turned (B.C. 54) back."

FROM SUIDAS

"Britores seduced the Ædui from their Roman allegiance. When Cæsar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.

[Here follow two fragments of only three words each.]"

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

Fragments

(Y.R. 502) "BOTH Romans and Carthaginians were destitute of money; (B.C. 252) and the Romans could no longer build ships, being exhausted by taxes, yet they levied foot soldiers and sent them to Africa and Sicily from year to year, while the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, seeking to borrow 2000 talents. He was on terms of friendship with both Romans and Carthaginians, and he sought to bring about peace between them. As he was not able to accomplish this, he said: "It behooves one to assist friends against enemies, but not against friends.""

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 512) "When the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, (B.C. 242) after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans.

[2] The conditions were these: All Roman prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians were to be delivered up; Sicily and the small neighboring islands to be surrendered to the Romans; the Carthaginians not to initiate any war against Syracuse or its ruler, Hiero, nor to recruit mercenaries in any part of Italy; the Carthaginians to pay the Romans a war indemnity of 2000 Euboïc talents in twenty years, in yearly instalments payable at Rome. The Euboïc talent is equal to 7000 Alexandrine drachmas. So ended the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, having lasted twenty-four years, in which the Romans lost 700 ships and the Carthaginians 500. In this way the chief part of Sicily (all of it that had been held by the Carthaginians) passed into the possession of the Romans. The latter levied tribute on the Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges among their towns, and sent a prætor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had coöperated with them in this war, was declared

to be their friend and ally.

[3] When this war was ended the Gallic mercenaries demanded of the Carthaginians the pay still due to them for their service in Sicily, together with the presents that Hamilcar had promised to give them. The African soldiers, although they were Carthaginian subjects, demanded the same things, on account of their service in Sicily, and this they did the more arrogantly as they saw that the Carthaginians were weakened and humbled; they were angry also on account of the killing of 3000 of their own number whom the Carthaginians had crucified for deserting to the Romans. When the Carthaginians refused the demands of both Gauls and Africans, they joined together and seized the city of Tunis, and also Utica, the largest city in Africa after Carthage. Starting thence they detached the rest of Africa, and brought over to their side some Numidians, and received into their ranks a vast number of fugitive slaves, and pillaged the Carthaginian possessions in every direction. Being pressed by enemies on all sides the Carthaginians appealed to the Romans for aid against the Africans. The Romans did not send them a military force, but allowed them to draw supplies from Italy and Sicily, and to recruit mercenaries in Italy for this war only. They also sent deputies to Africa to arrange peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 540) "Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals (B.C. 214) of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans. They accused their own countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general."

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 542) "The Sicilians, who had been for a long time embittered (B.C. 212) against the Roman general Marcellus, on account of his severity, were still more excited against him because he had gained entrance to Syracuse by treachery. For this reason they joined themselves to Hippocrates, and took an oath together that none of them would make peace without the others, and sent him supplies and an army of 20,000 foot and 5000 horse."

FROM PEIRESC

“Marcellus was in such bad odor that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauro-menians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 680) “The island of Crete seemed to be favorably disposed (B.C. 74) towards Mithridates, king of Pontus, from the beginning, and it was said that they furnished him mercenaries when he was at war with the Romans. It is believed also that they recommended to the favor of Mithridates the pirates who then infested the sea, and openly assisted them when they were pursued by Marcus Antonius. When Antonius sent legates to them on this subject, they made light of the matter and gave him a disdainful answer. Antonius forthwith made war against them, and although he did not accomplish much, he gained the title of Creticus for his work. He was the father of the Mark Antony who, at a later period, fought against Octavius Cæsar at Actium. When the Romans declared war against the Cretans, on account of these things, the latter sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. The Romans ordered them to surrender Lasthenes, the author of the war against Antonius, and to deliver up all their pirate ships and all the Roman prisoners in their hands, together with 300 hostages, and to pay 4000 talents of silver. (Y.R. 685)

[2] As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen as the general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Gnossus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Gnossus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which was full of money, and fled from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great, who was conducting the war against the pirates, and against Mithridates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. (B.C. 69) Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 692) “The patrician Clodius, surnamed Pulcher, which means (B.C. 62) handsome, was in love with Cæsar’s wife. He arrayed himself in woman’s clothes from head to foot, being still without a beard, and gained admission to Cæsar’s house as a woman in the night, at a time when the mysteries [of the

Bona Dea] were celebrated, to which only women were admitted. Having lost his guide, and being detected by others by the sound of his voice, he was hustled out.”

FROM PEIRESC

THE WARS IN SPAIN

CHAPTER I

Boundaries of Spain — King Arganthonius — Early Carthaginian Occupation — Hamilcar Barca — His Death

THE Pyrenees mountains extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by Celts, otherwise called Galatians, and more lately Gauls. From this part westward, beginning at the Tyrrhenian sea and making a circuit by way of the Pillars of Hercules to the Northern ocean, the Iberians and Celtiberians dwell. Thus the whole of Iberia is sea-girt, except the part embraced by the Pyrenees, the largest and perhaps the most precipitous mountains in Europe. In coasting they follow the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They do not traverse the Western and Northern ocean, except in crossing over to Britain, and this they accomplish by availing themselves of the tide, as it is only half a day's journey. For the rest, neither the Romans nor any of the subject peoples navigate that ocean. The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.

[2] What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not very important for me to inquire, in writing merely Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phœnicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpassus. I think also that the Phœnicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phœnician type, and the god is considered by the worshippers the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquaries.

[3] This fruitful land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and afterwards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their

relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the doings of the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history.

[4] The first external war waged by the Romans against the Carthaginians in reference to Sicily was waged in Sicily itself. In like manner the first one concerning Spain was waged in Spain, although in the course of it the combatants sent large forces into, and devastated, both Italy and Africa. (Y.R. 536) This war began about the 140th Olympiad by the infraction (B.C. 218) of a treaty which had been made at the end of the Sicilian war. The infraction came about in this way. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, while commanding the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, had promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries and African allies, which they demanded after he returned to Africa; and thereupon the African war was kindled. In this war the Carthaginians suffered severely at the hands of the Africans, and they ceded Sardinia to the Romans as compensation for injuries they had inflicted upon Roman merchants during this war. When Hamilcar was brought to trial for these things by his enemies, who held him to blame for such serious calamities to the country, he secured the favor of the chief men in the state (of whom the most popular was Hasdrubal, who had married Barca's daughter), by which means he escaped punishment; and as a disturbance with the Numidians broke out about this time, he secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship. (Y.R. 516)

[5] At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer (B.C. 238) certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. They loaded a lot of wagons with wood and drove them in advance with oxen, they following behind (Y.R. 525) prepared for battle. When the Africans saw this they fell (B.C. 229) to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. When they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons and drove the oxen against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid.

CHAPTER II

Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar — Rise of Hannibal — He attacks Saguntum — The Saguntines appeal to Rome

[6] The Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and who soon after became famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal brought many Spanish tribes to his support by persuasion, for he was attractive in personal intercourse, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Iberus (Ebro), which divides Spain about in the centre, and at a distance of about five days' journey from the Pyrenees flows down to the Northern ocean.

[7] The Saguntines, a colony of the island of Zacynthus, who lived about midway between the Pyrenees and the river Iberus, and other Greeks who dwelt in the neighborhood of Emporia and other Spanish towns, having apprehensions for their safety, sent ambassadors to Rome. The Senate, who were unwilling to see the Carthaginian power augmented, sent an embassy to Carthage. It was agreed between them that the limit of the Carthaginian power in Spain should be the river Iberus; that beyond that river the Romans should not carry war against the subjects of Carthage, nor should the Carthaginians cross it for a similar purpose; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. So these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage. (Y.R. 534)

[8] Some time later, while Hasdrubal was governing that (B.C. 220) part of Spain belonging to Carthage, a slave whose master he had cruelly put to death killed him secretly in a hunting expedition. Hannibal convicted him of this crime and put him to death with dreadful tortures. Now the army proclaimed Hannibal, although still very young, yet greatly beloved by the soldiers, their general, and the Carthaginian Senate confirmed the appointment. Those of the opposite faction, who had feared the power of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, when they learned of their death, despised Hannibal on account of his youth and prosecuted their friends and partisans with the old charges. The people took sides with the accusers, bearing a grudge against those now prosecuted, because they remembered the old severities of the times of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and ordered them to turn into the public treasury the large gifts that Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had bestowed upon them, as being enemy's spoils. The prosecuted parties sent messengers to Hannibal asking him to assist them, and admonished him that, if he should neglect those who were

able to assist him at home, he would be thoroughly despised by his father's enemies.

[9] He had foreseen all this and he knew that the persecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor put up forever with the fickleness of the Carthaginians, who usually repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into doubts and fears, he would place his own affairs and those of his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain in peace. But if he could stir up a war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the government of the habitable world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him great renown.

[10] Conceiving that if he should cross the Iberus that would constitute a brilliant beginning, he suborned the Turbutes, neighbors of the Saguntines, that they should complain to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were coöperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. Since he had a pretext, he arranged that the Turbutes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and that the latter should send legates also. When Hannibal commanded them to explain their differences to him, they replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon (Y.R. 535) ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed (B.C. 219) the Iberus with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed plenty of guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

[11] The Saguntines, oppressed by this sudden and unheralded attack, sent an embassy to Rome. The Senate commissioned its own ambassadors to go with them. They were instructed first to remind Hannibal of the agreement, and if he should not obey to proceed to Carthage and complain against him. When they arrived in Spain and were approaching his camp from the sea, Hannibal forbade their coring. Accordingly they sailed for Carthage with the Saguntine ambassadors, and reminded the Carthaginians of the agreement.

The latter accused the Saguntines of committing many wrongs on their subjects. When the Saguntines offered to submit the whole question to the Romans as arbitrators, the Carthaginians replied that there was no use of an arbitration because they were able to avenge themselves. When this reply was brought to Rome some advised sending aid to the Saguntines. Others favored delay, saying that the Saguntines were not inscribed as allies in the agreement with them, but merely as free and autonomous, and that they were still free although besieged. The latter opinion prevailed.

[12] The Saguntines, when they despaired of help from Rome, and when famine weighed heavily upon them, and Hannibal kept up the siege without intermission (for he had heard that the city was very prosperous and wealthy, and for this reason relaxed not the siege), issued an edict to bring all the silver and gold, public and private, to the forum, where they melted it with lead and brass, so that it should be useless to Hannibal. Then, thinking that it was better to die fighting than starve to death, they made a sally by night upon the besiegers while they were asleep and not expecting an attack, and killed some as they were getting out of bed, others as they were clumsily arming themselves, and still others who were actually fighting. The battle continued until many of the Africans and all the Saguntines were slain. When the women witnessed the slaughter of their husbands from the walls, some of them threw themselves from the housetops, others hanged themselves, and others slew their children and then themselves. Such was the end of Saguntum, once a great and powerful city. When Hannibal learned what had been done with the gold he was angry, and put all the surviving adults to death with torture. Observing that the city was not far from Carthage and with good land about it situated on the sea, he rebuilt it and made it a Carthaginian colony, and I think it is now called Spartarian Carthage.

CHAPTER III

War declared — The Two Scipios — Their Defeat and Death

(Y.R. 536)

[13] The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to (B.C. 218) demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: "Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose." The latter replied: "You may give us whichever you like." When the Romans offered war they all cried out: "We accept it." Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighboring tribes and brought them under subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, telling nobody what it was for, but intending to hurl it against Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

[14] When the Romans saw that war must be waged against the Carthaginians in Spain and Africa (for they never dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), they sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus and the other Roman generals did in Africa has been related in my Punic history. They also ordered Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain with sixty ships, 10,000 foot, and 700 horse, and sent his brother Gnæus Cornelius Scipio with him as a legate. The former (Publius), learning from Massilian merchants that Hannibal had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, and fearing lest he should fall upon the Italians unawares, turned over to his brother the command in Spain and sailed with his quinqueremes to Etruria. What he and the other Roman generals after him did in Italy, until, at the end of sixteen years and with exceeding difficulty, they drove Hannibal out of the country, will be shown in the following book, which will contain all the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, and is called the Hannibalic book of Roman history.

[15] Gnæus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him proconsul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios managed the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of

Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they were as persuasive in inducing subjects as in leading armies.

[16] The Carthaginians, having made peace with Syphax, again sent Hasdrubal into Spain with a larger army than before, and with thirty elephants. With him came also two other generals, Mago and another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. After this the war became more serious to the Scipios. They were successful, nevertheless, and many Africans and elephants were destroyed by them. Finally, winter coming on, the Africans went into winter quarters at Turditania, Gnæus Scipio at Orso, and Publius at Castolo. When news was brought to the latter that Hasdrubal was approaching, he sallied out from the city with a small force to reconnoitre the enemy's camp and came upon Hasdrubal unexpectedly. He and his whole force were surrounded by the enemy's horse and killed. Gnæus, who knew nothing of this, sent some soldiers to his brother to procure corn, who fell in with another African force and became engaged with them. When Gnæus learned this he started out, with (Y.R. 542) such troops as he had under arms, to assist them. The (B.C. 212) Carthaginians who had cut off the former party made a charge on Gnæus, and compelled him to take refuge in a certain tower, which they set on fire, and burned him and his comrades to death.

[17] In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labors, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were greatly troubled. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and with him Claudius [Nero], to Spain, with a fleet and 1000 horse, 10,000 foot, and sufficient means. As nothing of importance was accomplished by them, the Carthaginian power increased until it embraced almost the whole of Spain, and the Romans were restricted to a small space in the Pyrenees mountains. When this was learned in Rome the people were greatly discouraged, and apprehensive lest these same Africans should make an incursion into northern Italy while Hannibal was ravaging the other extremity. Although they desired to abandon the Spanish war it was not possible, because of the fear that that war would be transferred to Italy.

CHAPTER IV

Cornelius Scipio — Arrives in Spain — Attacks New Carthage — Captures the City and Vast Booty

(Y.R. 543)

[18] Accordingly a day was fixed for choosing a general for Spain. When nobody offered himself the alarm was greatly augmented, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly. Finally Cornelius Scipio, son of that Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, still a very young man (for he was only twenty-four years of age), but reputed to be discreet and high-minded, advanced and made an impressive discourse concerning his father and his uncle, and after lamenting their fate said that he was the only member of the family left to be the avenger of them and of his country. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one possessed, promising to subdue not only Spain, but Africa and Carthage in addition. To many this seemed like youthful boasting, but he revived the spirits of the people (for (B.C. 211) those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older ones said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and repeated what he had said before, declaring that his youth would be no impediment, but he added that if any of his elders wished to assume the task he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. He was not allowed to take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He received money and apparatus of various kinds and twenty-eight war-ships with which he proceeded to Spain. (Y.R. 544)

[19] Taking the forces already there, and joining them in (B.C. 210) one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as a general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he took care to give out that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2500 horse, and that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum (but then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines and its rich and prosperous

territory abounding in everything, and its very short passage to Africa, would constitute a secure base of operations by land and sea against the whole of Spain.

[20] Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and darts in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbor so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for he had high hopes of capturing everything the city contained), at daylight he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, some to sally out at a favorable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and others to man the parapets. He made good use of his machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and did effective work. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some by machines, and some by slings; and whatever other apparatus or force was available was made use of to the utmost.

[21] Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they fought bravely, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. With the change of fortune, those who were on the walls began to be distressed. When the ladders were put in place, the Carthaginian swordsmen, who had sallied out, ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe labor to the Romans. Scipio, who, as commanding general, was everywhere, giving orders and cheering on his men, had noticed that, at the place where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon, the sea retired about midday. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one's breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: "Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you."

[22] He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armor-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and began to mount. Amid shouts and clamor on all sides, giving and receiving

blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and ordered them to sound a blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. Some of the inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these were cut down he fled with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately invested. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered.

[23] Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Forum. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the Spanish prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days' thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune had shown itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

CHAPTER V

Scipio marches against the Two Hasdrubals — Battle of Carmone

[24] Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and ordered that the wall which was washed by the tide should be raised to the proper height. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing the others. There were two Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighboring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he made an incursion into the territory of Lersa which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Bætica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Bætica also. (Y.R. 547)

[25] Now this Hasdrubal ordered all the remaining Carthaginian (B.C. 207) forces in Spain to be collected at the city of Carmone to fight Scipio with their united strength. Hither came a great number of Spaniards under the lead of Mago, and of Numidians under Masinissa. Hasdrubal had the infantry in a fortified camp, Masinissa and Mago, who commanded the cavalry, bivouacking in front of it. Scipio divided his own horse so that Lælius should attack Mago while he himself should be opposed to Masinissa. This fight was for some time doubtful and severe to Scipio, since the Numidians discharged their darts at his men, then suddenly retreated, and then wheeled and returned to the charge. But when Scipio ordered his men to hurl their javelins and then pursue without intermission, the Numidians, having no chance to turn around, retreated to their camp. Here Scipio desisted from the pursuit and encamped in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number. For some time, therefore, he hesitated and did not venture a fight, except some light skirmishes.

[26] When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the deity had appeared to him in the customary way and told him to attack the enemy, and had assured him that it was better to trust in heaven than in the size of his army because his former victories were gained by divine favor rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded

the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead with great swiftness and clamor. Looking up he pointed them out and exclaimed this was a sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one possessed. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardor to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "These signs tell us that we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led them against the enemy, who were not expecting them, giving the command of the horse to Silanus and of the foot to Lælius and Marcius.

[27] Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, when Scipio was coming upon them unawares, being only ten stades distant, and their soldiers not having taken their food, drew up their forces in haste, amid confusion and tumult. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: "Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril." Then those who were near seeing, and those who were distant hearing, what danger he was in, and all being in like manner moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general's safety, charged furiously upon the enemy, uttering loud cries. The Africans were unable to resist this charge. They gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.

[28] After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. After they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the

Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians.

CHAPTER VI

Scipio visits Africa — Other operations in Spain — Destruction of Ilurgia — The Fate of Astapa

(Y.R. 548)

[29] Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from (B.C. 206) Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Lælius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship of the Scipios, and ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. When Scipio heard of this, judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Lælius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person.

[30] When he was approaching the shore the Carthaginian envoys who were still with Syphax sailed out against him with their war-ships, without Syphax's knowledge. But he spread his sails, outran them completely, and reached the harbor. Syphax entertained both parties, but he made an alliance with Scipio privately, and having exchanged pledges sent him away. He also detained the Carthaginians, who were again lying in wait for Scipio, until he was a good distance out to sea. So much danger did Scipio incur both going and returning. It is reported that at a banquet given by Syphax, Scipio reclined on the same couch with Hasdrubal and that the latter questioned him about many things, and was greatly impressed with his gravity, and afterwards said to his friends that Scipio was formidable not only in war but also at a feast.

[31] At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards were still serving under Mago as mercenaries, although their towns had gone over to the Romans. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He corralled 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain he said: "You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your country has

espoused our side. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow you to go unpunished." At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, not unavenged, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno's disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions.

[32] While Mago lay here inert, Silanus was sent by Scipio to receive the submission of the city of Castax. When the inhabitants received him in a hostile manner, he encamped before it, and communicated the fact to Scipio. The latter sent him some siege engines and prepared to follow, but turned aside to attack the town of Ilurgia. This place had been an ally of the Romans in the time of the elder Scipio, but at his death changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to the Roman soldiers who had fled thither supposing it to be friendly, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could.

[33] There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed the light-armed troops and cavalry whom they met. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. Finally the Romans overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the

Astapians, spared the houses.

CHAPTER VII

Mutiny in Scipio's Army — The Mutiny suppressed — Masinissa makes an Alliance with Scipio

[34] After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to revolt to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged others to try and win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to all the soldiers in common, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he was about ready to discharge his debt to them, and telling them to come to New Carthage and get their provisions.

[35] Upon reading these letters, some thought that they were not to be trusted. Others put faith in them. Finally they came to an agreement that all should go to New Carthage together. When they were coming, Scipio enjoined upon those senators who were with him that each one should attach himself to some one of the leaders of the sedition as they came in, as if to admonish him in a friendly way, should then make him his guest, and quietly secure him. He also ordered the military tribunes that each should have his most faithful soldiers in readiness at daylight unobserved, with their swords, and station them at intervals in convenient places about the assembly, and if any tumult should arise, to draw their weapons and kill at once, without waiting for orders. Shortly after daybreak, Scipio was conveyed to the tribunal, and he sent the heralds around to summon the soldiers to the place of meeting. The call was unexpected to them and they were ashamed to keep their sick general waiting. They thought also that they were only called to get their rewards. So they came running together from all sides, some without their swords others dressed only in their tunics, not having had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste.

[36] Scipio, having a guard around himself that was not observed, first accused them of their misdeeds. "Nevertheless," he said, "the blame belongs only to the authors of the conspiracy, whom I will punish with your help." He had scarcely said this when he ordered the lictors to divide the crowd in two parts, and when they had done so the senators dragged the guilty leaders into

the middle of the assembly. When they cried out and called their comrades to their aid, every one who uttered a word was killed by the tribunes. The rest of the crowd, seeing that the assembly was surrounded by armed men, remained in sullen silence. Then Scipio caused the wretches who had been dragged to the middle space to be beaten with rods, those who had cried for help being beaten hardest, after which he ordered that their necks should be fastened to stakes driven in the ground and their heads cut off. The heralds proclaimed pardon to the rest. In this way was the mutiny in Scipio's camp put down.

[37] While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into the territory of Scipio's allies. When Scipio marched against him he made a very stiff fight, and killed some 1200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was desperately in love with the same girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. When Masinissa learned the facts he made an alliance with Scipio. Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned. (Y.R. 549)

[38] From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send prætors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. Scipio left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this was the native place of Trajan and Hadrian, who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honors upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realized in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honor of a triumph. As soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and punished (B.C. 205) with loss of goods and death. The tribes that took sides with

Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio's departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end.

CHAPTER VIII

Cato the Censor — His Victory in Spain — Revolt of the Lusones — The Elder Gracchus in Spain

[39] Subsequently, when the Romans were at war with the Gauls on the Po, and with Philip of Macedon, the Spaniards (Y.R. 557) attempted another revolution, thinking the Romans now too (B.C. 197) distracted to heed them. Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius were sent from Rome as generals against them, and after them Minucius. As the disturbance became greater, (Y.R. 559) Cato was sent in addition, with larger forces. He was still (B.C. 195) a very young man, austere, laborious, and of such solid understanding and superb eloquence that the Romans called him Demosthenes for his speeches, for they learned that Demosthenes had been the greatest orator of Greece.

[40] When Cato arrived in Spain at the place called Emporia, the enemy from all quarters assembled against him to the number of 40,000. He took a short time to discipline his forces. When he was about to fight he sent away the ships which he had brought, to Massilia. Then he told his soldiers that they had not so much to fear from the superior numbers of the enemy (for courage could always overcome numbers), as from their own want of ships, so that there was no safety for them unless they beat the enemy. With these words he had not inspired his army, as would other generals, with hope — but with fear; then he ordered an engagement. But when battle was joined he flew hither and thither exhorting and cheering his troops. When the conflict had continued doubtful till evening and many had fallen on both sides, he ascended a high hill with three cohorts of the reserve, where he could overlook the whole field. When he saw the centre of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a charge and a shout, and here his victory began. He pursued them the whole night, captured their camp, and slew a vast number. Upon his return the soldiers congratulated and embraced him as the author of the victory. After this he gave the army a rest and sold the plunder.

[41] Now envoys came to him from all sides, from whom he required hostages. To each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and he charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the farthest town. The letters commanded the magistrates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the very day they received the order. If there was a day's delay he threatened to sell them into slavery. They, having been lately vanquished in a great battle, and not knowing whether these orders had been sent to them alone or to all, were much perplexed, for if it were to them alone they felt that they were but weak objects of scorn, but if it were to the others also, they feared to be the only ones to delay. Wherefore, as they had no time to send to

each other, and the officers who brought the letters urged them to obey, they decided to do so, each town consulting its own safety. And so they threw down their walls with all speed, for when they had once decided to obey they thought that those who did the work most expeditiously would receive most favor. Thus the towns along the river Iberus in one day, and by one act of generalship, levelled their own walls. Being less able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained longer at peace. (Y.R. 573)

[42] Four Olympiads later, — that is, about the 150th Olympiad, — many Spanish tribes, having insufficient land, including the Lusones and others who dwelt along the river Iberus, revolted from the Roman rule. These being overcome in battle by the consul Fulvius Flaccus, the greater part of them scattered among their towns. The rest, being destitute of land and living a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, and which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that Flaccus should deliver to each of them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for their dead in the late war, (B.C. 181) and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers, he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighboring barbarians on the road. These people wore a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fastened with a clasp after the manner of the military cloak, and they called it the sagum. (Y.R. 575)

[43] Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius (B.C. 179) Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish sagum and secretly mingled with the enemy's foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and passed through it into Caravis and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers fled. About the same time the inhabitants of Complega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus' camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and captured Complega and the surrounding country. Then he divided the land among the poor and settled them on it, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a

splendid triumph.

CHAPTER IX

The Belli and the Titthi — Beginning of the Numantine War — Claudius Marcellus in Spain — Makes an Armistice — Licinius Lucullus succeeds Him—His Infamous Conduct — Scipio Africanus the Younger — Retreat of the Romans

(Y.R. 600)

[44] Some years later another serious war broke out in (B.C. 154) Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Gracchus. It persuaded some of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighboring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed by Gracchus, and ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify existing ones. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always added that they should continue only during the pleasure of the Roman people. (Y.R. 601)

[45] Accordingly the praetor Nobilior was sent against them with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged that the latter would receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 500 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they were passing through. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him and killed (B.C. 153) Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valor, and not less than 6000 others with him. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so.

[46] The Arevaci convened immediately, even in the night, at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here he was joined by 300 horse and ten elephants sent to him

by Masinissa. When he moved against the enemy he placed these animals in the rear where they could not be seen. Then when battle was joined the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior advanced at once against the city walls, where the battle raged fiercely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, scattering and hurling them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are enraged. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

[47] Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon the stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, his master of horse, to secure the alliance of a neighboring tribe and to ask for assistance in the way of cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was returning with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, revolted to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold. (Y.R. 602)

[48] The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was renowned for good fortune in war, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carried off a lot of baggage. When the leaders of the hundred horse arrived according to agreement, and were interrogated about the attack on the rear guard, they replied that this had been done by some of their people

who did not know of the agreement. Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a caduceus, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. (B.C. 152) This petition was opposed by some of the country people who had been incited to war by them.

[49] Marcellus sent ambassadors from each party to Rome to carry on their dispute there. At the same time he sent private letters to the Senate urging peace. He desired that the war should be brought to an end by himself, thinking that he should gain glory thereby. Some of the ambassadors from the friendly faction on coming to the city were treated as guests, but, as was customary, those from the hostile faction lodged outside the walls. The Senate rejected the proposal of peace and took it ill that these people had refused terms to the Romans when they were asked by Nobilior, the predecessor of Marcellus. So they replied that Marcellus would announce the Senate's decision to them. And now for the first time they chose an army for Spain by lot, instead of the customary levy, for since many had complained that they had been treated unjustly by the consuls in the enrolment, while others had been chosen for easy service, it was decided now to choose by lot. The consul Ilicinius Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his lieutenant Cornelius Scipio who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage and of Numantia.

[50] While Lucullus was on the march Marcellus notified the Celtiberians of the coming war, and gave back the hostages in response to their request. Then he sent for the chief of the Celtiberian embassy in Rome and conferred with him privately a long time. From this circumstance it was then suspected, and was strongly confirmed by later events, that he sought to persuade them to put their affairs in his hands, because he tried in every way to bring the war to an end before the arrival of Lucullus. Directly after this conference 5000 of the Arevaci took possession of the city of Nergobriga. Marcellus marched against Numantia, encamped at a distance of five stades from it, and was driving the Numantines inside the walls when their leader Litenno halted and called out that he would like to have a conference with Marcellus. This being granted he said that the Belli, Titthi, and Arevaci would put themselves entirely in his hands. He was delighted to hear this and having demanded (Y.R. 603) and received hostages and money, he let them go (B.C. 151) free. Thus the war with the Belli, the Titthi, and the Arevaci was brought to an end before Lucullus arrived.

[51] Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in

straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vaccæi, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbors of the Arevaci, against whom war had not been declared by the Senate, nor had they ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani whom the Vaccæi had maltreated they retired inside their walls, from which they sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. When battle was joined the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage at first, but when they had expended all their darts they were obliged to fly, not being accustomed to a standing fight, and while forcing their way through the gates about 3000 of them were slain.

[52] The next day the elders of the city came out wearing crowns on their heads and bearing olive-branches, and asked Lucullus what they should do to establish friendly relations. He replied that they must give hostages and 100 talents of silver, and furnish a contingent of horse to the Roman army. When all these demands had been complied with he asked that a Roman garrison should be admitted to the city. When the Caucaei assented to this he brought in 2000 soldiers carefully chosen, to whom he gave orders that when they were admitted they should occupy the walls. When this was (lone Lucullus introduced the rest of his army and ordered them at the sound of the trumpet to kill all the adult males of the Caucaei. The latter, invoking the gods who preside over promises and oaths, and upbraiding the perfidy of the Romans, were cruelly slain, only a few out of 20,000 escaping by leaping down the sheer walls at the gates. Lucullus sacked the city and brought infamy upon the Roman name. The rest of the barbarians collecting together from the fields took refuge among inaccessible rocks or in the most strongly fortified towns, carrying away what they could, and burning what they were obliged to leave, so that Lucullus should not find any plunder.

[53] The latter, having traversed a long stretch of deserted country, came to the city of Intercatia where more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had taken refuge together. Lucullus very foolishly invited them to enter into a treaty. They reproached him with the slaughter of the Caucaei, and asked him whether he invited them to the same kind of a pledge that he had given to that people. He, like all guilty souls, being angry with his accusers instead of reproaching himself, laid waste their fields. Then he drew a line of siege around the city, threw up several mounds, and repeatedly set his forces in order of battle to provoke a fight. The enemy did not respond but fought with projectiles only. There was a certain barbarian distinguished by his splendid armor, who frequently rode into the space between the armies and challenged the Romans to single combat, and when nobody accepted the challenge he jeered at them, made insulting gestures, and went back. After he had done this several times, Scipio, who was still a youth, felt very much aggrieved, and

springing forward accepted the challenge. Fortunately he won the victory over this giant although he was himself a man of small size.

[54] This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were seized with panic. A body of the enemy's horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and the flesh of deer and rabbits boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when a mound was completed so that they could batter the enemy's walls, they knocked down a section and rushed into the city, but they were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where many perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. They had so much confidence in his word that the war was brought to an end on these conditions: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver that Lucullus was after (and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver), he got nothing. Not only did they have none, but these particular Celtiberians did not set any value on those metals.

[55] He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. Put, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. When his food was exhausted Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of a square, and pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Durus. From that place the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccæi, which was waged by Lucullus without the authority of the Roman people, but he was never called to account for it.

CHAPTER X

The Lusitanian War — The Doings of Mummius — Servius Galba — His Infamous Conduct

(Y.R. 599)

[56] At this time another part of autonomous Spain called Lusitania, under Punicus as leader, was ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their prætors (first Manilius and then Calpurnius Piso), killed 6000 Romans and among them Terentius Varro, the quæstor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the Blastophœnicæ, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people (B.C. 155) settlers from Africa, from whence they derived their name. Here Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Cæsar. The latter joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia. (Y.R. 601)

[57] Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled (B.C. 153) them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. While he was watching his opportunity the barbarians passed by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured. He fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. Some of the Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucenus, being incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured their large city, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the straits, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocile. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocile. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty he slew all of them, so that not one was left to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers. The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph. (Y.R. 602)

[58] He was succeeded in the command by Marcus (B.C. 152) Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracæ. This so terrified the neighboring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the

Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, (Y.R. 603) the successor of Atilius, hastened to relieve them. Having (B.C. 151) marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy's ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he received the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

[59] Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccæi without authority, was wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighborhood he sent out some of his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them. He killed 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill and he drew a line of circumvallation around it and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded (Y.R. 604) Lusitania and gradually depopulated it. Galba did (B.C. 150) the same on the other side. When some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the treaty made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, though they had transgressed this treaty, he received them favorably, and made a truce and pretended to sympathize with them because they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break their engagements. "For, of course," said he, "poorness of soil and penury forced you to do these things. If you wish to be friendly, I will give you good land for your poor people and settle them in three divisions, in a fertile country."

[60] Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place where Galba directed. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country until he should assign them their places. Then he came to the first division and told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, they, meanwhile, crying aloud and invoking the names and faith of the gods. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery in a manner unworthy of a Roman, but imitating barbarians. A few escaped, among them Viriathus, who not long afterward became the leader of the Lusitanians and killed many Romans and performed the greatest exploits, which I shall relate hereafter. Galba, being even more greedy than Lucullus, distributed a little of the plunder to the army and a little to his friends and kept the rest himself, although he was already one of the richest of the Romans. Not even in time of peace, they say, did he abstain from lying and perjury in order to get gain. Although generally hated,

and called to account for his rascalities, he escaped punishment by means of his wealth.

CHAPTER XI

*The rise of Viriathus — He defeats Vetilius — Defeats Plautius in Two Battles
— Is defeated by Maximus Æmilianus*

(Y.R. 606)

[61] Not long afterward those who had escaped the villany of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out would fall into the hands of the Romans. Being in these straits they sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was nearly made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them of the bad faith of the Romans, told them how the latter had often set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, (B.C. 148) he said, he would show them a safe retreat from this place.

[62] Excited by the new hopes with which he inspired them, they chose him as their leader. He drew them up in line of battle as though he intended to fight, but gave them orders that when he should mount his horse they should scatter in every direction and make their way by different routes to the city of Tribola and there wait for him. He chose 1000 only whom he commanded to stay with him. These arrangements having been made, they all fled as soon as Viriathus mounted his horse, Vetilius was afraid to pursue those who had scattered in so many different ways, but turning towards Viriathus who was standing there and apparently waiting a chance to attack, joined battle with him. The latter, having very swift horses, harassed the Romans by attacking, then retreating, again standing still and again attacking, and thus consumed the whole of that day and the next dashing around on the same field. As soon as he conjectured that the others had made good their escape, he hastened away in the night by devious paths and arrived at Tribola with his nimble steeds, the Romans not being able to follow him at an equal pace by reason of the weight of their armor, their ignorance of the roads, and the inferiority of their horses. Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reënforcements from different quarters, and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years. (Y.R. 607)

[63] It is my intention here to relate this war with Viriathus, so very harassing to the Romans and so badly managed by them, and to take up hereafter the other events that happened in Spain at the same time. Vetilius pursued him till he came to Tribola. Viriathus, having first laid an ambush in a dense thicket, retreated until Vetilius was passing through the place, when he turned, and those who were in ambush sprang up. On all sides they began killing the Romans, driving them over the cliffs and taking prisoners. Vetilius himself was taken prisoner; and the man who captured him, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he was old and fat, and considering him worthless, killed him. Of the 10,000 Romans, 6000 with difficulty made their way to (B.C. 147) the city of Carpessus on the seashore, which I think was formerly called by the Greeks Tartessus, and was ruled by King Arganthonius, who is said to have lived one hundred and fifty years. The soldiers, who made their escape to Carpessus, were stationed on the walls of the town by the quæstor who accompanied Vetilius, badly demoralized. Having asked and obtained 5000 allies from the Belli and Titthi, he sent them against Viriathus who slew them all, so that there was not one left to tell the tale. After that the quæstor remained quietly in the town waiting for help from Rome. (Y.R. 608)

[64] Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania (B.C. 146) without hinderance, and ravaged it until Caius Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent 4000 men to pursue him but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed them. (Y.R. 609)

[65] When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, the son of Æmilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He obtained additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon his wood-cutters, killed (B.C. 145) many, and struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also and captured a great booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his

forces repeatedly and offered battle. But Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, frequently sending out skirmishing parties, making trial of the enemy's strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry. He had seen his father Paulus do this in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he (Y.R. 610) attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman general to (B.C. 144) put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, one of which he plundered and the other burned. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Bæcor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba. (Y.R. 611)

[66] Now Viriathus, being not so confident as before, detached (B.C. 143) the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war from one of their cities. I shall give an account of this after finishing the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in another part of Spain with Quintus, another Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Venus mountain. From this he sallied and slew 1000 of Quintus' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Itucca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintus was unable to render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him.

CHAPTER XII

War with Viriathus continued — A Treaty with Viriathus — The Treaty is broken by the Romans — D. Junius Brutus — Guerilla Bands coöperate with Viriathus — Viriathus assassinated — Character of Viriathus

(Y.R. 612)

[67] At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, (B.C. 142) the brother of Æmilianus, came to succeed Quintus in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Itucca with his army in divisions, Viriathus attacked him with 6000 troops with great noise and barbaric clamor, and wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Lælius, showed splendid bravery. The Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Itucca.

[68] Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Bæturia and plundered five towns that had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunæi, and thence to Lusitania once more, against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured some booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolcola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Then he went into winter quarters, having already been two years in the command. Having performed these labors, Servilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus. The brother of the former, Maximus Æmilianus,

having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, released him but cut off the hands of all of his men.

[69] While following Viriathus, Servilianus laid siege to Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans among some cliffs from which there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favorable opportunity to bring the war to an end and win the great gratitude of the Romans, he made an agreement with them, and this agreement was ratified at Rome. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman people, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been settled satisfactorily and brought to an end. (Y.R. 614)

[70] The peace was not of long duration, for Cæpio, brother of the Servilianus who had concluded it, and his successor in the command, complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly. By persisting and continually sending letters he procured the breaking of the treaty and a renewal of open hostilities against Viriathus. When war (B.C. 140) was publicly declared Cæpio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and followed Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) as far as Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his. Viriathus deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Cæpio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields. (Y.R. 616)

[71] Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla (B.C. 138) bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Duris, and Bætis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while flying from place to place after the manner of robbers, and yet disgraceful not to do so, and a task not very glorious even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With

this design he began destroying everything that came in his way. Here he found the women fighting and perishing in company with the men with such bravery that they uttered no cry even in the midst of slaughter. Some of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, taking their goods as a fine. (Y.R. 617)

[72] He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and taking hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They were a very warlike people, the women bearing arms with the men, who fought never turning, never (B.C. 137) showing their backs, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus and soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to subjection again.

[73] One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed these orders, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he ceased his reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general resources, he gave them back their town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him. (Y.R. 614)

[74] Viriathus sent his most trusted friends Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus to Cæpio to negotiate terms of peace. The latter bribed them by large gifts and promises to assassinate Viriathus, which they did in this way. Viriathus, on account of his excessive cares and labors, slept but little, and for the most part took rest in his armor so that when aroused he should be prepared for every emergency. For this reason it was permitted to his friends to visit him by night. Taking advantage of this custom, those who were associated with Audax in guarding him entered his tent as if on pressing business, just as he had fallen asleep, and killed him by stabbing him in the throat, which was the only part of his body not protected by armor. The nature of the wound was such that nobody suspected what had been done. The murderers fled to Cæpio and asked for the rest of their pay. For the present he gave them permission to

enjoy safely (B.C. 140) what they had already received; as for the rest of their demands he referred them to Rome. When daylight came the attendants of Viriathus and the remainder of the army thought he was still resting and wondered at his unusually long repose, until some of them discovered that he was lying dead in his armor. Straightway there was grief and lamentation throughout the camp, all of them mourning for him, fearing for their own safety, thinking what dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. Most of all were they grieved that they could not find the perpetrators of the crime.

[75] They arrayed the body of Viriathus in splendid garments and burned it on a lofty funeral pile. Many sacrifices were offered for him. Troops of horse and foot in armor marched around him singing his praises in barbarian fashion. Nor did they depart from the funeral pile until the fire had gone out. When the obsequies were ended, they had gladiatorial contests at his tomb. So great was the longing for Viriathus after his death — a man who had the highest qualities of a commander as reckoned among barbarians, always foremost in facing danger and most exact in dividing the spoils. He never consented to take the lion's share, even when friends begged him to, but whatever he got he divided among the bravest. Thus it came about (a most difficult task and one never before achieved by any other commander so easily) that in the eight years of this war, in an army composed of various tribes, there never was any sedition, the soldiers were always obedient and fearless in the presence of danger. After his death they chose a general named Tantalus and made an expedition against Saguntum, the city which Hannibal had overthrown and reestablished and named New Carthage, after his own country. When they had been repulsed from that place and were crossing the river Bætis, Cæpio pressed them so hard that Tantalus became exhausted and surrendered his army to Cæpio on condition that they should be treated as subjects. The latter took from them all their arms and gave them sufficient land, so that they should not be driven to robbery by want. In this way the Viriathic war came to an end.

CHAPTER XIII

The Numantine War — Pompeius Aulus lays Siege to Numantia — Makes a Treaty with the Numantines — The Senate repudiates it — Mancinus makes a Fresh Treaty — Æmilius Lepidus makes War Contrary to Orders of the Senate — The Senate repudiates the Treaty of Mancinus

(Y.R. 611)

[76] Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci (B.C. 143) and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Cæcilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them suddenly while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The Numantines were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, there being about 8000 altogether. Although small in numbers, yet they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. When he returned he drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades. (Y.R. 613)

[77] When he saw his forces wasted day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. Here he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night (B.C. 141) under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedatania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away. (Y.R. 614)

[78] Pompeius, coming back to the siege of Numantia, endeavored to turn the course of a certain river in order to reduce the city by famine. The inhabitants harassed him while he was doing this work. They rushed out in crowds without giving any signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and hurled darts at those who came to their assistance from the camp, and finally shut the Romans up in their own fortification. They also attacked the foragers and killed many, and among them Oppius, a military tribune. They made an assault in another quarter on a party of Romans who were digging a ditch, and killed about 400 of them including their leader. About this time certain counsellors came to Pompeius from Rome, together with an army of new recruits, still raw and undisciplined, to take the places of the soldiers who had served their six years. Pompeius, being put to shame by so many disasters, and desiring to wipe out the disgrace, remained in camp in the winter time with these raw recruits. The soldiers, being exposed to severe cold without shelter, and unaccustomed to the water and climate of the country, fell sick with dysentery and many died. A detachment having gone out for forage, the Numantines laid an ambush near the Roman camp and provoked them to a skirmish. The latter, not enduring the affront, sallied out against them. Then those who were in ambush sprang up, and many of the common soldiers and many of the nobility lost their lives. Finally the Numantines encountered the foraging (B.C. 140) party on its return and killed many of those also.

[79] Pompeius, being cast down by so many misfortunes, marched away with his senatorial council to the towns to spend the rest of the winter, expecting a successor to come early in the spring. Fearing lest he should be called to account, he made overtures to the Numantines secretly for the purpose of bringing the war to an end. The Numantines themselves, being exhausted by the slaughter of so many of their bravest men, by the loss of their crops, by want of food, and by the length of the war, which had been protracted beyond expectation, sent legates to Pompeius. He publicly advised them to surrender at discretion, because no other kind of treaty seemed worthy of the dignity of the Roman people, but privately he told them what terms he should impose. When they had come to an agreement and the Numantines had given themselves up, he demanded and received from them hostages, together with the prisoners and deserters. He also demanded thirty talents of silver, a part of which they paid down and the rest he agreed to wait for. His successor, (Y.R. 615) Marcus Popillius Læna, had arrived when they brought the (B.C. 139) last instalment. Pompeius being no longer under any apprehension concerning the war, since his successor was present, and knowing that he had made a disgraceful peace and without authority from Rome, began to deny that he had come to any understanding with the Numantines. The latter proved the contrary by witnesses who had taken part in the transaction, senators, and his own prefects of horse and military tribunes. Popillius sent them to Rome to carry on the controversy with Pompeius there. The case was brought before

the Senate, and the Numantines and Pompeius debated it there. The Senate decided to continue the war. Thereupon Popillius attacked the Lusones who were neighbors of the Numantines, but he accomplished nothing, and on the arrival of his successor in office, Hostilius Mancinus, he returned to Rome. (Y.R. 617)

[80] Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumor that the Cantabri and Vaccæi were coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and fled in the darkness of night to a desert place where Nobilior once had a (B.C. 137) camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to terms like those previously made between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. When these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Æmilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. The Numantine ambassadors followed him thither. Æmilius becoming tired of idleness while awaiting the decision from Rome (for some men sought the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honor of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccæi of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his brother-in-law, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking. (Y.R. 618)

[81] Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Cæcilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Æmilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccæi. But he, having actually begun the war, considered that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was coöperating with him, and that the Vaccæi had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Accordingly he made answer that it would be dangerous to abandon the war, since nearly all Spain would rebel if they should imagine that the Romans were afraid. He sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and he wrote in this sense to the Senate. After this he began, in a fortified place, to construct engines and collect provisions. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambushade but he saved himself by a trick. He cunningly spread a rumor among his men that Æmilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this (B.C. 136) way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

[82] The siege of Pallantia was long protracted, the food supply of the

Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Æmilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time. Being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left behind everything, and even the sick and wounded, who clung to them and besought them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and confused and much like a flight, the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, worn with toil and hunger, threw themselves on the ground by companies just as it happened, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Æmilius.

[83] When these things were known at Rome, Æmilius was deprived of his command and consulship, and when he returned to Rome as a private citizen he was fined besides. The dispute before the Senate between Mancinus and the Numantine ambassadors was still going on. The latter exhibited the treaty they had made with Mancinus; he, on the other hand, put the blame on Pompeius, his predecessor in the command, who had turned over to him a worthless and ill-provided army, with which Pompeius himself had often been beaten, and so had made a similar treaty with the Numantines. He added that the war had been under bad omens, for it had been decreed by the Romans in violation of these agreements. The senators were equally incensed against both, but Pompeius escaped because he had been tried for this offence long before. They decided to deliver Mancinus to the Numantines for making a disgraceful treaty without their authorization. In this they followed the example of the fathers, who once delivered to the Samnites twenty generals who had made similar treaties without authority. Mancinus was taken to Spain by Furius, and delivered naked to the Numantines, but they ^(Y.R. 619) refused to receive him. Calpurnius Piso was chosen general ^(B.C. 135) against them, but he did not march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania.

CHAPTER XIV

Scipio Africanus the Younger sent against the Numantines — He restores Discipline in the Army — Scipio's Maxims of War — Skirmishes with the Numantines

(Y.R. 620)

[84] The Roman people being tired of this Numantine (B.C. 134) war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reënact it for the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army by levy because the city was exhausted by so many wars, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain. With the Senate's consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline.

[85] When he arrived he expelled all traders and harlots; also the soothsayers and diviners, whom the soldiers were continually consulting because they were demoralized by defeat. For the future he forbade the bringing in of anything not necessary, or any victims for purposes of divination. He ordered all wagons and their superfluous contents to be sold, and all pack animals, except such as he designated, to remain. For cooking utensils it was permitted to have only a spit, a brass kettle, and one cup. Their food was limited to plain boiled and roasted meats. They were forbidden to have beds, and Scipio was the first one to sleep on straw. He forbade them to ride on mules when on the march; "for what can you expect in a war," said he, "from a man who is not able to walk?" Those who had servants to bathe and anoint them were ridiculed by Scipio, who said that only mules, having no hands, needed others to rub them. Thus in a short time he brought them back to good order. He accustomed them also to respect and fear himself by being difficult of access and sparing of favors, especially favors contrary to regulations. He often said that those generals who were severe and strict in the observance of law were serviceable to their own men, while those who were easy-going and bountiful were useful only to the enemy. The soldiers of the latter, he said, might be

joyous but insubordinate, while the others, although downcast, would be obedient and ready for all emergencies.

[86] He did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the neighboring plains, and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of squares, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he had come to the end of the day's march he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed the time within which these tasks must be finished, and kept an accurate account thereof.

[87] When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labor, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, because he did not wish to divide his army as yet, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who had so long despised the Romans. Nor did he proceed at once to attack the enemy because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching his opportunity, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the unripe grain. When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, and a short road to Numantia was found across the country which many advised him to take, he said: "What I am afraid of is the coming back. Our enemies are very nimble. They can dart out of the city and dart back again, while our men, like soldiers who return from foraging, will be tired out with the booty, the wagons, and the burdens they bring. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. Then he made some excursions beyond the camp and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccæi, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it.

[88] In a part of Pallantia called Complanio the Pallantians had concealed a

large force just below the brow of a hill while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives. When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Straightway Scipio, seeing that Rufus had exceeded his orders, and fearing for his safety, followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford by reason of its muddy banks, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer, and where there was no water supply. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst.

[89] While passing through the territory of the *Caucæi*, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighboring country, the enemy laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards outside, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who began a desperate fight. Scipio, who happened to be standing in front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. The greater part of those who were in the village rushed out and put the enemy to flight. He did not pursue the fugitives, however, but returned to the camp, a few having fallen on each side.

CHAPTER XV

Builds a Wall around the City — Stops Communication by the River Numantia Closely Invested — The Exploit of Rhetogenes — Negotiations with Scipio — Numantia surrenders — Heroism of the Numantines — Scipio razes Numantia to the Ground

(Y.R. 612)

[90] Not long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one while he commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven towers around the city, he began the siege and wrote letters to each of the allied tribes, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided them into several parts and afterwards subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was carefully allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should make a sally anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he or Maximus might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole (Y.R. 621) of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible (B.C. 133) to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

[91] Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. However, the river Durius, which took its course through the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving and others concealing themselves in small boats, some making their way with sail-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built two towers in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, which were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired,

namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind.

[92] When everything was ready and the catapults, ballistæ, and other engines were placed on the towers, the stones, darts, and javelins collected on the parapets, and the archers and slingers in their places, he stationed messengers at frequent intervals along the entire wall to pass the word from one to another by day or night to let him know what was taking place. He gave orders to each tower that in any emergency the one that was first attacked should hoist a signal and that the others when they saw it should do the same, in order that he might be advised of the commotion quickly by signal, and learn the particulars afterward by messengers. The army, together with the native forces, now numbering some 60,000 men, he arranged so that one-half should guard the wall and in case of necessity go to any place where they should be wanted, 20,000 were to fight from the top of the wall when necessary, and the remaining 10,000 were kept in reserve. Each division had its place assigned, and it was not permitted to any to change without orders. Each man was to spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio.

[93] The Numantines made several attacks here and there upon those guarding the walls. Swift and terrible was the appearance of the defenders, the signals being everywhere hoisted, the messengers running, the defenders of the walls springing to their places in crowds, and the trumpets sounding on every tower, so that the whole circuit of fifty stades presented to all beholders a most formidable aspect. This circuit Scipio traversed each day and night for the purpose of inspection. He was convinced that the enemy thus enclosed, and unable to obtain food, arms, or succor from without, could not hold out very long.

[94] In the meantime Rhetogenes, a Numantine, surnamed Caraunius, a man of the greatest valor, induced five of his friends to take an equal number of servants and horses, and cross the space between the two armies secretly, on a cloudy night, carrying a bridge made in sections. Arriving at the wall he and his friends sprang upon it, slew the guards on either side, sent back the servants, drew the horses up the bridge, and rode off to the towns of the Arevaci, bearing olive-branches and entreating them, as blood relations, to help the Numantines. The chiefs of the Arevaci, fearing the Romans, would not even listen to them, but sent them away immediately. There was a rich town named Lutia, distant 300 stades from Numantia, whose young men sympathized with the Numantines and urged their city to send them aid. The older citizens secretly communicated this fact to Scipio. Receiving this intelligence about the eighth hour, he marched thither at once with a numerous and well-equipped force. Surrounding the place about daylight, he demanded that the leaders of the young men should be delivered up to him. When the citizens replied that they had fled from the place, he sent a herald to tell them

that if these men were not surrendered to him he would sack the city. Being terrified by this threat, they delivered them up, to the number of about 400. Scipio cut off their hands, withdrew his force, rode away, and was back in his own camp the next morning.

[95] The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the prestige and bravery of the Numantines, and said that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Wherefore, O Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, as a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and honorable race and to extend to us terms dictated by humanity, which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city on fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings, and perhaps thinking that they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio.

[96] Soon after this, all their eatables being consumed, having neither grain, nor flocks, nor grass, they began, as is frequently necessary in wars, to lick boiled hides. When these also failed, they boiled and ate the bodies of human beings, first of those who had died a natural death, chopping them in small bits for cooking. Afterwards being nauseated by the flesh of the sick, the stronger laid violent hands upon the weaker. No form of misery was absent. They were rendered savage in mind by their food, and their bodies were reduced to the semblance of wild beasts by famine, plague, long hair, and neglect. In this condition they surrendered themselves to Scipio. He commanded them the same day to bring their arms to a place designated by him, and on the following day to assemble at another place. But they put off the day, declaring that many of them still clung to liberty and desired to take their own lives. Wherefore they asked for a day to arrange for death.

[97] Such was the love of liberty and of valor which existed in this small barbarian town. With only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! How many treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that

invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured. Reflecting upon their small numbers and great sufferings, their valiant deeds and long endurance, it has occurred to me to narrate these particulars of the Numantine history. Many, directly after the surrender, killed themselves in whatever way they chose, some in one way and some in another. The remainder congregated on the third day at the appointed place, a strange and shocking spectacle. Their bodies were foul, their hair and nails long, and they were smeared with dirt. They smelt most horribly, and the clothes they wore were likewise squalid and emitted an equally foul odor. For these reasons they appeared pitiable even to their enemies. At the same time there was something fearful to the beholders in the expression of their eyes — an expression of anger, grief, toil, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh.

[98] Having reserved fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities, — Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness, its power, and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed the latter either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was in a violent rage against the captives, or, as some think, in order to acquire the glory of two surnames from two great calamities. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbors and transacted certain business in the other cities, threatening or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home.

CHAPTER XVI

Later History — Infamous Behavior of Didius — Sertorius in Spain

[99] The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. (Y.R. 642) At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, (B.C. 112) Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates who endeavored to settle affairs without war as far as they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed Termesum, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from a place of security into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. (Y.R. 656) He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it nine (B.C. 98) months after he had invested it, and sold the inhabitants with their wives and children.

[100] There was another city near Colenda inhabited by mixed tribes of Celtiberians who had been the allies of Marcus Marius in a war against the Lusitanians, and whom he had settled there five years before with the approval of the Senate. They were living by robbery on account of their poverty. Didius, with the concurrence of the ten legates who were still present, resolved to destroy them. Accordingly, he told their principal men that he would allot the land of Colenda to them because they were poor. Finding them very much pleased with this offer, he told them to communicate it to their people, and to come with their wives and children to the parcelling out of the land. When they had done so he ordered his soldiers to vacate their camp, and these people, whom he wanted to ensnare, to go inside, so that he might make a list of their names, the men on one register and the women and children on another, in order to know how much land should be set apart for them. When they had gone inside the ditch and palisade, Didius surrounded them with his army and killed them all, and for this he was honored with a triumph. At a later period, the Celtiberians having revolted again, Flaccus was sent against them and slew 20,000. The people of the town of Belgida were eager for revolt, and when their senate hesitated they set fire to the senate-house and burned the senators. When Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death.

[101] These are the events which I have found most worthy of mention in the relations of the Romans with the (Y.R. 672) Spaniards until that time. At a later period, when the (B.C. 82) dissensions of Sulla and Cinna arose in Rome, and the country was torn with civil wars and hostile camps, Quintus Sertorius, one of Cinna's party, who had been chosen to the command in Spain, stirred up that

country against the Romans. He raised a large army, created a senate of his own friends after the manner of the Roman Senate, and marched towards Rome full of confidence and high courage, for he had been renowned for valor elsewhere. The Senate in great alarm sent against him their most famous generals, first Cæcilius Metellus with a large army, and then Pompey with another army, in order to repel if possible this war from Italy, which was terribly distracted with (Y.R. 682) civil strife. But Sertorius was murdered by Perpenna, one (B.C. 72) of his own partisans, who proclaimed himself general of the faction in place of Sertorius. Pompey slew Perpenna in battle, and so this war, which had greatly alarmed the Romans, came to an end; but I shall speak of this more particularly in my account of the civil wars of Sulla. (Y.R. 693)

[102] After the death of Sulla, Gaius Cæsar was sent as prætor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he (B.C. 61) brought under subjection by force and arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son Octavius, (Y.R. 729) surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that (B.C. 25) the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a prætor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate, and the third appointed by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

CHAPTER I

Hamilcar Barca — Hannibal in Spain — Hannibal marches over the Alps

WHAT Hannibal the Carthaginian did to, and suffered from, the Romans during the sixteen years that he persisted in war against them, from his first march from Spain to Italy until he was recalled by the Carthaginians (their own city being in danger), and was then driven out by the Romans, this book will show. What Hannibal's real reasons for that invasion were, as well as his public pretext, have been very clearly set forth in my Spanish history, yet I shall mention them here by way of reminder.

[2] Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before he had settled his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favor of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favor of the multitude so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory and great glory he inspired the Carthaginians with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, and persuaded them that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they should not cross the river Iberus (Ebro), and a treaty to this effect was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death. (Y.R. 534)

[3] After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as (B.C. 220) the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal's wife, a very young man whose early years had been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. The enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage continued to persecute the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth. The latter, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country's fears, began to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, as was the fact, that a war between the

Romans and Carthaginians once begun would last a long time, and that the undertaking would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross (Y.R. 535) the Iberus in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext he procured (B.C. 219) certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Iberus and destroyed the city of Saguntum with its inhabitants. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken. (Y.R. 536)

[4] What Hannibal himself and what the other Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large (B.C. 218) army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees mountains into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road through or over them (for they were exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless marched boldly forward, but suffered great losses. The snow and ice being heaped high in front, he cut down and burned wood, quenched the ashes with water and vinegar, and thus rendering the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance until he was actually in Italy. Scarcely six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses of men, he descended from the mountains to the plain.

CHAPTER II

*Battle of Ticinus — Battle of Trebia — Battle of Lake Thrasimenus —
Hannibal destroys the Detachment of Centenius — Fabius Maximus chosen
Dictator*

[5] After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Padus [Po], where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he left his brother, Gnæus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence with such allies as he could collect, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, as they had no right to command when a consul was on the ground, and taking their forces drew them up for battle with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. The next night they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po and then breaking down the bridge. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river.

[6] These exploits, one after another, following his passage of the Alps, exalted Hannibal's fame among the Cisalpine Gauls as an invincible commander and one most highly favored by fortune. In order to increase the admiration of those barbarians, who were easily deceived, he frequently changed his clothes and his hair, using carefully prepared devices each time. When the Gauls saw him moving among their people now an old man, then a young man, and again a middle-aged man, and continually changing from one to the other, they were astonished and thought that he partook of the divine nature. Sempronius, the other consul, being then in Sicily and learning what had happened, embarked his forces, came to Scipio's aid, and encamped at a distance of forty stades from him. The following day they all made ready for battle. The river Trebia separated the hostile armies, which the Romans crossed before daylight on a raw, sleety morning of the spring equinox, wading in the water up to their breasts. Hannibal allowed his army to rest till the second hour and then marched out.

[7] The order of battle on each side was as follows. The Roman cavalry were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot-soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans, terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-

soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes, and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy's infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to attack the Roman flank. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many foot-soldiers were cut off by the enemy's horse and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armor. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia which Hannibal laid siege to, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po.

[8] When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also), and some to Sicily. The greater part were despatched against Hannibal under Cn. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po where he received the command from Scipio. The latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, (Y.R. 537) it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains (B.C. 217) and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

[9] Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced toward Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, 8000 of those who remained were brought together, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the

Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal's movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had been wafted into power on a popular breeze), he hastened to engage with Hannibal.

[10] The latter, well aware of his rashness and inexperience, moved forward and took a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenus] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy's camp in the early morning, delayed a little to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labor. Caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy (for the ambush suddenly appeared everywhere), he lost his own life, and 20,000 men were slain with him. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal's lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased. When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. He kept all the Romans as prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. When this news reached the consul Servilius on the Po, he marched to Etruria with 40,000 men. Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned.

[11] When Hannibal saw the Plestine marsh and the mountain overhanging it, and Centenius between them guarding the passage, he inquired of the guides whether there was any way around. When they said there was no path but that the whole region was rugged and precipitous, he, nevertheless, sent a body of light-armed troops, under the command of Maharbal, to explore the district and pass around the mountain by night. When he judged that they had reached their destination he attacked Centenius in front. While the engagement was in progress, Maharbal was seen pushing forward strenuously on the summit above, where he raised a shout. The Romans thus surrounded took to flight, and there was a great slaughter among them, 3000 being killed and 800 taken prisoners. The remainder escaped with difficulty. When this news reached the city they feared lest Hannibal should march against them at once. They collected stones upon the walls, and the old men armed themselves. Being in want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus being selected.

CHAPTER III

The Policy of Fabius Maximus — Rashness of Minucius Rufus — Hannibal caught in a Trap — His Escape from Fabius — Carthage refuses to send Reënforcements to Hannibal — The New Consuls — Their Disagreement

[12] But divine Providence turned Hannibal away toward the Adriatic, where he ravaged the sea-coast and gathered vast plunder. The consul Servilius, marching parallel with him, came to Ariminum, being distant from Hannibal by one day's march. He retained his army there in order to hearten those Gauls who were still friendly to Rome. When Fabius Maximus, the dictator, arrived, he sent to Rome Servilius, who could be no longer either consul or general after a dictator had been chosen. Fabius followed Hannibal closely, but did not come to an engagement with him, although often challenged. He kept careful watch on his enemy's movements, and lay near him and prevented him from besieging any town. After the country was exhausted Hannibal began to be short of provisions. So he traversed it again, drawing his army up each day and offering battle. Fabius would not come to an engagement, although his master of horse, Minucius Rufus, disapproved of his policy, and wrote to his friends in Rome that Fabius held back on account of cowardice. As Fabius had occasion to go to Rome to perform certain sacrifices, the command of the army fell to Minucius, and he had a sort of a fight with Hannibal, and as he thought he had the best of it he grew bolder and wrote to the Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win a victory; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him.

[13] They accordingly divided the army and encamped near each other; and each held to his own opinion, Fabius seeking to exhaust Hannibal by the lapse of time and meanwhile to receive no damage from him, while Minucius was eager for a decisive fight. Shortly afterward Minucius joined battle, and Fabius looked on to see what would happen, holding his own forces well in hand. In this way he was enabled to receive Minucius when he was beaten, and to drive Hannibal's men back from the pursuit. Thus did Fabius save Minucius from a great disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognizing his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time for a skilful captain to fight is when it is necessary. This maxim, at a later time, was often brought to mind by Augustus, who was slow to fight and preferred to win by art rather than by valor. Fabius continued to watch Hannibal as before and prevented him from ravaging the country, not coming to an engagement with his whole army but merely cutting off stragglers, well knowing that Hannibal would soon be short of supplies.

[14] They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was

ignorant. Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, keeping the remainder of his force at the other extremity where he encamped on a strong hill. When Hannibal discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but all the country round about was rugged and precipitous. He could not hope to overcome Fabius or those defending the pass, on account of the difficulties of the ground. In this desperate situation he put to death his 5000 prisoners lest they should add a new tumult to the danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran furiously up the mountain side, and if any of them fell down they would get up and run on again.

[15] The Romans on either side when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened away to the place where they saw the lights, in order to catch Hannibal there in difficulties. The latter, when he discovered that the pass was deserted, advanced with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately relighted the fires. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived. The remainder of Hannibal's army and those who drove the cattle now advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal succeed beyond expectation and rescue his army from danger. Thence he advanced to Geronia, a city of Apulia, which was well stored with provisions. This town he captured, and here went into winter quarters in the midst of abundance.

[16] Fabius, pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. The six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans now expired, and the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their offices and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans in which the latter were generally successful, and showed to the better advantage. Hannibal was all the time writing exultingly to the Carthaginians about the events of the war, but now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, he asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who had jeered at all

of his doings, replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it home to their own people. The Carthaginians followed their suggestion and sent neither soldiers nor money. Hannibal, lamenting this short-sighted policy, wrote to his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, telling him to make an incursion into Italy at the beginning of summer with what men and money he could raise, and ravage the other extremity so that the whole country might be wasted at once and the Romans exhausted by the double encounter. Such was the situation of Hannibal's affairs.

[17] The Romans, distressed by the magnitude of the disasters to Flaminius and Centenius, and considering such a succession of surprising defeats unworthy of their dignity, and that a war within their own territory was not to be tolerated, and furious against Hannibal, levied four new (Y.R. 538) legions in the city to serve against him, and hurried the (B.C. 216) allied forces from all quarters to Apulia. As consuls they chose Lucius Æmilius, who had acquired military fame in the war against the Illyrians, and Terentius Varro, a demagogue who had won popular favor by the usual high-sounding promises. When they sent the consuls forward they begged them as they were leaving the city to end the war by battle, and not to exhaust the city by delay, by conscriptions, by taxes, and by hunger and idleness due to the devastation of the fields. The consuls on taking command of the army in Apulia had altogether 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, and they encamped near a village called Cannæ. Hannibal's camp was near by. Hannibal, who was always ready to fight and impatient of idleness, was especially so now because he was troubled lest his supplies should fail, for which reason he continually offered battle. He feared also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he challenged the enemy daily.

[18] The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Æmilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general so skilled in war and an army so accustomed to victory. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, that they should bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, alone sustained the opinion of Æmilius. All the senators and the so-called knights who held offices in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and he pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Æmilius even then forbade the movement, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens alone, according to the Roman custom, and sent word to Varro, just as he was

starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the whole crowd shared his anger.

CHAPTER IV

Preparations for Battle — Battle of Cannæ — Total Defeat of the Romans — Roman Losses — Hannibal's Strategy

[19] Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forth-with to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of senators, centurions, and tribunes that Æmilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy toward himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent listened to him and joined in the censure of Æmilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day he himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that title. Hannibal perceived the movement but he did not come out of his camp because he was not quite ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Æmilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

[20] Hannibal had previously observed that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly about noon. So he chose the ground where he should have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. With them were placed 500 Celtiberians who had, in addition to the long swords at their belts, short daggers under their garments. These they were not to use till he himself gave the signal. He divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Æmilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse and Maharbal had 1000, who were ordered to move about and give assistance wherever they saw any part of the army in difficulties. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner.

[21] When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to

remember their parents, wives, and children, and to wipe out the disgrace of former defeats. They were admonished that this battle was the last hope of safety. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and light-armed troops advanced and began the battle. After them the legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side contending valiantly. Presently Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received the shock without flinching and without fear.

[22] When Hannibal saw that his manoeuvre had failed, he gave the signal to his 500 Celtiberians. These passing out of their own line of battle went over to the Romans, holding out their shields, spears, and swords in the manner of deserters. Servilius commended them and at once took possession of their arms and stationed them in the rear, in their tunics alone as he supposed, for he did not think it best to put deserters in chains in the sight of the enemy, nor did he have any suspicion of men whom he saw with nothing but their tunics, nor was there time to take counsel in the thick of the fray. Now some of the African cohorts made a pretence of flight toward the mountains, uttering loud cries. This was the signal to those concealed in the ravines to fall upon the pursuers. Straightway the light-armed troops and cavalry that had been placed in ambush showed themselves, and simultaneously a strong and blinding wind rose carrying dust into the eyes of the Romans, which prevented them from seeing their enemies. The impetus of the Roman missiles was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy's was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy's weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds.

[23] At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the expected opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made a greater onslaught against the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished all the greater slaughter inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. Now were the Romans in great and various trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon the latter on account of the pressure of the enemy in front and because it was not easy to distinguish these assailants, for they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented

them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, the ambuscades more dreadful, and the 500 more numerous than 500. In short, they imagined that their whole army was surrounded by hostile cavalry and deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Æmilius. Around these the bravest of the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about 10,000.

[24] The generals and all the others who had horses, although surrounded by Hannibal's cavalry, dismounted and fought on foot. They charged the enemy with fury and performed many brilliant exploits, the fruit of military experience, being nerved by the energy of despair. But they fell on all sides, and Hannibal, darting hither and thither, encouraged his soldiers, now exhorting them to make their victory complete, now rebuking and reproaching them because, after they had scattered the main body of the enemy, they could not overcome the small remainder. As long as Æmilius and Servilius survived the Romans stood firm, although giving and receiving many wounds, but when their generals fell they forced their way through the midst of their enemies most bravely, and escaped in various directions. Some took refuge in the two camps where others had preceded them in flight. These were altogether about 15,000, whom Hannibal straightway besieged. Others, to the number of about 2000, took refuge in Cannæ, and these surrendered to Hannibal. A few escaped to Canusium. The remainder were dispersed in groups through the woods.

[25] Such was the result of the battle between Hannibal and the Romans at Cannæ, which was begun after the second hour of the day and ended within two hours of night-fall, and which is still famous among the Romans as a disaster, for in these few hours 50,000 of their soldiers were slain and a great many taken prisoners. Many senators who were present lost their lives and with them all the military tribunes and centurions, and their two best generals. The most worthless one, who was the cause of the calamity, had made good his escape at the beginning of the rout. The Romans, in their two years' war with Hannibal in Italy, had now lost, of their own and their allied forces, about 100,000 men.

[26] Hannibal gained this rare and splendid victory by employing four stratagems in one day: by the force of the wind, by the feigned desertion of the Celtiberians, by the pretended flight, and by the ambuscades in the ravines. Immediately after the battle he went to view the dead. When he saw the bravest of his friends lying among the slain he lifted up his voice and wept, saying that he did not want another such victory. It is said that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made the same exclamation aforetime, when he too gained a victory over the Romans in Italy, with like loss to himself. Some of those who escaped from the battle and who had taken refuge in the larger camp and in

the evening had chosen Publius Sempronius as their general, forced a passage through Hannibal's guards, who were exhausted by weariness and want of sleep. These men, to the number of about 10,000, made their way to Canusium about midnight. But the 5000 in the smaller camp were captured by Hannibal the following day. Varro, having collected the remains of the army and sought to revive their fainting spirits, put them under the command of Scipio, one of the military tribunes, and himself hastened to Rome.

CHAPTER V

Consternation in Rome — Senate refuses to ransom the Prisoners — Siege and Capture of Petilia — Dasius of Arpi

[27] When the disaster was announced in the city, multitudes thronged the streets uttering lamentations for their relatives, calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as soon to fall into the enemy's hands. Women went to the temples with their children and prayed that there might sometime be an end to the calamities to the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with the punishment already visited. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present posture of affairs. They freed 8000 slaves with their masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also made a conscription, as was allowed, even among certain of the allies. They also changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many others as he could collect of citizens and allies, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, and marched to Teanum in order to see what Hannibal would do next.

[28] Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, from whom Hannibal exacted an oath that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the Senate to allow them to do so, and the people joined them with their own prayers and tears. Some of the senators thought it was not wise, after such great calamities, to expose the city to the loss of so many more men, or to disdain free men while giving liberty to slaves. Others thought that it was not fitting to accustom men to flight by compassion, but rather to teach them to conquer or die, as would be the case if not even his relative should pity the runaway. Many precedents having been adduced on either side, the Senate finally decided that the prisoners should not be ransomed by their relatives, being of opinion that while so many dangers were still impending present clemency would tend to future harm, while severity, although painful, would be for the public advantage hereafter, and indeed at this very time would startle Hannibal by the very boldness of their action. Accordingly Sempronius and the two prisoners who accompanied him returned to Hannibal. The latter in his anger sold some of his prisoners, put others to death, and made a bridge of

their bodies with which he passed over a stream. The senators and other distinguished prisoners in his hands he compelled to fight with each other, as a spectacle for the Africans, fathers against sons, and brothers against brothers. He omitted no act of disdainful cruelty.

[29] Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performing many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the women were in no wise inferior to the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering the dead better off than the living, for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after performing many splendid acts of bravery, being nearly starved and completely exhausted, they were unable to return and were all slain by the Africans. Thus Hanno possessed himself of the town. But yet a few escaped, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, being moved by kind feeling toward them and admiration for their exceptional fidelity. (Y.R. 539)

[30] As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with (B.C. 215) Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to contend against the others. These when encamped near Hannibal mingled with their fellow-countrymen and won them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as they were under suspicion by him and he by them. Hannibal's affairs began to decline from this circumstance. (Y.R. 541)

[31] There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, said to have been a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such descent, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannæ drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal's power began to wane he rode secretly to (B.C. 213) Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by a portion of the inhabitants to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, he

established a Roman garrison in the city.

CHAPTER VI

The Capture of Tarentum — The Citadel holds out — Hannibal captures Thurii — Also Metapontum and Heraclea — The Romans besiege Capua — Hannibal marches to Rome — Consternation in the City — Flaccus follows Hannibal

(Y.R. 542)

[32] Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, (B.C. 212) was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the prefect of the guard, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring back his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night. He made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town; others he ordered to follow himself at no great distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breastplates and swords underneath. He came by night, a wild boar being carried in front of them on poles. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind made a sudden dash upon the other guards, those from the thicket were admitted, and the gates were opened to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines he laid siege to the citadel, which was held by a Roman garrison. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus.

[33] The Romans who held the citadel were about 5000 in number, and some of the Tarentines came to their aid. The prefect of the guard at Metapontum joined them with half of his force, bringing an abundance of missiles and engines with which they expected to drive Hannibal easily back from the walls. But Hannibal had a plentiful supply of these things also. Accordingly he brought up towers, catapults, and tortoises with which he shook some of the walls, pulled off the parapets with hooks attached to ropes, and laid bare the defences. The garrison hurled stones down upon the engines and broke many of them, turned aside the hooks with slip-knots, and making frequent and sudden sallies always threw the besiegers into confusion and returned after killing many. One day when they noticed that the wind was violent some of the Romans threw down firebrands, flax, and pitch upon the engines, while others darted out and put fire under them. Hannibal, despairing of his attempt, threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then turning the siege over to Hanno he advanced into Apulia.

[34] The port of Tarentum looked toward the north and gave entrance through a narrow passage to those sailing in from the sea. The passage was

now closed by bridges which were under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they obtained provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbor to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they worried the Roman garrison who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. The Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the men that brought it. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate for the release of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavoring to help the Romans in Tarentum, unexpectedly fell into the power of the Carthaginians. The Roman garrison in Thurii escaped secretly by sea to Brundisium. (Y.R. 543)

[35] The Metapontines, whose prefect had taken half of (B.C. 211) his force to Tarentum, slew the remainder, who were few in number, and delivered themselves up to Hannibal. Heraclea, which lay midway between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed their example, being moved by fear rather than inclination. Thus Hannibal's affairs again began to wear a flourishing aspect. In the following year some of the Lucanians revolted from Rome, and Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, marched against them. A certain Lucanian named Flavius, of the party that had remained faithful to the Romans, who had been also a friend and guest of Gracchus but was now his betrayer, persuaded him to come to a certain place to have a conference with the Lucanian generals, saying that they had repented and wished to return to the Roman allegiance. Suspecting nothing, he went to the place with thirty horsemen, where he found himself surrounded by a large force of Numidians in ambush, with whom Flavius then joined himself. When Gracchus discovered the treachery he leaped from his horse with his companions, and after performing many noble deeds of valor was slain with all the others, except three. These were the only ones captured by Hannibal, who had exerted himself to the utmost to take the Roman proconsul alive. Although he had basely entrapped him, nevertheless in admiration of his bravery in the final struggle he gave him a funeral and sent his bones to Rome. After this he passed the summer in Apulia and collected large supplies of corn.

[36] The Romans decided to attack the Capuans, and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered

what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Apulia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Apulia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared as the latter were still in alliance with Rome. While Hannibal was there they despised all their enemies. (Y.R. 542)

[37] It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by (B.C. 212) Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many who were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal's camp and plundered his baggage, and, as Hannibal was still in Lucania, drew a line of circumvallation around Capua. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of this and established their camp between the two. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside. There was the appearance of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, in which many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureus having had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape, retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to check his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, ran out at the opposite gate and rejoined the Romans, and was thus marvellously saved. (Y.R. 543)

[38] Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to (B.C. 211) Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to defend a city so large, and which had been a city of importance under Roman sway. He accordingly at-tacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of the closeness of the siege, he marched to Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping to draw the Roman generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something more important than its relief. Moving with the greatest celerity through the country inhabited by many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him while others would not incur the risk of battle, he encamped at the river Anio, two and

thirty stades from Rome.

[39] The city was thrown into consternation as never before. They were without any suitable force (what they had being in Campania), and now this strong, hostile army came suddenly against them under a general of invincible bravery and good fortune. Nevertheless, for the present emergency those who were able to bear arms manned the gates, the old men mounted the walls, and the women and children brought stones and missiles, while those who were in the fields flocked in all haste to the city. Confused cries, lamentations, prayers, and mutual exhortations on every side filled the air. Some went out and cut down the bridge over the river Anio. The Romans had at one time fortified a small town among the Æqui, which they called Alba after the name of their mother city. Its inhabitants with the lapse of time, either because of carelessness of pronunciation or corruption of language, or to distinguish them from the Albanians, were called Albenses. Two thousand of these Albenses hastened to Rome to share the danger. As soon as they arrived they armed themselves and mounted guard at the gates. Such zeal did this one small town, out of many colonies, exhibit, just as the little city of Plataea came to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon and shared their danger.

[40] Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, believing that he could capture the place by him-self. Fulvius Flaccus, the other one, marched with untiring haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side. Here, again, as was his custom, Hannibal devised a stratagem. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with three body-guards secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of force and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valor and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius followed him as he retreated, merely preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps.

CHAPTER VII

Hannibal breaks into the Camp of Fulvius, but is driven out — Capua surrenders to the Romans — A Town of Bruttium lost and regained — The Story of Dasius and Blatius

[41] Hannibal, on a certain moonless night, having observed that Fulvius, at the close of the day, had neglected to throw up a wall in front of his camp (but had merely dug a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall), quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should believe the hill unoccupied. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When they should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighboring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamor striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the darkness of the night was some-thing fearful. Hearing orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they hurried in that direction.

[42] Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. Then he stationed strong guards at the ramparts to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them the more easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn around, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies. Enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders and trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by

his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems.

[43] When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city. From the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile, being a plain. When Capua was once more restored to the Romans the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them. (Y.R. 544)

[44] In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia (which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behavior of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and overpowered the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from (B.C. 210) the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to Rhegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

[45] In Salapia, subject to Carthage in Apulia, were two men preeminent by birth, wealth, and power, but for a long time enemies to each other. One of these, named Dasius, sided with the Carthaginians, the other, Blatius, with the Romans. While Hannibal's affairs were flourishing Blatius remained quiet, but when the Romans began to recover their former supremacy he endeavored to come to an understanding with his enemy, simply for the sake of their country, lest, if the Romans should take it by force, some irreparable harm should befall it. Dasius, pretending to agree with him, communicated the matter to Hannibal. Hannibal took the part of a judge between them, Dasius accusing and Blatius defending himself, and saying that he was slandered by

reason of his accuser's personal enmity. He was emboldened to use such language in the presence of his enemy, because he foresaw that such a foe would be likely to be distrusted on account of his private grudge. Hannibal thought that it was not wise to reject the accusation altogether, or to put too much faith in an accuser who was a personal enemy; so he dismissed them as though he would consider of the matter by himself. As they were going out by a very narrow passage Blatius said to Dasius in a low tone, "Are you not willing to save your country, good sir?" The latter immediately repeated the words in a loud voice, thus letting Hannibal know.

[46] Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility, that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present scheme," he said, "will relieve me from all suspicion, if there was any, as to the former one. For who would have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters in the first place, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to say the same things a second time to one who had been his false accuser concerning these very matters, and especially in the judgment hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to renew the charge against him. Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well disposed, how would he be able to cooperate with me in saving the country after what has happened? Why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?" I think that Blatius again designedly whispered those things to Dasius because he foresaw the event, in order to discredit him still more, and thus induce Hannibal to disbelieve his former accusations. Nor did Blatius, after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly discredited. So Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blatius replied without hesitation: "I will ride to one of the Roman camps (indicating one that was very far distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring hither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city."

[47] Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome by a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate, he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as now having confidence in him. Supposing that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. "And now," said he to Hannibal, "I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city." Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken

care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side he removed the guards from the wall to avoid suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did Blatius overcome Dasius at the third encounter of their wits.

CHAPTER VIII

Defeat and Death of the Consul Fulvius — The Romans recover Tarentum — Death of Marcellus — Hannibal foiled at Salapia — Battle of the Metaurus — Hannibal retires to Bruttium

[48] While Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent a body of horse to attack the Roman camp. The latter repelled them with some confusion as they hurried from their beds, but with boldness, for they believed their foe to be some few men from somewhere or other. As Hannibal was passing around to the other side of the town with a body of infantry in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder took refuge inside a fortification in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

[49] After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Apulians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellæi. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Apulia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, continuing their attacks on (Y.R. 545) Hannibal's allies, they took Aulonia and overran the territory (B.C. 209) of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender that part of the wall which he commanded to the Romans, who were directing their engines against it. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

[50] Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus took the field (B.C. 208) against him, not venturing, however, to fight a pitched battle. But Marcellus happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger.

Suddenly, a large body of Africans started up and attacked him on all sides. Those Romans who were in the rear early took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but criticised him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with distinguished honors, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp.

[51] Being angry with the Salapians, Hannibal sent a Roman deserter to them with a letter stamped with the signet ring of Marcellus, before the latter's death had become generally known, saying that the army of Marcellus was on the way thither and that Marcellus gave orders that the gates should be opened to receive them. But the citizens had received letters a little before from Crispinus, who had sent word to all the surrounding towns that Hannibal had got possession of Marcellus' ring. So they sent (Y.R. 546) Hannibal's messenger back in order that he might not know by remaining there what was going on, and they promised to do as they had been ordered. Then they armed them-selves and having taken their station on the walls awaited the result of the stratagem. When Hannibal came with his Numidians, whom he had armed with Roman weapons, they drew up the portcullis as though they were gladly welcoming Marcellus. When they had admitted as many as they thought they could easily master, they dropped the portcullis and slew all those who had gained entrance. Upon those who were still standing around outside the walls they hurled missiles from above and covered them with wounds. Hannibal, having failed in his second attempt against the city, now withdrew. (Y.R. 547)

[52] In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the (B.C. 207) army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he had passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8000 horse, and fifteen elephants. He sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans so that the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learned the number of his forces. They combined their own forces in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but hastening to join his brother, moved off, marching by night among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, where he lost his way. At daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

[53] It seems to me that a god gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was

about equal to it in other respects. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and the number of soldiers killed and the number of prisoners taken were very nearly the same in each case. Each side also captured the other's camp and a vast quantity of baggage. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.

[54] Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labors of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he withdrew to Bruttium, whose people were the only ones that remained in alliance with him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had not a sufficient force of rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his war-ships, sunk twenty and captured sixty of them. The remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred the strongholds of their towns to the plains as though they were planning a revolt. He despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

CHAPTER IX

Scipio sails to Sicily — A Sacred Image brought to Rome — Hannibal's Troubles in Bruttium — Hannibal recalled by Carthage — Tries to take his Italian Soldiers thither — Embarks for Africa — Punishment of the Bruttians

(Y.R. 549)

[55] In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Crassus conducted the war against Hannibal in Apulia, but (B.C. 205) Scipio advised the people that they would never drive Hannibal and the Carthaginians out of Italy except by sending a Roman army into Africa and so bringing danger to their own doors. By persisting strenuously and persuading those who hesitated he was himself chosen general for Africa and sailed forthwith to Sicily. Having collected and drilled an army there he sailed suddenly to Locri in Italy which was garrisoned by Hannibal. Having slain the garrison and put the town under the command of Pleminius he embarked for Africa. Pleminius visited upon the Locrians every kind of outrage, licentiousness, and cruelty, and ended by robbing the temple of Proserpina. For this the Romans put him and his companions in wrongdoing to death in prison, and gave the property they left to the Locrians to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess. All the rest of the plunder that they could find they restored to the goddess, and what they could not find they made good out of their own public treasury. (Y.R. 550)

[56] During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter had appeared in Rome, the decemviri, having consulted the Sibylline books, said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the mother of the gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome. Not long after, the news came that it had fallen and the image of the goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the mother of the gods the day that it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that crime but not yet tried (being suspected of it on account of fast living), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibylline books to send their best man to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. (B.C. 204) Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, was judged to be their best man. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome

by the best of their men and women.

[57] When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to Rome secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their good will. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by the Petelians, as he had expelled them and given the town to the Bruttians. He accused the latter of sending an embassy to Rome. When they denied it he pretended to believe them, but in order, as he said, that there might be no ground for suspicion, he delivered their principal citizens over to the Numidians, who were ordered to guard each one of them separately. He also disarmed the people, armed the slaves, and stationed them as guards over the city. He did the same to the other cities that he visited. He removed 3000 citizens of Thurii, who were particularly friendly to the Carthaginians, and 500 others from the country, but gave the goods of the remainder as spoils to his soldiers. Leaving a strong garrison in the city he settled these 3500 people at Croton, which he found to be well situated for his operations and where he established his magazines and his headquarters against the other towns. (Y.R. 551)

[58] When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he had apprehensions for himself touching the cause of this great war, which had been begun by himself in Spain. Nevertheless, he recognized the necessity of obeying, and accordingly he built a fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him now as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against (B.C. 203) his calumniators in Carthage. But being ashamed of such a breach of faith, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being over-come by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured, ensued.

[59] Hannibal himself, knowing that the Italians in his army were extremely well-drilled soldiers, sought to persuade them by lavish promises to accompany him to Africa. Those of them who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly expatriated themselves and followed him. Those who had committed no such wrong hesitated. Collecting together those who had decided to remain, as though he wished to say something to them, or to reward them for their services, or to give them some command as

to the future, he surrounded them with his army unexpectedly, and directed his soldiers to choose from among them such as they would like to have for slaves. Some made their selections accordingly. Others were ashamed to reduce their comrades in so many engagements to servitude. All the rest Hannibal put to death with darts in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men. With them he slaughtered also about 4000 horses and a large number of pack animals, which he was not able to transport to Africa.

[60] Thereupon he embarked his army and waited for a wind, having left a few garrisons on the land. These the Petalini and other Italians set upon, slew some of them, and then ran away. Hannibal passed over to Africa, having devastated Italy for sixteen successive years, and inflicted countless evils upon the inhabitants, and reduced Rome several times to the last extremity, and treated his own subjects and allies with contumely as enemies. For, just as he had made use of them for a time, not from any good will but from necessity, so now that they could be of no further service to him he scorned them and considered them enemies.

[61] When Hannibal had departed from Italy the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except as to the Bruttians, who remained most zealous for him to the end. From these they took away a considerable part of their land, also their arms, if there were any that Hannibal had not taken. They were also forbidden to be enrolled in the military forces thereafter, as being no longer free persons, and they were required to attend as servants upon the consuls and praetors who went about inspecting the affairs of government and the public works of the provinces. Such was the end of Hannibal's invasion of Italy.

Horace White The accusation against Hannibal that he put to death those of his Italian soldiers who refused to follow him to Africa is referred to by Livy (xxx. 20) in these words: "Many of Italian birth who refused to follow him to Africa and withdrew to the shrine of Juno Lacinia, hitherto inviolate, were foully slain in the temple itself." The tale is generally discredited by modern historians as an impossible crime and as inconsistent with the relations that existed between Hannibal and his soldiers as related by Livy himself (xxviii. 12), viz.: —

"No battle was fought with Hannibal that year, for neither did he take the offensive after the recent public and private wound [at the Metaurus], nor did the Romans disturb his quiet, so great a power resided in him, although everything else around him was going to ruin. And I know not whether he was not more wonderful in adversity than in prosperity, because, although he waged war in a hostile country thirteen years, far from home, with varying fortune, not with an army composed of his own citizens but of the mingled riff-raff of all nations, who had no law, custom, or language in common, but were different in character, dress, arms, religious belief and ceremony, and I had almost said in their gods, he held them together by such a bond that no

disturbance ever broke out, either among themselves or against their commander, although, in the territory of enemies, he was often in want of money to pay them and of supplies to feed them, the lack of which in the former Punic war had been the cause of many dreadful scenes between the commanders and the soldiers. After the army of Hasdrubal and its chief, in whom all hope of victory had been reposed, had perished, and he had yielded the rest of Italy by retiring to the corner of Bruttium, to whom does it not seem wonderful that no commotion took place in his camp? For, to other things, this also was added, that there was no hope of feeding his soldiers except from the Bruttian territory, which, even if it were all cultivated, would be very scant for supporting so great an army, whereas the war absorbed a large part of the young men, who were drawn away from the tillage of the fields, and a custom ingrafted on a depraved people prevailed of carrying on military operations by robbery. Nor was anything sent to him from home, where they were solicitous about retaining their hold on Spain, as though all their affairs were flourishing in Italy.”

The foregoing is in part copied from a passage in Polybius, viz.: “Who can fail to be struck with admiration for the generalship, the courage, the ability of this man in the field, when we think of the length of time the war lasted; when we look at it as a whole, and at the particular battles, sieges, and revolts of cities, and at the turns of fortune; when we contemplate the totality of the design and execution in the course of which Hannibal waged continuous war against the Romans in Italy for sixteen years and never once dismissed his forces from field service, but held them like a good pilot in subjection to himself, and restrained such a multitude from mutiny and from strife with each other, although the forces he made use of were not all of one nation or even of the same race? They were composed of Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Gauls, Phoenicians, Italians, and Greeks, who had neither law, custom, speech, nor anything else naturally in common. Yet such was the skill of the general that, notwithstanding these great diversities, he made them all attentive to one command and obedient to one will, although circumstances were not always propitious but varied; although fortune did not always come in favoring but sometimes in adverse gales. In view of these facts one may well be astonished at his commanding ability in military affairs, and may confidently affirm that if he had begun with other parts of the earth and had attacked the Romans last, he would not have failed of any part of his designs. But now, as he began with those who should have been the last, he made both the beginning and the end of his exploits among them.” (Fragment xi. 19.)

THE PUNIC WARS

CHAPTER I

First Phœnician Settlement — First Punic War — Regulus defeated by Xanthippus — Fate of Regulus — The Mercenary War

The Phœnicians settled Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling place as they could encompass with an ox-hide. The Africans laughed at this frivolity of the Phœnicians and were ashamed to deny so small a request. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the mystery they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phœnicians, cutting the hide round and round in one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).

[2] Proceeding from this start and getting the upper hand of their neighbors, as they were more adroit, and engaging in traffic by sea, like the Phœnicians, they built a city around Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and the greater part of the Mediterranean, carried war into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that REDUCED FACSIMILE, VATICAN MS. GR. 134. XIV CENTURY. FIRST PAGE OF THE PUNIC WARS sea, and also into Spain. They sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, assailing each the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, but the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa, crushed the Carthaginian power, took their ships and their elephants, and required them to pay tribute for a time. A second treaty was now made between the Romans and the Carthaginians which lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and forbade the rebuilding of it. But another city was built subsequently by their own people, very near the former one, for convenience in governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibalic history. This book will deal with the operations in Africa from the

earliest period. (Y.R. 498)

[3] About the beginning of the Sicilian war the Romans (B.C. 256) sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to bad generalship, asked the Lacedemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from dust, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighboring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted and having night in his favor, drew up his forces (Y.R. 499) and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations (B.C. 255) of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself. (Y.R. 504)

[4] Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting (B.C. 250) sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it were not granted. Yet Regulus in private strongly urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war, and then went back to certain torture, for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. This success was the beginning of sorrows to Xanthippus, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honor him with splendid gifts, sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such (Y.R. 513) were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the (B.C. 241) Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history.

[5] After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. Nevertheless they sent men to act as mediators between them. The Africans refused the mediation, but offered to become subjects of the Romans if they would take them. (Y.R. 514) The latter would not accept them. Then the Carthaginians (B.C. 240) blockaded the towns

with a great fleet, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by the famine, but were driven to supply their own wants by piracy, even taking some Roman ships, killing the crews, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This (Y.R. 516) escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became (B.C. 238) known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

CHAPTER II

Hannibal's Invasion of Italy — Scipio's Invasion of Africa — Consternation at Carthage — Syphax and Masinissa — War between Masinissa and Carthage

(Y.R. 525)

[6] Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain (B.C. 229) and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty by crossing the stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnæus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of the Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail (Y.R. 544) thither, and making all believe that he was come by a (B.C. 210) divine mission and had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country.

[7] Some of the leading men opposed this plan, saying (Y.R. 549) that it was not best to send an army into Africa while Italy (B.C. 205) was wasted by such long wars and was subject to the ravages of Hannibal, and while Mago was enlisting Ligurian and Celtic mercenaries for a flank attack upon her. They ought not to attack another land, they said, until they had delivered their own country from its present perils. Others thought that the Carthaginians were emboldened to attack Italy because they were not molested at home, and that if war were brought to their own doors they would recall Hannibal. So it was decided to send Scipio into Africa, but they would not allow him to levy an army in Italy while Hannibal was ravaging it. If he could procure volunteers he might take them, and he might use the forces which were then in Sicily. They authorized him to fit out ten galleys and allowed him to take crews for them, and also to refit those in Sicily. They did not give him any money except what he could raise among his friends. So indifferently at first did they undertake this war, which soon came to be the most great and glorious for them.

[8] Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected scarcely 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily, taking as a body-guard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to report on a certain day, provided with the best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might

furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of the Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people's expense, who at once thanked him for this favor and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

[9] When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired mercenaries and exercised them all in camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

[10] There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in greater honor than the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage. He was a man of fine presence and good manners. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also in love with the girl, was indignant at this and began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and he proposed to Scipio (who made a journey from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint at-tack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. Hasdrubal, although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to the country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.

[11] Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power strong by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained to hurl the javelin advancing and retreating and advancing again, either by day or by night; for their only method of fighting was flight and pursuit. The Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste

grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Masinissa collected about 20,000 such and led them in the chase and in pillaging expeditions against other tribes, thinking to keel) them exercised in this way. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

[12] Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous. They marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in all doing and enduring and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able the more easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Often, when surrounded, he divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place. His generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better.

CHAPTER III

Scipio arrives in Africa — First Skirmishes — Capture of Locha — Siege of Utica — Negotiations of Syphax

(Y.R. 550)

[13] In this way Masinissa made war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, (B.C. 204) set sail for Africa with fifty-two war-ships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. And thus Scipio accomplished his voyage. When the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should over-come Scipio. Masinissa was not deceived by this scheme. In order to deceive them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was camped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

[14] Now Syphax, either being moved by fear, or being faithless to all parties in turn, pretended that his country was harassed by the neighboring barbarians, and set out for home. Scipio sent out some detachments to feel the enemy, and at the same time several towns surrendered themselves to him. Then Masinissa came to Scipio's camp secretly by night, and, after mutual greeting, advised him to place not more than 5000 men in ambush on the following day, about thirty stades from Utica, near a tower built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. At daybreak he persuaded Hasdrubal to send Hanno, his master of horse, to reconnoitre the enemy and throw himself into Utica, lest the inhabitants, taking advantage of the proximity of the enemy, should start a revolution. He promised to follow if ordered to do so. Hanno set out accordingly with 1000 picked Carthaginian horse and a lot of Africans. Masinissa followed with his Numidians. Thus they came to the tower and Hanno passed on with a small force to Utica. Hereupon a part of the men in ambush showed themselves, and Masinissa advised the officer who was left in command of the cavalry to attack them as being a small force. He followed at a short distance, as if to support the movement. Then the rest of the men in ambush showed themselves and surrounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa together assailed them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened after Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio's camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who

was in Hasdrubal's hands.

[15] Scipio and Masinissa ravaged the country and released the Roman prisoners who were digging in the fields, who had been sent thither by Hannibal from Spain, from Sicily, and from Italy itself. They also besieged a large town called Locha, where they met great difficulties. As they were putting up the scaling ladders, the Lochaians asked a parley and offered to leave the city under a truce. Thereupon Scipio sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, angry at what they had suffered in the siege, refused to obey. They scaled the walls and slaughtered indiscriminately, not sparing women and children. Scipio dismissed the survivors in safety; he then deprived the army of its booty and compelled the officers who had disobeyed orders to cast lots publicly, and punished three of them, upon whom the lot had fallen, with death. Having done these things he began ravaging the country again. Hasdrubal sought to draw him into ambush by sending Mago, his master of horse, to attack him in front, while he fell upon his rear. Scipio and Masinissa being surrounded in this way divided their forces into two parts, turning in opposite directions against the enemy, by which means they slew 5000 of the Africans, took 1800 prisoners, and drove the remainder over a precipice.

[16] Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, and the ships were badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, and battered the wall with rams, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slipknots, and deadened the force of the rams by interposing transverse wooden beams. They made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it.

[17] Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians were ready, and the Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he proposed an arbitration. He thought that it would be fair for the Romans to discontinue the war in Africa and the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the other. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians and to give him in marriage whichever of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took

the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver. (Y.R. 551)

[18] Then Syphax, finding that he could not deceive any-body, (B.C. 203) joined the Carthaginians openly. He captured, by means of treachery, an inland town named Tholon, where the Romans had a large store of war materials and food, and slew all of the garrison who would not depart on parole. He also called up another large reënforcement of Numidians. And now, as the mercenaries had arrived and the ships were in readiness, they decided to fight, Syphax attacking those besieging Utica, and Hasdrubal the camp of Scipio, while the ships should bear down upon the ships; all these things to be done the next day and at the same time in order to overwhelm the Romans with numbers.

CHAPTER IV

Scipio's Night Attack on Hasdrubal — Speech to his Officers before the Attack — Complete Victory of Scipio Retreat of Syphax — Scipio advances against Carthage — Indecisive Naval Engagement

[19] Masinissa learned of these plans at nightfall from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should be too weak to sustain the whole strength of the enemy. He forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself, he said: "Courage and swiftness, friends, and desperate fighting are our only salvation. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing, — that those who are so few in number should be the aggressors, will terrify them. We shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together. We shall not be engaged with all of our enemies at once, but with those we choose to attack first, since their camps are separate from each other. We are their equals in strength when we take them separately, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you."

[20] As they all agreed, he continued: "The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, since the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none will be able to give aid to their allies in the darkness. Thus we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not easy to attack ships by night. Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Hasdrubal is the head of the hostile force. Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, effeminate and timid. Come now, let us attack Hasdrubal with all our force. We will place Masinissa in ambush for Syphax, if, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are not of much use in a night attack, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

[21] Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and he offered sacrifice to Courage and also to Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely

intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and the army moved, observing the most profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with shouts mingled with the discordant blast of trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, fumbled around for their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them, as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The noise of the invaders, their appearance, and the fearful work they were doing in the midst of darkness and uncertainty made the catastrophe complete. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they ran helter-skelter, just as it happened, and the Roman horse, who had completely surrounded them, fell upon them and slaughtered them.

[22] Syphax, hearing the noise and seeing the fire in the night, did not leave his quarters, but sent a detachment of horse to the assistance of Hasdrubal. Masinissa fell upon these unawares and made a great slaughter. At daybreak, learning that Hasdrubal had fled and that his forces were destroyed, or taken prisoners, or dispersed, and that his camp and war material had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he fled precipitately to the interior, leaving every-thing behind, fearing lest Scipio should return from the pursuit of the Carthaginians and fall upon him. Masinissa took possession of his camp and belongings.

[23] Thus by one act of daring and in a little part of a night, did the Romans demolish two camps and two armies much greater than their own. The Romans lost about 100 men killed, the enemy a little less than 30,000, besides 2400 prisoners. Moreover, 600 horse surrendered them-selves to Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the Carthaginians by one splendid victory, distributed prizes to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria.

[24] While Scipio was thus engaged, Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who had been wounded in the night engagement, fled with 500 horse to the town of Anda, where he collected some mercenaries and Numidians who had escaped from the battle, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would enlist. Learning that the Carthaginians had decreed the penalty of death against him for his bad generalship, and had chosen Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, as commander, he made this an army of his own, recruited a lot of

malefactors, robbed the country for provisions, and drilled his men to the number of 3000 horse and 8000 foot, resting his hopes solely on fighting. His doings were for a long time unknown to both the Romans and the Carthaginians. And now Scipio, having his army in readiness, led it to Carthage itself and haughtily offered battle, but nobody responded. Meanwhile Hamilcar, the admiral, hastened with 100 ships to attack Scipio's naval station, hoping to outstrip him in reaching the place, and thinking that he could easily destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his hundred.

[25] Scipio, seeing him sail away, sent orders ahead to block up the entrance to the harbor with ships of burthen anchored at intervals so that the galleys could dart out, as through gates, when they should see an opportunity. These ships were bound together by their yard arms and fastened to each other so as to form a wall. This work done he entered into the action. When the Carthaginians made their attack their ships were battered by missiles from the Roman ships, from the shore, and from the walls, and they with-drew at evening discomfited. As they were retreating, the Romans pressed upon them, darting out through the open spaces, and when they were overpowered withdrawing again. They took one ship in tow without any men and brought it to Scipio. After this both combatants went into winter quarters. The Romans received plentiful supplies by sea, but the Uticans and Carthaginians, being pinched with hunger, robbed the merchant ships until new galleys, sent to Scipio from Rome, blockaded the enemy and put an end to their plundering, after which they were severely oppressed by hunger.

CHAPTER V

Masinissa defeats and captures Syphax — Syphax and Sophonisba — Death of Sophonisba — Plot to burn Scipio's Camp — Siege of Utica raised

[26] This same winter, Syphax being near them, Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman army as a reënforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Lælius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he came to a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. The latter encountered him eagerly. The battle between them continued until the forces of Syphax turned in flight and began to cross the river. Syphax's horse received a wound and threw his rider. Masinissa ran up and caught him and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax's men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa's 300. Four thousand of Syphax's men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These Masinissa asked Lælius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

[27] After this they entered the country of the Massylians and of Syphax, and settled them under the government of Masinissa, persuading some and coercing others. Ambassadors came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: "What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to forfeit your oath to the gods and your faith to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?" Syphax replied: "Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for, being now on your side and relieved of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she attached to her own country."

[28] So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and

was acquainted with the country, and advised with him as Cyrus did with Cræsus, king of Lydia. Lælius having returned and told him the same things about Sophonisba that he had learned from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter tried to beg off and related the facts concerning her as above, Scipio ordered him more sharply not to possess himself by force of the Roman spoils of victory, but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and gave her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he mounted his horse. She showed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa showed her dead body to the Romans who had now come up, then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, and to console him for the loss of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died.

[29] When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he would lend a hand if he were duly notified. Hanno, although he intended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp, who, winning the confidence of those he fell in with, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. To Scipio, while sacrificing, the victims revealed that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any glowing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

[30] At this juncture a Spanish servant of one of the Roman knights, suspecting something of the conspiracy, pretended to be one of the accomplices and in this way learned all about it, and told his master. The latter brought him to Scipio, and he convicted the whole crowd. Scipio put them all to death and cast their bodies out of the camp. Knowledge of this coming quickly to Hanno, who was not far off, he did not come to the rendezvous, but Hasdrubal, who remained in ignorance, did. When he saw the multitude of corpses he guessed what had happened and withdrew. But Hanno slandered him and told every-body that he had come to surrender himself to Scipio, but

that the latter would not receive him. Thus Hasdrubal was made more hateful to the Carthaginians than ever. About this time Hamilcar made a sudden dash on the Roman fleet and took one galley and six ships of burthen, and Hanno made an attack upon those who were besieging Utica, but was beaten off. As the siege had lasted a long time without result, Scipio raised it and moved his engines against the town of Hippo. As he accomplished nothing there, he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others.

CHAPTER VI

Hannibal recalled — Negotiations for Peace — Hannibal lands at Hadrumetum — The Armistice violated — Hannibal sent for — He proposes a Renewal of the Armistice

[31] The Carthaginians, depressed by their ill success, chose Hannibal as their commanding general and sent an admiral with ships to hasten his coming. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Scipio to negotiate for peace, thinking to gain one of two things, either peace or a delay until Hannibal should arrive. Scipio consented to an armistice, and having thus gained sufficient supplies for his army allowed them to send their ambassadors to Rome. They did so, but they were received there as enemies and required to lodge outside the walls. When the Senate gave them audience they asked pardon. Some of the senators adverted to the faithlessness of the Carthaginians, and told how often they had made treaties and broken them, and what injuries Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans and their allies in Spain and Italy. Others represented that the Carthaginians were not more in need of peace than themselves, Italy being exhausted by so many wars; and they showed how much danger was to be feared from the great armies moving together against Scipio, that of Hannibal from Italy, that of Mago from Liguria, and that of Hanno at Carthage.

[32] The Senate was not able to agree, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he should advise, and then do whatever he should deem best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty long galleys; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called Phœnician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 6000 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans gave to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armor.

[33] In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, knowing the untrustworthy character of the people of Carthage, their bad faith toward their magistrates, and their general recklessness. He did not believe that a treaty would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not last long. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses. He made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the

Areacidæ. He slew with arrows 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters. These had formerly been Syphax's men and afterward Masinissa's, and he suspected them. He gave their horses to his own army. Mesotulus, another chieftain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Verminia, another son of Syphax, who ruled the greater part of his father's dominions. He gained some of Masinissa's towns by surrender and some by force. He took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way. Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends, and when he thought the time had come to spring the trap he sent in a large number of men carrying concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound, and then to set upon all they met, and hold the gates for him. In this way was Narce taken.

[34] The common people of Carthage, although the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio was still there, and their own ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio's stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of the threats of their own council and of their admonitions not to violate the treaty so recently made. The people found fault with the treaty, and said that hunger was more dangerous to them than treaty-breaking. Scipio did not deem it best to renew the war after the treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends who were in the wrong. The people attempted to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid] rescued them from the mob and sent them away in two galleys. Some others, however, sent word to Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the promontory of Apollo, that when the escort should leave them he should set upon Scipio's galleys. This he did, and some of the messengers were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, and the rowers darted into the harbor of their own camp and sprang from the ship which was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners.

[35] When the Romans at home learned these things they ordered the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were still there treating for peace, to depart immediately as enemies. They accordingly set sail, and were driven by a tempest to Scipio's camp. To his admiral, who asked what he should do with them, Scipio said: "We shall not imitate Carthaginian bad faith; send them away unharmed." When the Carthaginian Senate learned this they chided the people for the contrast between their behavior and Scipio's, and advised them to beg Scipio to adhere to the agreement and to accept reparation for the Carthaginian wrong-doing. But the people had been finding fault with the Senate a long time for their ill success, because they had not sufficiently foreseen what was for their advantage, and being pushed on by demagogues and excited by vain hopes, they summoned Hannibal and his army. (Y.R. 552)

[36] Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, (B.C. 202) asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal was accordingly forgiven for his offence, and he delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he

did not dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Now Scipio blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while from the land they were poorly supplied by reason of the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

[37] Hannibal, being reduced to extremity for want of provisions and considering how he might arrange for the present, sent messengers to Masinissa reminding him of his early life and education at Carthage, and asking that he would persuade Scipio to renew the treaty, saying that the former infractions of it were the work of the common people, and of fools who had stirred them up. Masinissa, who had in fact been brought up and educated at Carthage, and who had a high respect for the dignity of the city, and was the friend of many of the inhabitants, besought Scipio to comply, and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the Carthaginians should surrender the men and ships bringing provisions to the Romans, which they had taken, also all plunder, or the value of it, which Scipio would estimate, and pay 1000 talents as a penalty for the wrong done. These things were agreed upon. An armistice was concluded until the Carthaginians should be made acquainted with the details; and thus Hannibal was saved in an unexpected way.

CHAPTER VII

Riots in Carthage — Second Armistice broken — Preparations for Battle — Speeches of Hannibal and Scipio — Battle of Zama — Personal Encounter of Hannibal and Scipio — Hannibal's Defeat and Flight

[38] The Carthaginian council warmly welcomed the agreement and exhorted the people to adhere to its terms, explaining all their misfortunes and their immediate want of soldiers, money, and provisions. But the people, like a mere mob, behaved like fools. They thought that their generals had made this arrangement for their own private ends, so that, relying upon the Romans, they might hold the power in their own country. They said that Hannibal was doing now what had been done before by Hasdrubal, who had betrayed his camp to the enemy by night, and a little later wanted to surrender to Scipio, having approached him for that purpose, and was now concealed in the city. Thereupon there was a great clamor and tumult, and some of them left the assembly and went in search of Hasdrubal. He had anticipated them by taking refuge in his father's tomb, where he destroyed himself with poison. But they pulled his corpse out, cut off his head, put it on a pike, and carried it about the city. Thus was Hasdrubal first banished unjustly, next falsely slandered by Hanno, and then driven to his death by the Carthaginians, and loaded with indignities after his death.

[39] Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to fight as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio marched immediately, and took the great city of Partha and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, but he sent three spies into the Roman camp who were captured by Scipio. The latter did not put them to death, however, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army under review. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter deemed it advisable to have a parley with Scipio, and when it was granted he said that the Carthaginians had rejected the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. "Hannibal's escape from Italy would be a great gain to him," said Scipio, "if he could obtain these terms in addition." He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp.

[40] The town of Cilla was in the neighborhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, perceiving this, sent a detachment forward to seize it and lay out a camp. Then he started and moved forward as though he

were already in possession of it. Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, Hannibal was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without removing their arms. Scipio, mindful of these things, moved against them at day-light while they were exhausted with marching, with want of sleep, and want of water. Hannibal was troubled, since he did not wish to join battle in that plight. Yet he saw that if he should remain there his army would suffer severely from want of water, while if he should retreat the enemy would take fresh courage and fall upon his rear. For these reasons it was necessary for him to fight. He speedily put in battle array about 50,000 men and eighty elephants. He placed the elephants in the front line at intervals, in order to strike terror into the enemy's ranks. Next to them he placed the third part of his army, composed of Celts and Ligurians, and mixed with them everywhere Moorish and Balearic archers and slingers. Behind these was his second line, composed of Carthaginians and Africans. The third line consisted of Italians who had followed him from their own country, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, since they had the most to apprehend from defeat. The cavalry were placed on the wings. In this way Hannibal arranged his forces.

[41] Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 1600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines. He placed all his cohorts in straight lines with open spaces so that the cavalry might readily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, for the purpose of assailing the oncoming elephants by hand, as with catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts by turning aside and continually hurling javelins at them, and by darting around them to hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry. He stationed his Numidian horse on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. As the Italian horse were not so, he placed them all in the rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed. Lælius commanded the right wing and Octavius the left. In the middle both Hannibal and himself took their stations, out of respect for each other, each having a body of horse in order to send reënforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had armed in Sicily.

[42] When everything was ready each one rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the presence of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended by their frequent violation of treaties. He told the

soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valor, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over those who were all Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, in plain sight, the smallness of the enemy's force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would have universal supremacy hereafter. Scipio said that there was no safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labors, a speedy return home, and glory forever after.

[43] Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal ordered the trumpet to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. The Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them. Being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their drivers took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings. Those in the centre trampled down the Roman infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armor, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run around and stab the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the front-tramping elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and they inflicted so many wounds upon the elephants that these also withdrew.

[44] The field being cleared of these beasts the battle was now waged by men and horses only. The Roman right wing, where Lælius commanded, put the opposing Numidians to flight, and Masinissa struck down their prince, Massathes, with a dart, but Hannibal quickly came to their rescue and restored the line of battle. On the left wing, where Octavius commanded and where the hostile Celts and Ligurians were stationed, a doubtful battle was going on. Scipio sent the tribune Thermus thither with a reënforcement of picked men, but Hannibal, after rallying his left wing, flew to the assistance of the Ligurians and Celts, bringing up at the same time his second line of Carthaginians and Africans. Scipio, perceiving this, brought his second line in opposition. When the two greatest generals of the world thus met, in hand to hand fight, there was, on the part of the soldiers of each, a brilliant emulation and reverence for their commanders, and no lack of zeal on either side in the

way of sharp and vehement fighting and cheering.

[45] As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers, and rushed upon each other in order to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time. Scipio pierced Hannibal's shield. Hannibal hit Scipio's horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, threw Scipio over backwards. He quickly mounted another and again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him and struck another horseman near him. At this juncture, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general not only serving as a commander but fighting also as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and not demoralized. These he led into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans in disorderly pursuit. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. Great slaughter ensued and innumerable wounds, mingled with the shouts of the combatants and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Romans routed these also and put them to flight. Such was the brilliant issue of this engagement.

[46] Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal took place. Rushing fiercely upon each other, Masinissa drove his spear into Hannibal's shield, and Hannibal wounded his antagonist's horse. Masinissa, being thrown, sprang towards Hannibal on foot, and struck and killed a horseman who was advancing towards him in front of the others. At the same time he received in his shield — made of elephant's hide — several darts, one of which he pulled out and hurled at Hannibal; but, as it happened, it struck another horseman who was near and killed him. While he was pulling out another, he was wounded in the arm, and withdrew from the fight for a brief space. When Scipio learned this, he feared for Masinissa and hastened to his relief, but he found that the latter had bound up his wound and returned to the fight on a fresh horse. Thus the battle continued doubtful and very severe, the soldiers on either side having the utmost reverence for their commanders, until Hannibal, discovering a body of Spanish and Celtic troops on a hill near by, dashed over to them to bring them into the fight. Those who were still engaged, not knowing the cause of his going, thought that he had fled. Accordingly, they abandoned the fight of their own accord and broke into disorderly rout, not following after Hannibal, but helter skelter. This band having been dispersed, the Romans

thought that the fight was over and pursued them in a disorderly way, not perceiving Hannibal's purpose.

[47] Presently Hannibal returned accompanied by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle much stronger than those who were coming against him, by which means he overcame them without difficulty. When this last effort had failed, Hannibal despaired utterly, and fled in plain sight. Many horsemen pursued him, and among others Masinissa, although suffering from his wound, pressed him hard, striving eagerly to take him prisoner and deliver him to Scipio. But night came to his rescue and under cover of darkness, with twenty horsemen who had alone been able to keep pace with him, he took refuge in a town named Thon. Here he found many Bruttian and Spanish horsemen who had fled after the defeat. Fearing the Spaniards because they were fickle barbarians, and apprehending that the Bruttians, as they were Scipio's countrymen, might deliver him up in order to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy, he fled secretly with one horseman in whom he had full confidence. Having accomplished about 3000 stades in two nights and days, he arrived at the seaport of Hadrumentum, where a part of his army had been left to guard his supplies. Here he began to collect forces from the adjacent country and from those who had escaped from the recent engagement, and to prepare arms and engines of war.

CHAPTER VIII

Spoils of the Victory — An Embassy to Scipio — Speech of Hasdrubal Eriphus — Scipio's Reply — Scipio's Conditions of Peace

[48] Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself as for a sacrifice and burned the less valuable spoils of the enemy, as is the custom of the Roman generals. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory, and many distinguished captives in ships, and Lælius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valor, and crowned Masinissa again. He also sent out expeditions and gathered in more cities. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa rather more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa.

[49] Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his forces for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. The latter had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal's defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the principal ones were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore a herald's staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their business in high state. They threw themselves on the ground weeping, and when the attendants had lifted them up and bade them say what they wished, Hasdrubal Eriphus spoke as follows:

[50] "For myself, Romans, and for Hanno here, and for all sensible Carthaginians, let me say that we are guiltless of the wrongs which you lay at our door. For when the same men, driven by hunger, did violence to your legates, we rescued them and sent them back to you. You ought not to condemn all the people of Carthage who so recently sought peace, and when it was granted eagerly took the oath to support it. But cities are easily swayed to their hurt, because the masses are always controlled by what is pleasing to their ears. We have had experience of these things, having been unable either to persuade or to restrain the multitude by reason of those who slandered us at home and who have prevented us from making ourselves understood by you. Romans, do not judge us by the standard of your own discipline and good counsel. If any one esteems it a crime to have yielded to the persuasions of

these rabble-rousers, consider the hunger and the necessity that was upon us by reason of suffering. For it could not have been a deliberate intention on the part of our people, first to ask for peace, and give such a large sum of money to obtain it, and deliver up all their galleys except a few, and surrender the bulk of their territory, swear to these things, and send an embassy to Rome with the ratifications, and then wantonly to violate the agreement before our embassy had returned. Surely some god misled them and the tempest that drove your supplies into Carthage; and besides the tempest, hunger carried us away, for people who are in want of everything do not form the best judgments respecting other people's property. It would not be reasonable to punish with severity a multitude of men so disorganized and unfortunate.

[51] "But if you consider us more guilty than unfortunate, we confess our fault and ask pardon for it. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. And much more readily will the fortunate extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were carrying things with a high hand. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa, in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for the greater part of this time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her horses, her subjects (all of which have passed over to you), but in you, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which has come upon them and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may be blameless before the gods and win the praises of all mankind.

[52] "There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their wisdom, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. The misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from poverty. To the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. Still, you are the better judges of your own interests. For our safety we rely on these two things: the ancient dignity of the city of Carthage and your well-known moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. We must accept peace on whatever terms you grant. It is needless to say that we

place everything in your hands.”

[53] At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: “You do not deserve pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and only lately abused our envoys in such a public and heaven-defying manner that you can neither excuse yourselves nor deny that you are worthy of the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? And now you take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. We did not imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. Now that you have condemned yourselves, you may consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

[54] “We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions to be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Mago to depart from Liguria within sixty days, and your garrisons to be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phœnician trenches and their hostages to be surrendered. You to pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboïc talents per annum for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You to retain your city and as much territory inside the Phœnician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You to remain friends of Rome and be her allies on land and sea; all this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages whom I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages.”

CHAPTER IX

Hannibal advises their Acceptance — Another Embassy to Rome — Debate in the Senate — Views of Scipio's Friends — The Counsels of Clemency and of Prudence — Views of Scipio's Rivals — The Crimes of Carthage — Call for Vengeance — The Senate ratifies Scipio's Treaty — Scipio's Return — Form of a Roman Triumph

[55] When Scipio had finished speaking the envoys bore his conditions to Carthage, where the people debated them in the Assembly for several days. The chief men thought that it was best to accept the offer and not, by refusing a part, to run the risk of losing all; but the vulgar crowd, not considering the instant peril rather than the draft, great as it was, upon their resources, and being the majority, refused compliance. They were angry that their rulers, in time of famine, should send provisions away to the Romans instead of supplying their own citizens during the armistice, and they banded together, threatening to plunder and burn the houses of every one of them. Finally, they decided to take counsel with Hannibal, who now had 60000 infantry and 500 cavalry stationed at the town of Marthama. He came and, although moderate citizens feared lest a man so fond of war should excite the people to renewed exertions, he very gravely advised them to accept peace. But the people, mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves.

[56] The remaining Carthaginians, hearing that a large quantity of provisions had been stored by Hannibal at a certain place, sent a number of transports and war-ships thither, being resolved, if they could obtain food, to continue the war and to endure everything rather than accept (Y.R. 553) servitude to the Romans. But after a storm had shattered (B.C. 201) their ships, despairing of everything, they accused the gods of conspiring against them, assented to the agreement with Scipio, and sent an embassy to Rome. Scipio also sent counsellors to confirm the agreement. It was said that Scipio was moved by two considerations. He thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city. He knew also that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, would grasp at his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself.

[57] There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But there were differences of opinion as to what should be done. Some were exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians. Others had pity on them, thinking that this was a more becoming attitude to take respecting other people's misfortunes.

One of Scipio's friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as it is of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men — lest it be said that we, who have so often charged the carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and that we, who always exercise moderation in small matters, neglect it wholly in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, and which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were in arms it was necessary to fight them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as many wild beasts spare the enemies they have thrown down. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, that is itself a most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were contending on even terms with us for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But, for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a torture that may easily dethrone the reasoning powers of men.

[58] "I do not speak for the Carthaginians; that would not be fitting. Nor do I forget that they violated other treaties before those which are now under review. What our fathers did in like circumstances (and by which means they arrived at the summit of fortune) I will recall to your minds for you know them already. Although the neighboring peoples round about us often revolted and were continually breaking treaties, our ancestors did not disdain them — the Latins, the Etruscans, the Sabines, for example. Afterward, the Æqui, the Volsci, the Campanians, also our neighbors, and various other peoples of Italy, committed a breach of their treaties, and our fathers met it magnanimously. Moreover, the Samnite race, after betraying friendship and agreements three times and waging the most desperate war against us for eighty years, were not destroyed, nor were those others who called Pyrrhus into Italy. Nor did we destroy those Italians who lately joined forces with Hannibal, not even the Bruttians, who remained with him to the last. We took from them a part of their lands and allowed them to keep the remainder. Thus it was esteemed both generous to them and useful to us not to exterminate a whole race, but to bring them into a better state of mind.

[59] "Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the exercise of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations,

almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment? They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phœnician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I praise Scipio the rather for the magnitude and multitude of these things. I think you ought to spare them considering the invidiousness and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants, and Hannibal, that most skilful captain, who still has an army; also Mago, who is leading another considerable force of Celts and Ligurians; also Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes. They have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these things with a lavish hand. Nothing is more dangerous than desperation in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and vengeful.

[60] “It seems that Scipio was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, saying that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose, too, that he can form a better judgment than ourselves, since the one who presides over the whole business can have the best view of it. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that renowned general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favor of it; and when he could not obtain an army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved for us a success far beyond our expectations. It is astonishing that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of religion all the more since their impiety has led only to their ruin. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. They will fight with desperation now, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbors, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there lying in wait for them.

[61] “If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio’s command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that the favors of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it — supposing we do

take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him too strong. It should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Is it said that we might collect rent from their land? The expense of military protection would eat up the rent, for we should need a strong force to ward off so many surrounding tribes, all of them uncivilized. Can we plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? They would always be exposed to the depredations of these powerful barbarians, and if they should conquer them they might hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so much more fruitful than ours. All of which things, it seems to me, Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general."

[62] When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio's successor, replied thus: "In war, gentlemen, the only thing to be considered is, what is advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and stripped of everything, and before they grow again to their former proportions. Not that I would deny the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity were unjust and insolent to everybody, but have become suppliants in adversity, and will immediately break away from the new treaty if they have a chance. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths — these people whom the gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the gods and the censures of men. I think that the gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking their oaths, and committing outrage and savagery. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment.

[63] The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in (Y.R. 552) league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going

away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and buried them alive. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick. They seized him and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa with twenty-two of our ships. They put our other general, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, stratagem and perjury, against our cities and armies, and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. He cast our men, whom he had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. He had them trodden under foot by elephants. He made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and calling the gods to witness, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty.

[64] “What pity, therefore, or what moderation is due from others to these Carthaginians, who have never exercised moderation or clemency in anything, and who, as Scipio says, would have expunged the very name of Rome if they had vanquished us? But good faith, you say, and the right hand are reliable. How so? What treaty, what oath, have they not trampled under foot? We should not imitate them, the gentleman says. What treaty can we violate when we have not yet made any? But we should not imitate their cruelty, he says. Ought we to make the most cruel people in the world our friends and allies? (Y.R. 553) Neither of these things is desirable. Let them surrender at discretion, as is the custom of the vanquished, as many others have surrendered to us. Then we shall see what we will do, and whatever we accord to them they shall take in the light of a favor and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that they were overreached. They will always find plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gratuity bestowed by others. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, what is the need of his sending any word to you? For my part, I have given you the opinion which I hold to be for the advantage of the city, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand.”

[65] After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio deemed it best to urge this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered

it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbor and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly declared to the Romans when he reproached them for undue severity toward the Rhodians. When Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a triumphal entry into Rome more glorious than that of any of his predecessors.

[66] The form of the triumph (which the Romans continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind; then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of musicians and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march evenly with song and dance. They call themselves *Lydi* because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were insulting the enemy. Next came a lot of incense bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga embroidered with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armor-bearers. After these came the army arranged in companies and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple. **SCIPIO AFRICANUS** In the Capitoline Museum, Rome

CHAPTER X

Masinissa's Depredations — Factions in Carthage — The Visit of Cato — War with Masinissa — A Battle with Masinissa — Carthaginian Army surrounded and captured

(Y.R. 559)

[67] Thus the second war between the Romans and the (B.C. 195) Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent arbitrators, but told them to favor Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the Carthaginian territory and made a treaty with them which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with peace, advanced greatly in population and wealth by reason of the fertility of her soil and the profits of her commerce. (Y.R. 561)

[68] By and by (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) (B.C. 193) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favored Masinissa as king. Each had leaders of eminence in position and in bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction; Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favored Masinissa; and Hamilcar, surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country) to attack the subjects of Masinissa, whose tents were on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty, and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians. Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully (Y.R. 572) confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken (B.C. 182) before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they passed between the two litigants with outstretched hands, and this was their way of (Y.R. 580) commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward (B.C. 174) Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate

the matter, but they delayed until it seemed probable that the Carthaginian interests would be utterly ruined. (Y.R. 597)

[69] At length they sent the envoys, and among others (B.C. 157) Cato. These went to the disputed territory and they asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was grabbing more than his share and who had confidence in the Romans, consented. The Carthaginians hesitated, because their former experience had led them to fear that they should not receive justice. They said therefore that it was of no use to have a new dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, they only complained about transgressions of the treaty. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what great estates it possessed. They entered the city and saw how greatly it had increased in wealth and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before. When they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, the city being so ill affected, so near them, and growing so rapidly. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed. When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war but waited for a pretext, and meanwhile concealed the intention. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must be destroyed. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her. (Y.R. 602)

[70] The democratic faction in Carthage sent the leaders of the party favoring Masinissa into banishment, to the (B.C. 152) number of about forty, and confirmed it by a vote and an oath that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent his two sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the boëtharch warned them off, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. When Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city (Y.R. 604) horse under Hasdrubal, their boëtharch, marched against (B.C. 150) Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa's lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa by stratagem retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his

camp in the open plain. Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position.

[71] They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, was on his way to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and of the long-lived they live the longest. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and of India; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always performing labor in the open air. They use very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition. It was very large, since many recruits had flocked in from the country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had witnessed various contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two had had such a spectacle before him: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war.

[72] The battle continued from morning till night, many falling on both sides, and it seemed that Masinissa had the advantage. As he was returning from the field Scipio presented himself, and Masinissa greeted him with the greatest attention, having been a friend of his grandfather. When the Carthaginians learned of Scipio's arrival they besought him to make terms for them with Masinissa. He brought them to a conference, and the Carthaginians made proposals that they would surrender to Masinissa the territory belonging to the town of Emporium and give him 200 talents of silver now and 800 talents later. When he asked for the deserters they would not give them up. So they separated without coming to an agreement. Then Scipio returned to Spain with his elephants. Masinissa drew a line of circumvallation around the hill where the enemy were encamped and prevented them from bringing in any food. Nor could any be found in the neighborhood, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure a scant supply for himself from a long distance. Now Hasdrubal thought that he should be able to break through the enemy's line with his army, which was still strong and unharmed. Having more supplies than Masinissa, he thought it would be a good plan to provoke him to battle and he delayed because he had just learned that envoys were on their way from Rome to settle the difficulty. By and by they came. They had

been instructed if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

[73] In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and they boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of various diseases due to lack of food, want of exercise, and the season, for they were enclosed in one place and in a contracted camp — a great multitude of men exposed to the heat of an African summer. When the supply of wood for cooking failed they burned their shields. They could not carry out the bodies of the dead because Masinissa kept strict guard; nor could they burn them for want of fuel. So there was a terrible pestilence among them in consequence of living in the stench of putrefying corpses. The greater part of the army was already wasted away. The rest, seeing no hope of escape, agreed to give up the deserters to Masinissa and to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and to take back those who had been banished, although this was contrary to their oath. They were to pass out through their enemies, one by one, through a single gate, and with nothing but a short tunic for each. Gulussa, full of wrath at the assault made upon him not long before, either with the connivance of his father or upon his own motion, made a charge upon them with a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. As they had neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, many were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility.

CHAPTER XI

Third Punic War — No Excuse for It — Utica joins the Romans — Hostages demanded of Carthage — Pitiful Scenes when the Hostages were sent — Roman Army lands at Utica — Embassy from Carthage

(Y.R. 605)

[74] Such was the war between Masinissa and the carthaginians. (B.C. 149) The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harboring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not telling what it was intended for, but in order, they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the boëtharch, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse their own citizens of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: "You must make it right with the Roman people." When they inquired among themselves what would make it right, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what they should do to make it right. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well what was necessary, and having given this answer dismissed them.

[75] While they were stricken with fear and perplexity on this account, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having a harbor with good anchorage and well adapted for landing an army, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it),

observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them, sent an embassy to Rome at this critical moment offering to give themselves up to the Romans. The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they were accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manlius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemiolii, besides many open boats and transports. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many were eager to have their names on the enrolment.

[76] The declaration of war and the war itself reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger. He brought the vote of the Senate, and told them that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair for want of ships and by the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war. They knew that they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any terms they could. The Senate was convened and it told them that if, within thirty days, the Carthaginians would give to the consuls, who were still in Sicily, three hundred children of their noblest families as hostages, and would obey their orders in other respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage should be preserved and that they should retain their lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to the consuls that they should carry out their secret instructions.

[77] The Carthaginians had some suspicion of this Senate resolution, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages. Nevertheless, the danger was so great that they could omit nothing in which hope could be placed. So, anticipating the appointed time, they sent their children into Sicily, amid the tears of the parents, the kindred, and especially the mothers, who clung to their little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away, even holding the anchors and tearing the ropes, and throwing their arms around the sailors in order to prevent the ships from moving; some of them even swam out far into the sea beside the ships, shedding tears and gazing at their children. Some of them tore out their hair on the shore and smote their breasts in the extremity of their grief. It seemed to them that they were giving hostages only nominally, but were really

giving up the city, when they surrendered their children without any fixed conditions. Many of them predicted, with lamentations, that it would profit the city nothing to have delivered up their children. Such were the scenes that took place in Carthage when the hostages were sent away. When the consuls received them in Sicily they sent them to Rome, and said to the Carthaginians that they would give them further information at Utica in reference to the ending of the war.

[78] Crossing to the latter place they pitched the camp for their infantry at the same place where that of Scipio had formerly been. The fleet remained in the harbor of Utica. When the ambassadors came there from Carthage the consuls placed themselves on a high seat, with the chief officers and military tribunes standing near, and the whole army drawn up on either side with arms glistening and standards erect, in order that the ambassadors might be impressed in this way with the strength of the expedition. When the consuls had proclaimed silence by the trumpet, a herald told the Carthaginian envoys to come forward, and they advanced through the long camp, but did not draw near to the place where the consuls sat, because they were fenced off by a rope. The consuls then ordered them to tell what they wanted. The envoys then told a various and pitiful tale about the former agreements between the Romans and themselves, about the antiquity of Carthage, its size and power, and its wide dominion on land and sea. They said that they did not mention these things in a boasting way, this was no fit occasion for boasting, “but that you, Romans (they said), may be moved to moderation and clemency by the example of our sudden change of fortune. The bravest are those who pity the fallen, and they may cherish confidence in their own continued prosperity in proportion as they do nothing to the injury of others. Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that reverent spirit which you, of all men, most profess.

[79] “But even if we had met ruthless enemies we have suffered enough. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and we have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and we have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into an agreement with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe the agreement. And they, with whom we had been at war, observed the agreement faithfully afterward. But you, with whom we have never come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any hateful elephants? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. He was always grabbing our property, and we endured all things on

your account. While holding, all the time and contrary to right, the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking that he invaded still others, until the peace which we made with you was broken. If this is an excuse for the war, we condemned those who resisted him, and we sent our ambassadors to you to make the necessary explanations, and afterwards others empowered to make a settlement on any terms you pleased. What need is there of a fleet, an expedition, an army against men who do not acknowledge that they have done wrong, but who, nevertheless, put themselves entirely in your hands? That we are not deceiving you, and that we will submit ungrudgingly to whatever penalty you impose, we demonstrated plainly when we sent, as hostages, the children of our noblest families, demanded by you, as soon as the decree of your Senate ordered us to do so, not even waiting the expiration of the thirty days. It was a part of this decree that if we would deliver the hostages Carthage should remain free under her own laws and in the enjoyment of her possessions.”

CHAPTER XII

Reply of Censorinus—“Perfidia plusquam Punica”—Terrible Plight of Carthage—Pathetic Speech of Banno—Reply of Censorinus

[80] So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: “Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? What you have stated falsely, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. If you are sincerely desirous of peace why do you need any arms? Bring all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private, and deliver them to us.” When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who was now leading 20,000 men against them, and was already encamped near Carthage. When the consul said that he would take care of Hasdrubal they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnæus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and they received complete armor for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with numerous senators and other leading men of the city, priests and distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and with a stern countenance spoke as follows: —

[81] “Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. In cases of necessity we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining commands of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground.” While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. They heaped reproaches on the Romans, as if willing to die, or insane, or determined to provoke the Romans to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses.

After the first frenzy was past there was great silence and prostration as of men lying dead. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians, for when the sense of their calamity came over them, during the interval of silence, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also their country, as though she could hear their cries like a human being. The priests invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.

[82] The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, awaited with stern countenances the end of their lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence, in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. They had neither mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, their other enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of lamentation and reproaches they desisted from them, and again began to talk. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said: —

[83] “If it is permitted to repeat what we have already said to you, Romans, we would speak once more, not as though we were contending for rights (since disputation is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and we contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we mentioned it before when you demanded our arms. Our calamities make us verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio was

our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the doers and the witnesses. You asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in your habits and your character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

[84] "This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you do not care to hear it we will omit it altogether and have recourse to prayers and tears, the one refuge of the unfortunate, for which there is ample occasion in the greatness of our calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name pervading the whole world, of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their festivals, solemnities, and sacrifices. Deprive not the dead who have never harmed you, of the offerings which their children bring to their tombs. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare our shrines, spare our forum, respect the deity who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our ships and our arms and our hateful elephants? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city.

[85] "Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you announce and claim moderation in all your successes and acquisitions. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of your other gods, as well as of those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never remember ill against you or your children), do not tarnish your good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever destroyed a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon

men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and the avenging Nemesis that ever lies in wait for the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to push our calamities to the last extremity. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time to send another embassy to your Senate to present our petition. Although the intervening time is short, it will bring long agony to us through the uncertainty of the event. It will be all the same to you whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act.”

[86] So spake Banno, but the consuls showed by their stern looks that they would yield nothing. When he had ceased, Censorinus replied: “What is the use of repeating what the Senate has ordered? It has issued its decrees and they must be carried out. We have no power to alter the commands already laid upon us. If we were addressing you as enemies, Carthaginians, it would be necessary only to speak and then to use force, but since this is a matter of the common good (somewhat of our own and still more of yours), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrong-doing and brings you to grief. By this means you invaded Sicily and lost it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were caught at it, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also by means of this sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain.

[87] “In like manner the Athenians, when they became a maritime people, grew mightily, but they fell as suddenly. Naval prowess is like merchants’ gains — a good profit to-day and a total loss to-morrow. You know that those very people whom I have mentioned, when they had extended their sway over the Ionian Sea to Sicily could not restrain their greed until they had lost everything, and were compelled to surrender their harbor and their ships to their enemies, to receive a garrison in their city, to demolish their own long walls, and to become almost exclusively an inland people. And this very thing kept them going a long time. Believe me, Carthaginians, country life, with the joys of agriculture and freedom from danger, is much more wholesome. Although the gains of agriculture are smaller than those of mercantile life, they are surer and a great deal safer. In fact, a maritime city seems to me to be more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of *terra firma*. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful.

[88] "But I will omit kingly examples, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose one that you would like to have for neighbors, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the sea empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and proudly brought into your harbor, and gorged your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, all empty, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbor and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. Why should we spare our captured enemies? If you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but in fact, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you honestly desire peace with us, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us.

[89] "Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your shrines, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, as often as you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other shrines and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently this will be your country; just as you left your old ones in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the newly acquired land your country. Understand then, in brief, that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting peace and of the common security. If you will remember, we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but receiving them as settlers with due honor, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many work-people who gain their living by the sea. We have thought of this. In order that you might easily have traffic by sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should

have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We consider you to be Carthage, not the ground and buildings where you live.”

CHAPTER XIII

Return of the Ambassadors — Terrible Scenes in the City — Carthage resolves to fight — Slow Movements of the Consuls

[90] Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. Nor can we hope to return to you again, since we shall be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. We pray you, therefore, not on our account (for we are ready to suffer everything), but on account of Carthage itself, that you will, if possible, strike terror into them so that they may be able to endure this calamity. Advance your fleet to the city while we are returning by the road, so that, seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may learn to bear it if they can. To this state has dire necessity brought us that we ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland." Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus set sail with twenty quinqueremes and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors wandered away from the road, but the greater part moved on in silence.

[91] Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now all together, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them. When those on the walls heard them they joined in the lamentations, not knowing why, but as though some great evil were impending. At the gates the crowd almost crushed the envoys, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn in pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd turned aside, and others opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. When they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to

get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. When they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, they raised a loud and mournful outcry, and the people rushed in among them.

[92] Then followed a scene of indescribable fury and madness such as the Mænads are said to enact in the Bacchic mysteries. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favored giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, saying that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships that had been surrendered to perfidious men. Some called their elephants by name, as though they had been present, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, instead of paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks and accused them of giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. A few kept their wits about them, closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of catapults.

[93] The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other unoccupied space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked together day and night without pause, taking their food by turns on a fixed schedule. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000

missiles for catapults, 500 darts and javelins, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

[94] While the Carthaginians were preparing for war with such haste and zeal, the consuls, who perhaps hesitated about performing such an atrocious act on the instant, or because they thought that they could easily capture an unarmed city whenever they liked, kept delaying. They thought also that the Carthaginians would give in for want of means, as it usually happens that those who are in desperate straits are very eager to resist at first, but as time brings opportunity for reflection, fear of the consequences of disobedience takes possession of them. Something of this kind happened in Carthage, where a certain citizen, conjecturing that fear had already come upon them, walked into the assembly as if on other business and dared to say that among evils they ought to choose the least, since they were unarmed, thus speaking his mind plainly. Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthaginians to their knees others should carry off the glory, not even communicating with him beforehand as they had done in the former wars. Nevertheless, when the consuls, by way of testing him, asked his assistance, he said that he would send it whenever he should see that they needed it. Not long after he sent to inquire if they wanted anything at present. They, not tolerating his haughtiness and already suspicious of him as a disaffected person, answered that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumentum, Leptis, Saxo, Utica, and Acholla only, all the rest of Africa being in the power of Hasdrubal, from which he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it.

CHAPTER XIV

Topography of Carthage — The Two Harbors — The Romans repulsed — Roman Rams destroyed — Scipio the Younger — Fleet burned — Exploits of Phameas

[95] The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended toward the west between a lake and the sea. On the sea side the city was protected by a single wall. Toward the south and the mainland, where the citadel of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet without counting parapets and towers, which were separated from each other by a space of 200 feet, and each was divided into four stories. The depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided vertically by two vaults, one above the other. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for war was arranged and provided for in their walls alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbor along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning.

[96] The harbors had communication with each other, and a common entrance from the sea seventy feet wide, which could be closed with iron chains. The first port was for merchant vessels, and here were collected all kinds of ships' tackle. Within the second port was an island which, together with the port itself, was enclosed by high embankments. These embankments were full of shipyards which had capacity for 220 vessels. Above them were magazines for their tackle and furniture. Two Ionic columns stood in front of each dock, giving the appearance of a continuous portico to both the harbor and the island. On the island was built the admiral's house, from which the trumpeter gave signals, the herald delivered orders, and the admiral himself overlooked everything. The island lay near the entrance to the harbor and rose to a considerable height, so that the admiral could observe what was going on at sea, while those who were approaching by water could not get any clear view of what took place within. Not even the incoming merchants could see the docks, for a double wall enclosed them, and there were gates by which merchant ships could pass from the first port to the city without traversing the dockyards. Such was the appearance of Carthage at that time.

[97] Now the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to fill up the ditch, surmount the low parapet overlooking it, and from that to scale

the high wall. Censorinus raised ladders both from the ground and from the decks of ships against the neglected angle of the wall. Both of them despised the enemy, thinking that they were unarmed, but when they found that they were provided with new arms and were full of courage they were astounded and took to their heels. Thus they met a rebuff at the very beginning, in expecting to take the city without fighting. When they made a second PLAN OF HARBORS AT CARTHAGE. From "Carthage and the Carthaginians," by R. Bosworth Smith. By kind permission of Longmans, Green & Co. attempt and were again repulsed, the spirits of the Carthaginians were very much raised. The consuls, fearing Hasdrubal, who had pitched his camp behind them on the other side of the lake, not far distant, fortified two camps, Censorinus on the lake under the walls of the enemy, and Manilius on the isthmus leading to the mainland. When the camps were finished Censorinus crossed the lake to get timber for building engines and lost about 500 men, who were cutting wood, and also many tools, the Carthaginian cavalry general, Himilco, surnamed Phameas, having suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless, he secured a certain amount of timber with which he made engines and ladders. Again they made an attempt upon the city in concert, and again they failed. Manilius, after some feeble efforts, having with difficulty beaten down a little of the outworks, gave up in despair of taking the city from that side.

[98] Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have more room, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. Moved by a spirit of emulation among officers and men in the performance of their similar tasks, they beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, drove them back and strove to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman arms should readily destroy by daylight their moist and newly made wall, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches, to set fire to the machines. They did not succeed in destroying these entirely (the Romans rallying and not giving them sufficient time), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighboring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribune, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and

stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go into the city. When those who entered were driven back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succor and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the consul.

[99] Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the camp of Censorinus, who was conducting his operations on a lake of stagnant water with high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea, for which reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, observing that the wind blew toward the Romans, attached ropes to some small boats and hauled them behind the walls, so that they should not be observed by the enemy, and filled them with dry twigs and tow. Then they pushed them back, and as they turned the corner and came in sight of the enemy, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterward Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others, unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal *melée*.

[100] Manilius thereupon fortified his camp more carefully. He threw around it a wall in place of the palisade and built a fort on the sea-shore at the place where his supply-ships came in. Then, turning to the mainland, he ravaged the country with 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, collecting wood and forage and provisions. These foraging parties were in charge of the military tribunes by turns. Now Phameas, the chief of the African horse, — a young man eager for fighting, having small but swift horses that lived on grass when they could find nothing else, and could bear both hunger and thirst when necessary, — hiding in thickets and ravines, when he saw that the enemy were not on their guard swooped down upon them from his hiding-place like an eagle, inflicted as much damage on them as he could, and took refuge in flight. But when Scipio's turn came he never made his appearance, because Scipio always kept his foot-soldiers in line and his horsemen on horseback, and in foraging he never broke ranks until he had encircled the field where his harvesters were to work, with cavalry and infantry. Moreover, he was always reconnoitring with other troops of horse around the circle, and if any of the harvesters straggled away or passed outside of the circle he punished them severely. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack.

CHAPTER XV

*A Sally from the City — Manilius marches against Hasdrubal and is repulsed
— Flight of Manilius — A Detachment rescued*

[101] As these things were happening all the time, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a report that there was an understanding between Phameas and Scipio, arising from the former friendship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken refuge in towers and castles, with which the country abounded, in pursuance of agreements made with the other tribunes, and the latter, after giving them this permission, had set upon them when they were going out; but Scipio always conducted them safely home. For this reason none of them would make any agreement unless Scipio were present. In this way his reputation for courage and good faith spread gradually among both friends and enemies. After the Romans had returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined by making noises to add to the alarm. While Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse, led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course around them with the firebrands and make a show of numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of attacking here and there. This was done until the Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on all sides, became panicstricken and took refuge in the city. This also was added to the famous exploits of Scipio. Thus in the mouths of all he was proclaimed as the only worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family he had been received by adoption.

[102] Manilius undertook an expedition to Nopheris against Hasdrubal, which Scipio disapproved of, because the road was flanked by mountain crags, gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him to turn back, saying that another time and other means would be more propitious for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savored of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio gave another piece of advice, that they ought to fortify a camp on the hither side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place where they could take refuge. The others laughed at this, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not

had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal took refuge in his strong-hold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the fewness and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a most brilliant attack, and slew a vast number of them who were more intent upon flight than upon defending themselves. Among the killed were three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.

[103] Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, discharging darts at them and retreating by turns, then straightway coming back at them and again retreating, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter hurried across the stream and after them came Scipio with his men under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them until they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in a quandary. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not to endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying out your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then, selecting some companies of horse, he said that he would either rescue them or willingly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated from the former by a narrow ravine. The Africans pressed the siege vigorously, making signals to each other and thinking that Scipio would not be able to relieve his friends on account of the excessive fatigue of his march. But Scipio, seeing that the bases of the two hills curved around the ravine, lost no time but dashed around them and secured a position above the enemy. They, finding themselves surrounded, fled in disorder. Scipio did not pursue them, as they were much superior in numbers.

[104] Thus Scipio saved these men also, who had been given up for lost. When the army at a distance saw him returning safe, and that he had saved the others contrary to expectation, they shouted for joy and conceived the idea that he was aided by the same deity that was supposed to have enabled his

grandfather Scipio to foresee the future. Manilius then returned to his camp in front of the city, having suffered severely from not following the advice of Scipio, who had tried to dissuade him from the expedition. When all were grieved that those who had fallen in battle, and especially the tribunes, remained unburied, Scipio released one of the captives and sent him to Hasdrubal, asking that he would give burial to the tribunes. The latter searched among the corpses, and, recognizing them by their signet rings (for the military tribunes wore gold rings while common soldiers had only iron ones), he buried them, thus thinking to do an act of humanity not uncommon in war, or perhaps because he was in awe of the reputation of Scipio and thought to do him a service. As the Romans were returning from the expedition against Hasdrubal, Phameas made an attack upon them while demoralized by that disaster, and as they came into camp the Carthaginians made a sally from the city and killed some of the camp followers.

CHAPTER XVI

*Rising Fame of Scipio — Death of Masinissa — A Talk with Phameas —
Treason of Phameas — Arrival of the New Consul Piso — Piso repulsed —
The Carthaginians in High Spirits*

(Y.R. 606)

[105] Now the Senate sent commissioners to the army to (B.C. 148) get particulars, before whom Manilius and the council and the remaining tribunes bore testimony in favor of Scipio; for all jealousy had been stifled by his glorious actions. The whole army did the same, and his deeds spoke for themselves, so that the messengers, on their return, reported to everybody the military skill and success of Scipio and the attachment of the soldiers to him. These things greatly pleased the Senate. On account of the many mishaps that had taken place they sent to Masinissa to secure his utmost aid against Carthage. The envoys found that he was no longer living, having succumbed to old age and disease. Having several illegitimate sons, to whom he had made large gifts, and three legitimate ones, who differed from each other in their qualities, he had asked Scipio, on the ground of his (Masinissa's) friendship with him and with his grandfather, to come and consult with him concerning his children and the government. Scipio went immediately, but shortly before he arrived Masinissa breathed his last, having charged his sons to obey Scipio in the matter of the division of the estate.

[106] Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine favor he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it from Mauritania on the ocean through the continent as far as the government of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a large sum of money in his treasury and a well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and he was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa, but he died at last. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To each of the legitimate sons he gave treasures and revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there.

Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made the director of matters relating to peace and war. Mastanabal, the youngest, who was learned in the law, was appointed judge to decide causes between their subjects.

[107] In this way Scipio divided the government and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and speedily put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable stream, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambushade farther on, advanced with three companies to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced with only one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, advanced further with only one. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said, "Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country?" The other replied, "What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?" "If you have any confidence in my word and influence," said Scipio, "I will promise you safety and pardon from the Romans and their favor besides." Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, "I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know." Then they separated.

[108] Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nepheris, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa's army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: "On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night." Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio knew that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambushade by this very versatile man; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to make any definite promise of reward, but to tell him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of promises, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favors he would leave all that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward in conference with his officers as though about some other matters, he said, "If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going

to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. You have now the opportunity to consider what is for your advantage." When he had said this, some of the officers went over to the enemy with their forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were held together by Hanno, surnamed the White.

[109] When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and welcomed him as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away for want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They must have three days more of suffering in their return; therefore Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called Great Barathrum and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul, because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage. Many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armor, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would coöperate with them to the end of the war. He promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa.

[110] In the early spring Calpurnius Piso, the new consul, arrived, and with him Lucius Mancinus as admiral of the fleet, but they did not attack either the Carthaginians or Hasdrubal. Marching against the neighboring towns they made an attempt on Aspis by land and sea, and were repulsed. Piso took another town near by and destroyed it, the inhabitants accusing him of attacking them in violation of a treaty. He then moved against Hippagreta, a large city, with walls, citadel, harbor, and dockyards handsomely built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily. Being situated between Carthage and Utica it intercepted the Roman supply-ships and was growing rich thereby. Calpurnius thought to punish them and deprive them of their gains at the same time, but he besieged them the whole summer and accomplished nothing. Twice the inhabitants made sallies, with the aid of the Carthaginians, and burned the Roman engines. The consul, being foiled, returned to Utica and went into winter quarters.

[111] The Carthaginians, finding themselves and the army of Hasdrubal unharmed, and that they had worsted Piso in the fighting around Hippagreta, and their forces being augmented by 800 horse, who had deserted from Gulussa, under Bithya, a Numidian chief; seeing also that Micipsa and

Mastanabal, the sons of Masinissa, were always promising arms and money to the Romans, but always delaying and waiting to see what would happen, plucked up their spirits and roamed through Africa without fear, fortifying the country, and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed to the two victories at Nepheris and the more recent one at Hippagreta, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that they, as well as Carthage, were in danger of subjection to the Romans. They sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigor and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed they considered nothing too small to be worth attention, and they gained in confidence, courage, and preparation from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and who had twice got the better of Manilius, was in high spirits also. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches.

CHAPTER XVII

Scipio elected Consul — Saves Mancinus from Destruction — Demoralization of the Army — Scipio's Speech to the Soldiers

[112] When the ill success of Piso and the preparation of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious, as the war was growing larger and more irreconcilable, and coming nearer every day. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the exploits of Scipio while he was a military tribune not long before, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was presently an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The election was drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the ædileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and urged all the more, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law, and after one year they reënacted it. In like manner the Lacedæmonians, when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus, said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the ædileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, proposed to him to cast lots to see which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes put the question of the command of that army to the people, and they chose Scipio. They also allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost in the war, and as many volunteers as he could enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion. In this way he obtained assistance from them. (Y.R. 607)

[113] Having made these arrangements, Scipio sailed first to Sicily and thence to Utica. Piso, in the meantime, had laid siege to a town in the interior. Mancinus, observing a neglected part of the wall of Carthage, which was protected by continuous and almost impassable cliffs and had been neglected for that reason, made an attack there, thinking to scale the wall secretly by means of ladders. These being fixed, certain soldiers mounted boldly. The Carthaginians, despising their small numbers, opened a gate adjacent to these rocks and made a sally against the enemy. The Romans repulsed and pursued them, and rushed into the (B.C. 147) city through the open gate. They raised a

shout of victory, and Mancinus, transported with joy (for he was giddy and rash by nature), and the whole crowd with him, rushed from the ships, unarmed or half-armed, to aid their companions. As it was now about sunset they occupied a strong position adjacent to the wall and spent the night there. Being without food, Mancinus called upon Piso and the magistrates of Utica to assist him in his perilous position and to send him provisions in all haste, for he was in danger of being thrust out by the Carthaginians at daylight and dashed to pieces on the rocks.

[114] Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet to sound for fighting immediately, and the heralds to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older ones to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of vast numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed ones, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being pushed over the precipice when Scipio's fleet came in sight, driven at a tremendous rate of speed, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief. Gradually the Carthaginians drew back and Scipio received those who had been in peril into his ships. Straightway he sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and he pitched his camp not far from Carthage. The Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry general, who had 6000 foot-soldiers and 1000 horse well trained and seasoned.

[115] Scipio, finding the discipline of the army relaxed and the soldiers under Piso given up to idleness, avarice, and rapine, and a multitude of hucksters mingled with them, who followed the camp for the sake of booty, and accompanied the bolder ones when they made expeditions for plunder without permission (although in contemplation of law everybody was a deserter who went beyond the sound of the trumpet in time of war); seeing also that the commander was held to blame for all their failures and that the plunder they took was the cause of fresh quarrels and demoralization among them, for many of them fell out with their comrades on account of it and proceeded to blows, wounds, and even manslaughter — in view of all these things and

believing that he should never master the enemy unless he first mastered his own men, he called them together and, mounting a high platform, he lashed them with these words: —

[116] “Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have ample powers to punish the disobedient, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. You are more like hucksters than conquerors. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labor has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you now, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to exact money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be for the army, and plain food at that. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quæstor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be postponed to their proper time. This I command and this the law commands. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it.”

CHAPTER XVIII

Restores Discipline and captures Megara — Cruelties of Hasdrubal — Scipio's Intrenched Camp — Cuts off the Supplies of Carthage — Attempts to close the Harbor but fails — Indecisive Naval Engagement — Desperate Fight for Possession of a Quay — Scipio captures Nepheris

[117] Having spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, idle, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When their approach was perceived and a shout was raised from the walls, they shouted back — first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side — as loudly as possible. The Carthaginians were at first struck with terror at finding such a large force of the enemy attacking them on both sides in the night-time, but Scipio with his utmost efforts was not able to scale the walls. There was a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. He sent some of his bravest young men to the top of this tower, who with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, as though the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls, hedges, and brambles, besides deep ditches full of water running in every direction, Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads that they were unacquainted with, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew.

[118] When daylight came Hasdrubal, enraged at the attack upon Megara, took the Roman prisoners whom he held, brought them upon the walls, in full sight of their comrades, and tore out their eyes, tongues, and tendons with iron hooks; of some he lacerated the soles of the feet, he cut off the fingers of others, and some he flayed alive. All who survived these tortures he hurled from the top of the walls. He thus gave the Carthaginians to understand that there was no possibility of peace with the Romans, and sought to fire them with the conviction that their only safety was in fighting. But the result was

contrary to his intention, for the Carthaginians, conscience-stricken by these nefarious deeds, became timid instead of courageous, and hated Hasdrubal for depriving them of all hope of pardon. Their senate especially denounced him for committing these savage and unusual cruelties in the midst of so great domestic calamities. So he arrested some of the complaining senators and put them to death. Making himself feared in every way he came to be more like a tyrant than a general, for he considered himself secure only if he were an object of terror to them, and he trusted that he should be protected from danger in this way.

[119] Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across it from sea to sea not more than a stone's throw from the enemy. The latter were not idle. . Along the whole distance of five and twenty stades he had to work and fight at the same time. When he had finished this one he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others running transversely, giving the interior space the form of a quadrangle, and threw around the whole a palisade of chevaux-de-frise. In addition to the palisade he fortified the ditches also, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, without counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was at the middle, and upon this another of wood, four stories high, was built, from which to observe what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within the fortification.

[120] This was at the same time a camp for himself and a rather long fort commanding the enemy's country. From this base he could intercept all the supplies sent to the Carthaginians from the interior, since Carthage was everywhere washed by the sea except on this neck. Hence this fort was the first and principal cause of famine and other troubles to them, for, while the great multitude betook themselves from the fields to the city, and none could go out on account of the siege, foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war. Thus they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favorable, much the greater part being forwarded by the land route. Deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt by attacking and breaking through Scipio's fortification, but he sent supplies a long way around by water, although Scipio's ships were blockading Carthage. The latter did not keel) their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as they had no shelter and the sea was full of reefs. Nor could they anchor near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and

the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong and favorable wind, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances were rare and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. These supplies Hasdrubal distributed to his 30,000 soldiers exclusively, for he despised the multitude; for which reason they suffered greatly from hunger.

[121] When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbor on the west side, not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning on the tongue of land which lay between the lake and sea, advancing straight toward the harbor's mouth. He filled it with heavy stones so that it might not be washed away by the waves. The embankment was twenty-four feet wide on the top and four times as much on the bottom. The Carthaginians at first despised this work as likely to take a long time, and perhaps impossible of execution altogether. But when they saw the whole army proceeding eagerly, and not intermitting the work by day or by night, they became alarmed, and began to excavate another entrance at another part of the harbor in midsea, where it was impossible to carry an embankment on account of the depth of the water and the fury of the wind. Even the women and children helped to dig. They began the work inside, and carefully concealed what they were doing. At the same time they built triremes and quinqueremes from old material, and they left nothing to be desired in the way of courage and high spirit. Moreover, they concealed everything so perfectly that not even the prisoners could tell Scipio with certainty what was going on, but merely that there was a great racket in the harbor day and night; what it was about they did not know. Finally, everything being finished, the Carthaginians opened the new entrance about the dawn of day and passed out with fifty triremes, besides pinnaces, brigantines, and other small craft decked out in a way to cause terror.

[122] The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and of the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which were in disorder by reason of beleaguering of the walls, neither sailors nor rowers being present, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But now (since it was fated that Carthage should perish) they only sailed out to make a show, and, having flouted the enemy in a pompous way, they returned inside the harbor. Three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and other apparatus in good order. They came together with loud shouts on both sides and cheers from the rowers, steersmen, and marines, the Carthaginians resting their last hope of safety on this engagement and the Romans hoping to make it their final victory. The fight raged till midday. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats, running under the sides of the Roman ships, which were taller, stove holes in their sterns and broke off their

oars and rudders, and damaged them in various other ways, advancing and retreating nimbly. As the day verged toward evening the battle was still undecided, and the Carthaginians thought best to withdraw, not that they were beaten, but to renew the engagement the next day.

[123] Their small boats retired first, and arriving at the entrance, and becoming entangled on account of their number, they blocked up the mouth so that when the larger ones arrived they were prevented from entering. They took refuge at a wide quay, which had been built against the city wall for unloading merchant ships some time before, and on which a small parapet had been erected during this war lest the space might sometime be occupied by the enemy. When the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbor, they ranged themselves with their bows outward and received the attack of the enemy, some of them standing on the ships, some on the quay, and still others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for while they were executing the movement they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetæ, which were in alliance with Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetæ, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginians withdrew to the city — as many of them as survived the engagement.

[124] At daylight Scipio attacked this quay because it was well situated to command the harbor. Assailing the parapet with rams and other engines he beat down a part of it. The Carthaginians, although oppressed by hunger and distress of various kinds, made a sally by night against the Roman engines, not by land, for there was no passage-way, nor by ships, for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being naked they suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Although the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as was never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his

attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. He killed some of them himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing some desperate deed of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home.

[125] When daylight returned the Carthaginians, no longer molested by the engines, rebuilt that part of the outwork which had been battered down and added to it a number of towers at intervals. The Romans constructed new engines and built mounds in front of these towers, from which they threw upon them lighted torches and vessels filled with burning brimstone and pitch, and burned some of them, and drove away the Carthaginians. The footway was so slippery with coagulated blood, lately shed in great quantity, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge darts and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with comparative safety. As the walls were of equal height the darts were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

[126] At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nephesis against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal's successor, going by the lake while sending Gaius Lælius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to keep Diogenes unceasingly employed, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes' towers were demolished Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy's rear, and 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, in his front, to attack the demolished rampart. They did not make the attack en masse, but by divisions in close order, following each other, so that if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was made with loud shouts, and the Africans were drawn thither. The 1000 in ambush, unperceived and unsuspected, fell boldly upon the rear of the camp, as they had been ordered, and tore down and scaled the palisade. When the first ones entered the Africans were panic-stricken and fled, thinking that the numbers of the new assailants were much greater than they were. Gulussa pursued them with his Numidian cavalry and elephants and made a great slaughter, some 70,000, including non-combatants, being killed. Ten thousand were captured and about 4000 escaped. In addition to the camp the city of Nephesis was taken also, after a siege of twenty-two days, prosecuted by Scipio with great labor and suffering on account of the severity of the weather. This success contributed much to the taking of Carthage, for provisions were conveyed to it by this army, and the people of Africa were in good courage as

long as they saw this force in the field. As soon as it was captured the remainder of Africa surrendered to Scipio's lieutenants or was taken without much difficulty. The supplies of Carthage now fell short, since none came from Africa or from foreign parts, navigation being cut off in every direction by the war and the storms of winter.

CHAPTER XIX

Scipio takes the Inner Harbor — Fighting in the Streets — Scenes of Horror — Fighting in Byrsa — Hasdrubal and his Wife — Destruction of Carthage — Scipio sheds Tears

(Y.R. 608)

[127] When spring returned, Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbor of Cothon. Hasdrubal one night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Lælius, still expecting Scipio to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans mounted on all sides, despising the danger, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighboring forum. Being unable to do more, as it was now nightfall, he and his whole force passed the (B.C. 146) night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords, disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

[128] Now Scipio hastened to the attack of Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six stories high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. They were compelled, therefore, to possess themselves of the first ones and use those as a means of expelling the occupants of the next. When they had mastered the first, they threw timbers from one to another over the narrow passageways, and crossed as on bridges. While war was raging in this way on the roofs, another fight was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them alighting on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Scipio reached Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passageways clear of burning material so that the army might move back and forth freely.

[129] Then came new scenes of horror. As the fire spread and carried everything down, the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by

little, but all in a heap. So the crashing grew louder, and many corpses fell with the stones into the midst. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering piteous cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder in all shapes of horror, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and forks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, dragging them along like sticks and stones and turning them over with their iron tools. Trenches were filled with men. Some who were thrown in head foremost, with their legs sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners do these things on purpose; but the tug of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the orders of the officers, the blast of the trumpets, tribunes and centurions marching their cohorts hither and thither — all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacles under their eyes.

[130] Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of fighting, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of longer duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Æsculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare the lives of all who might wish to depart from Byrsa. This he granted to all except the deserters. Forth-with there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Æsculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they might have defended themselves a long time although they were few in number, on account of the height and rocky nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, toil, and approaching dissolution, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

[131] Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly presented himself to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was

granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arrayed in the best attire possible under such circumstances, and with her children by her side, said in Scipio's hearing, "For you, Roman, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. Upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children. Will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate a Roman triumph? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. Such, they say, was the death of the wife of Hasdrubal, which would have been more becoming to himself.

[132] Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, rich with arms and fleets, elephants and money, equal to the mightiest monarchies but far surpassing them in bravery and high spirit (since without ships or arms, and in the face of famine, it had sustained continuous war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction — Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the rise and fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon that of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, greatest of all, and later the splendid Macedonian empire, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:—"The day shall come in which our sacred Troy

And Priam, and the people over whom

Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all." (Iliad, vi, 448, 449; Bryant's translation.)

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Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, he said that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

CHAPTER XX

Rejoicings in Rome — Scipio's Triumph — Carthage rebuilt by Augustus

[133] Carthage being destroyed, Scipio gave the soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. He sold the rest of the spoils, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.

[134] When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their world-wide supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as never before. Many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself, had they celebrated; but no other war had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, skill, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Pondering on these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they gabbled the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians were got away from them and how, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others; how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbor was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. They pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; and they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. In this way the people of Rome passed the night.

[135] The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods

by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds. The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. They decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should obliterate it and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Direful threats were levelled against any who should disobey and chiefly against the rebuilding of Byrsa or Megara, but it was not forbidden to go upon the ground. The towns that had allied themselves with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all to the Uticans was given the territory of Carthage itself, extending as far as Hippo. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike. It was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these arrangements had been carried out by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and he instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and gorged with statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of the world through all time, the fruit of their countless victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andriscus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad. (Y.R. 631)

[136] Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, (B.C. 123) uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate put a stop to the settlement. At a still later time it is said that Cæsar, who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and while making a distribution of lands to the poor, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000 colonists from Rome and that the rest came from the neighboring country. And (Y.R. 708) thus the Romans took Africa away from the Carthaginians, (B.C. 46) destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 102 years after its destruction.

Horace White Appian's account of the defeat of Regulus by Xanthippus is altogether different from that given by Polybius. I subjoin a translation of the

latter: —

“About this time a certain recruiting officer returned to Carthage who had been sent to Greece some time before, bringing a large number of soldiers, and among them a certain Xanthippus, a Lacedemonian, versed in the Spartan discipline and having corresponding experience in matters of war. When he had acquainted himself with the circumstances of the late defeat and had observed what still remained of the Carthaginian forces, and particularly their great strength in cavalry and elephants, he began to put this and that together, and showed his friends how it happened that the Carthaginians had been beaten, not by the Romans, but by the unskilfulness of their own generals. The words of Xanthippus, being rumored around among the multitude and the generals, finally reached the ears of the magistrates, who sent for him in order to get better information. When he came he explained the causes of their recent failure, and showed that if they would follow his advice and choose the level ground for their marches, camps, and battles, they might easily repair their losses and overcome the enemy. The generals accepted this advice and immediately put their forces under his training. When the advice of Xanthippus was spread through the city hopeful talk and rumors became common among the people. When he brought the forces in front of the city, and marshalled them in good order, and began to drill them by divisions, and to give the word of command according to rule, he presented such a contrast to the want of discipline of the former commanders that the rank and file applauded and demanded to be led against the enemy as soon as possible, feeling assured that no misfortune could befall them under the lead of Xanthippus. The generals, seeing the spirits of the soldiers so wonderfully raised, addressed them in a manner befitting the occasion, and a few days later put their forces on the march. They had 12,000 foot, 4000 horse, and about 100 elephants.

“The Romans, seeing the Carthaginians marching through the open country and camping on level ground, were surprised at this unexpected movement and hastened to meet them. At the end of the first day’s march they encamped at a distance of only ten stades from the enemy. The next day the Carthaginian generals held a council of war to determine what should be done. But the soldiers, despising the danger, ran together in crowds and, shouting the name of Xanthippus, demanded to be led immediately against the enemy. The generals, observing the eagerness and confidence of their men and being urged by Xanthippus not to lose this opportunity, gave orders to the army to prepare for battle and put everything in the hands of Xanthippus to do as he liked. He took command, ranged the elephants in a single line in front of the whole army, and stationed the Carthaginian phalanx a short distance behind them. He placed the bulk of the mercenaries on the right wing, but the light-armed ones were stationed at the front of each wing, together with the horse. The Romans, observing the enemy’s movements, drew up their forces with equal readiness. In order to protect themselves against the onset of the

elephants, which they dreaded, they threw forward a large number of skirmishers armed with javelins. Behind these were ranged the legions, and the horse were divided between the two wings. Their line of battle was somewhat shorter than usual, but deeper, being well calculated to receive the attack of the elephants, but not to withstand that of the enemy's horse, which far outnumbered their own. When both armies had been put in battle array, according to their respective plans and divisions, they stood still for a while, each one eagerly expecting the moment of attack.

“At the same time that Xanthippus gave the order for the elephants to advance and break the ranks of the enemy, and for the horse to surround and attack their wings, the Roman soldiers, clashing their arms, according to their custom, and raising a shout, rushed against their adversaries. The Roman horse were speedily put to flight on both wings, being so much inferior in number to the Carthaginians. Their foot soldiers, stationed on the left wing in order to avoid the onset of the elephants and because they despised the enemy's mercenaries, dashed furiously against the Carthaginian right wing, broke it, and pursued them as far as their camp. The first who encountered the elephants were thrust aside by their momentum, or trampled down in heaps, and utterly destroyed, but the column, as a whole, remained unbroken for a considerable time by reason of the depth of the files. When those bringing up the rear were surrounded on all sides by the Carthaginian horse and compelled to turn and ward off this danger, and when those who had struggled through the line of elephants to the front encountered, in the rear of the beasts, the solid Carthaginian phalanx still in perfect order, and were slaughtered by them, the Romans were everywhere in difficulties. The greater part were trampled down by the enormous weight of the elephants and the rest fell in their very ranks under the javelins of the Carthaginian horse. Finally, a few took refuge in flight. As their line of retreat lay through an open country, most of these were destroyed by the enemy's cavalry and elephants. About 500, who had escaped with their general, Marcus, were, after a little, overtaken and made prisoners. About 800 of the Carthaginian mercenaries, who were opposed to the Roman left wing, were killed, and the 2000 Romans who pursued them, being thus carried out of danger, were saved. All the rest were slain except Marcus and those who were retreating with him. Those who escaped found refuge unexpectedly in the city of Aspis. The Carthaginians, having stripped the dead, returned to the city rejoicing over their victory and bringing the Roman general and the prisoners captured with him.” (Polybius I., 32-34.)

The Topography of Carthage

The following sketch of the present appearance of the site of ancient Carthage is from the pen of the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.: —

“At the extremity of a peninsula stretching eight or ten miles into the Mediterranean, and connected with the mainland by a flat isthmus, across which the sea must once have flowed, there is a ridge of hills, forming a sort

of semicircle some four miles long, with its convex turned toward the sea, and rising at its highest point to about 400 feet. The sea under the hills is deep and sheltered from the northwest, the quarter whence most high winds come, while toward the land the neck of the peninsula, even now only some three miles wide, and 2500 years ago probably much narrower, makes the defence of a settlement upon the hills comparatively easy. It was at the southern extremity of this line of hills that the Tyrian founders of Carthage planted their settlement, and the last eminence or hummock toward the south became their citadel or Bozrah (for 'Bozrah' seems to be the true Phœnician form of the word which the Greek and Roman authors have written Byrsa). This hummock rises about 200 feet above the sea, from which its base is a quarter of a mile distant. It is steep towards the sea on the east and the south, while sloping more gently towards the west. On it and around its base the city arose. The ports were excavated beneath it to the southeast, and were easily made large enough (the ground being partly alluvial and the rock soft) to contain a large fleet and many merchant vessels. Thus the position was both convenient and strong. The citadel defended the ports, and while the citadel was surrounded by a wall of its own, the city, stretching along the line of eminences to the north, had also an enclosing wall of its own, and thus gave a double protection to the citadel on the sides (north and west) where the acclivities were gentle.

"So much is clear. The so-called ports which are now visible have been dug out afresh recently, on what is believed to be the site, or part of the site, of the ancient ports. The space they occupy is so decidedly smaller than the descriptions of ancient writers imply that some antiquaries suppose there existed another port, enclosed by moles projecting into the sea, which has since vanished. The remains of the amphitheatre have been unearthed in the lower ground at the western base of the hill. And as to the Bozrah itself, on whose summit stood in Punic times the temple of the great god Eshmun, and where probably stood afterwards the residence of the Roman proconsul, and still later the palace of the Vandal kings, there is no question. But almost everything else is uncertain. Various spots have been suggested as the sites of the temples and churches and other public edifices mentioned by the ancient writers, but no data have yet been discovered sufficient to fix them. Even the direction of the walls and the extent of ground covered by the city are matters of controversy, so far as the evidence of the diggings goes. The ground area included in the compass of the city proper would appear to have been small (hardly more than a square mile) compared with its population, which is said to have at one time reached 700,000 or even 1,000,000. But probably there were large suburbs; and as the bulk of the population consisted of slaves, many might well be crowded into a small space.

* * * * *

"As the position is strong for defence, with the sea environing it, as it is

admirable for maritime empire, lying in the middle of the Mediterranean, with Sicily and Sardinia close at hand, half-way from the mother-land of Tyre to the outermost Phœnician settlements on the edge of the ocean, so it rivals in the nobility of its landscape Constantinople or Corinth or Gibraltar. The hill of Bozrah is not lofty, but it rises so steeply from the sea, and commands so unbroken a prospect in every direction, except northeast (where it is overtopped by Sidi Bou Said, another eminence of the same chain of hills two miles away), that the view seems boundless over both land and sea. To the east there is the vast expanse of the Mediterranean, broken twenty-five miles off by the rocky isle of Zembra. To the southeast a long line of hills rises over the ample bosom of the Gulf of Tunis, running far out to the Fair Promontory, as the ancients called it, now Cape Bon. To the northwest, beyond the flat lands which the sea once covered, rise the gentler ridges where stand the lonely ruins of Utica, the elder sister of Carthage, the spot where Cato's death left Julius Cæsar master of all the Roman world except Spain. To the south and southwest three magnificent mountain groups successively arrest the eye and carry it far into the interior of Africa. Nearest, with its foot washed by the sea, is the double-peaked summit of Bou Kornein, the mountain of the two-horned Baal (Saturnus Baalcaranensis, as the Romans called him), where the ruins of his temple have been recently discovered. Further to the south is Jebel Resas, the Lead Mountain, among whose gorges the mercenary troops that revolted from Carthage, and brought her almost to destruction after the First Punic war, were hemmed in and destroyed by famine and the sword. Furthest of all, and highest, is the magnificent pinnacle of Zaghwan, ' Mons Zeugitanus,' whence the Zeugitania province took its name. In this peak rise the copious springs which, led by an aqueduct more than eighty miles in length, supplied Carthage with the purest water, and from its craggy top the view extends far away to the south over plains once rich, but now mostly waste and desolate, almost to the verge of the Sahara. Immediately beneath the hill of Carthage is the narrow strip of land that divides the lagoon of Tunis from the sea, with Goletta, long a stronghold of the Moorish pirates, stormed by the Emperor Charles V., and again (after his troops had been withdrawn) the arsenal and fortress of the Beys, rising upon it at the point where a narrow channel gives access from the sea to the lagoon. And at the head of the lagoon, its smooth surface ruffled only by the flocks of flamingoes that disport themselves in the sunshine, rise the minarets and cupolas of Tunis, glittering white across the blue waters, with line after line of hill seen behind it, growing dimmer and more delicate in their soft blue-gray tints till they sink beneath the western horizon on the borders of Numidia. As there are few more exquisite views in the world, so there are few which embrace a region more full of stirring and terrible events. For 1600 years, down to the destruction of Carthage by the Arabs in A.D. 697 a fierce and strenuous life ebbed and flowed incessantly round this hill and on the plain that lies between it and Tunis. For 1200 years the hill has stood silent and melancholy as it stands

now, and, in the words of Tasso, ““Low lies proud Carthage; and the silent shore Keeps of her lordly ruins scarce a trace.””“

NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

(Y.R. 644) “BOMILCAR being under accusation fled before his trial, (B.C. 110) and with him Jugurtha, who uttered that famous saying about bribetakers, that “the whole city of Rome could be bought if a purchaser could be found for it.”“

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

(Y.R. 645) “Metellus went back to the African province, where he (B.C. 109) was accused by the soldiers of slothfulness toward the enemy and of cruelty toward his own men, because he punished offenders severely.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 646) “Metellus put the whole senate of Vacca to death because (B.C. 108) they had betrayed the Roman garrison to Jugurtha, and with them, also, Turpilius, the prefect of the guard, a Roman citizen, who was under suspicion of being in league with the enemy. After Jugurtha had delivered up to Metellus certain Thracian and Ligurian deserters, the latter cut off the hands of some, and others he buried in the earth up to their stomachs, and after transfixing them with arrows and darts set fire to them while they were still alive.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 647) “When Marius arrived at Cirta messengers came to him from Bocchus asking that he would send somebody to hold a conference with him. He accordingly sent Aulus Manlius, (B.C. 107) his lieutenant, and Cornelius Sulla, his quæstor. To them Bocchus said that he fought against the Romans on account of the acts of Marius, who had taken from him the territory which he himself had taken from Jugurtha. To this complaint of Bocchus, Manlius replied that the Romans had taken this territory from Syphax by the law of war, and had made a present of it to Masinissa, and that such gifts were made by the Romans to be kept by those who received them during the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome. Nor did the Romans take back their gifts without reason. Masinissa was dead, and Jugurtha, who had murdered his grandchildren, was at war with the Romans. “It is not right,” he said, “that an enemy should keep the gift that we made to a friend, nor should you think that you can take from Jugurtha property that belongs to the Romans.” These were the words of Manlius concerning the territory in question.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Bocchus sent another embassy who were to solicit peace from Marius and urge Sulla to assist them in the negotiation. These ambassadors were despoiled by robbers on the road, but Sulla received them kindly and entertained them until Marius returned from Gætulia. Marius advised them to urge Bocchus to consult with Sulla as to all his affairs. Accordingly, when Bocchus was inclined to betray Jugurtha he sent messengers around to the neighboring Ethiopians (who extend from eastern Ethiopia westward to the Mauritanian Mount Atlas) under pretence of raising a new army, and then asked Marius to send Sulla to him for a conference, and Marius did so. In this way Bocchus himself, and his friend Magdalses, and a certain freedman of Carthage, named Cornelius, deceived Apsar, the friend of Jugurtha, who had been left in Bocchus’ camp to keep watch on his doings.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

Fragments

“THE Romans paid no attention to Philip, the Macedonian, when he began war against them. They were so busy about other things that they did not even think of him, for Italy was still scourged by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, and they were at war in Africa, Carthage, and (Y.R. 539) Spain, and were restoring order in Sicily. Philip himself, (B.C. 215) moved by a desire of enlarging his dominions, although he had suffered nothing whatever at the hands of the Romans, sent an embassy, the chief of which was Xenophanes, to Hannibal in Italy, proposing to aid him in Italy if he would promise to assist him in the subjugation of Greece. Hannibal agreed to this arrangement and took an oath to support it, and sent an embassy in return to receive the oath of Philip. A Roman trireme intercepted the ambassadors of both on their return and carried them to Rome. Thereupon Philip in his anger attacked Corcyra, which was in alliance with Rome.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“The Sibylline books induced the Romans to make war against Philip by these lines: “The Macedonians boast their descent from Argive kings. Philip will be the arbiter of weal or woe to you. The elder of that name shall give rulers to cities and peoples, but the younger shall lose every honor, and shall die the subject of a western race.”“

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

(Y.R. 546) “Ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and with (B.C. 208) them others from Chios and Mitylene, and from Amynder, king of the Athamanes, assembled at two different times at the place where the Ætolians were accustomed to call their cities together for consultation, to compose the differences between the Romans, the Ætolians, and Philip. But as Sulpicius said that it was not in his power to conclude peace, and wrote privately to the Senate that it was for the advantage of the Romans that the Ætolians should continue the war against Philip, the Senate forbade the treaty and sent 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to assist the Ætolians. With their help the Ætolians took Ambracia, which Philip recovered, not long afterward, on their departure. Again the ambassadors assembled and said that it was very evident that Philip and the Ætolians, by their differences, were subjecting the Greeks to servitude to the Romans, because they were accustoming the latter to make frequent attempts upon Greece. When Sulpicius rose to reply to them the crowd would not hear him, but shouted that the ambassadors had told the truth. (Y.R. 549)

[2] Finally the Ætolians took the initiative and made (B.C. 205) peace with

Philip by themselves without the Romans, and messengers were sent to Rome by Philip himself and by the commander of the Roman forces in order to come to an agreement. Peace was made between them on the condition that neither party should do any injury to the friends of the other. This was the result of the first trial of strength between them, and neither of them believed that the treaty would be lasting, since it was not based on good-will."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 554) "Not long afterward Philip, having ordered a fleet to be prepared by his maritime subjects, took Samos and Chios and devastated a part of the territory of King Attalus. He even attempted Pergamus itself, not sparing temples or sepulchres. He also ravaged Peræa, which belonged to the Rhodians, who had been promoters of the treaty of peace. With another part of his army he ravaged Attica and laid (B.C. 200) siege to Athens, as though none of these countries concerned the Romans. It was reported also that a league had been made between Philip and Antiochus, king of Syria, to the effect that Philip should help Antiochus to conquer Egypt and Cyprus, of which Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, who was still a boy, was the ruler; and that Antiochus should help Philip to gain Cyrene, the Cyclades islands, and Ionia. This rumor, so disquieting to all, the Rhodians communicated to Rome. After the Rhodians, ambassadors of Athens came complaining of the siege instituted by Philip. The Ætolians also had repented of their treaty, and they complained of Philip's bad faith toward them and asked to be inscribed again as allies. The Romans reproached the Ætolians for their recent defection, but they sent ambassadors to the kings ordering Antiochus not to invade Egypt, and Philip not to molest the Rhodians, or the Athenians, or Attalus, or any other ally of theirs. To them Philip made answer that it would be well if the Romans would abide by the treaty of peace they had entered into with him. Thus was the treaty dissolved and a Roman army hastened to Greece, Publius commanding the land forces and Lucius the fleet."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Philip, king of Macedon, had a conference with Flamininus, (B.C. 198) which had been brought about by the ambassadors of the Epirots. When Flamininus ordered Philip to retire to Greece, not on account of the Romans, but of the Greek cities themselves and to make good the damage he had done to the aforesaid cities. . . ."

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

"A shepherd promised to guide an army well equipped for the climb by a mountain path in three days' time."

“Lucius Quintius [Flamininus] sent envoys to the Achæan League to persuade them, together with the Athenians and Rhodians, to abandon Philip and join the Romans, and to ask them to furnish aid as allies. But they, being troubled by a civil war and also by one with Nabis, the neighboring tyrant of Lacedæmon, were divided in mind and hesitated. The greater part of them preferred the alliance of Philip and sided against the Romans on account of certain outrages against Greece committed by Sulpicius, the former commander. When the Roman faction urged their views with vehemence, most of their opponents left the assembly in disgust, and the remainder, being forced to yield by the smallness of their number, entered into an alliance with Lucius and followed him at once to the siege of Corinth, bringing their engines with them.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 557) “Flamininus came into conference with Philip a second time at the Malian gulf. When the Rhodians, the Ætolians, and Amynder, king of the Athamanes, made their complaints against Philip, Flamininus ordered him to remove his garrison from Phocis, and required both parties to send ambassadors to Rome. When this was done the Greeks asked the Roman Senate to require Philip to remove from their country the three garrisons which he called the fetters of Greece: the one at Chalcis, which threatened the Bœotians, the Eubœans, and the Locrians; the one at Corinth, which closed the door of the Peloponnesus; and the third at Demetrias, which lay, as it were, in ambush for the Ætolians and the Magnesians. The Senate asked Philip’s ambassadors what the king’s views were respecting the garrisons. When they answered that they did not know, the Senate said that Flamininus should decide the question and do what he considered just. So the ambassadors took their departure from Rome. Flamininus and Philip, being (B.C. 197) unable to come to any agreement, resumed hostilities.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Philip, being defeated again, sent a herald to Flamininus to sue for peace, and again Flamininus granted him a conference, whereat the Ætolians were greatly displeased and accused him of being bribed by the king, and complained of his sudden change of mind as to all these matters. But he thought that it would not be to the advantage of the Romans, or of the Greeks, that Philip should be deposed and the Ætolian power made supreme. Perhaps, also, the unexpected greatness of the victory made him satisfied. Having agreed upon a place where Philip should come, he directed the allies by cities to deliver their opinions. Some of them were disposed to be moderate, viewing suspiciously the mysteries of fortune as evinced in the calamities of

Philip, and considering this disaster that had befallen him due not so much to weakness as to bad luck. But Alexander, the presiding officer of the Ætolians, said, "Flamininus cannot be ignorant that this victory will be of no advantage to the Romans or the Greeks unless the kingdom of Philip is overthrown."

[2] Flamininus replied, "Alexander cannot be ignorant of the custom of the Romans, who never destroy an enemy at once, but have spared many offenders, as recently the Carthaginians, restoring their property to them and making allies of those who had done them wrong. You forget also that there are many barbarous tribes on the border of Macedonia, who would make easy incursions into Greece if the Macedonian kings were taken away. Wherefore, I think that the Macedonian government should be left to protect you against the barbarians, but Philip must retire from those Greek places that he has hitherto refused to give up, and must pay the Romans 200 talents for the expenses of the war, and give hostages of the most noble families, including his own son, Demetrius. Until the Senate ratifies these conditions there shall be an armistice of four months." (Y.R. 558)

[3] Philip accepted all these conditions, and the Senate, when it learned the facts, ratified the peace, but considered (B.C. 196) the terms granted by Flamininus too lenient, and, accordingly, decreed that all the Greek cities that had been under Philip's rule should be free, and that he should withdraw his garrisons from them before the next celebration of the Isthmian games; that he should deliver to Flamininus all his ships, except one with six benches of oars and five small ones with decks; that he should pay the Romans 500 talents of silver down, and remit to Rome 500 more in ten years, in annual instalments; and that he should surrender all prisoners and deserters in his hands. These conditions were added by the Senate and Philip accepted them all, by which it was made plain that those named by Flamininus were much too lenient. They sent to him as counsellors ten men (as was customary at the end of a war), with whose aid he should regulate the new acquisitions.

[4] When he had arranged these things with them he went to the Isthmian games, and, the stadium being full of people, he commanded silence by trumpet and directed the herald to make this proclamation, "The Roman people and Senate, and Flamininus, their general, having vanquished the Macedonians and Philip, their king, order that Greece shall be free from foreign garrisons, not subject to tribute, and shall live under her own customs and laws." Thereupon there was great shouting and rejoicing and a scene of rapturous tumult; and groups here and there called the herald back in order that he might repeat his words for them. They threw crowns and fillets upon the general and voted statues for him in their cities. They sent ambassadors with golden crowns to the Capitol at Rome to express their gratitude, and inscribed themselves as allies of the Roman people. Such was the end of the second war between the Romans and Philip. (Y.R. 564)

[5] Not long afterward Philip lent aid in Greece to the Romans in their war against King Antiochus. As they were moving against Antiochus in Asia,

passing through Thrace and Macedonia by a difficult road, he escorted them with his own troops, supplied them with food and money, repaired the roads, bridged the unfordable streams, and dispersed the hostile Thracians, until he had conducted them to the Hellespont. In return for these favors the Senate released his son Demetrius, who had been held (B.C. 190) by them as a hostage, and remitted the payments of money still due from him. But these Thracians fell upon the Romans when they were returning from their victory over Antiochus, when Philip was no longer with them, carried off booty and killed many — by which it was plainly shown how great a service Philip had rendered them when they were going. (Y.R. 571)

[6] That war being ended, many of the Greeks charged (B.C. 183) Philip with doing or omitting various things, in disregard of the orders given by Flaminius when he settled the affairs of Greece. To answer these charges Demetrius went as an envoy to Rome in his father's behalf, the Romans being well pleased with him aforetime, when he had been a hostage, and Flaminius strongly recommending him to the Senate. As he was a very young man and somewhat flustered, they directed him to read his father's memorandum in which were written down, one by one, the things already done and those yet to be done, although decided upon contrary to justice; for, indeed, his unjust acts were prominent in the thought of many. Nevertheless, the Senate, having regard to his late zeal in the matter of Antiochus, said that it would pardon him, but added that it did so on account of Demetrius. Philip, having been confessedly most useful to them in the war with Antiochus, when he might have done them the greatest damage if he had cooperated with Antiochus, as the latter asked him to, expecting much on this account and now seeing himself discredited and accused, and considered worthy of pardon rather than of gratitude, and even this merely on account of Demetrius, was indignant and angry, but concealed his feelings for a time. Afterwards, in a certain arbitration before the Romans, they transferred much of his territory to Eumenes, seeking all the time to weaken him. Then, at once, he began secretly preparing for war."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Philip utterly destroyed all forces that sailed against him, lest the Romans should say that the Macedonian power was weakening."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 582) "The Romans were suspicious of Perseus (the son of (B.C. 172) Philip) on account of his rapidly growing power, and they were especially disturbed by his nearness to the Greeks and their friendship for him, due to hatred of the Romans, which the Roman generals had caused. Afterward the ambassadors, who were sent to the Bastarnæ, reported that they had observed that Macedonia was strongly fortified and had abundant war material, and that its

young men were well drilled; and these things also disturbed the Romans. When Perseus perceived this he sent other ambassadors to allay the suspicion. At this time also Eumenes, king of that part of Asia lying about Pergamus, fearing Perseus on account of his own former enmity to Philip, came to Rome and accused him publicly before the Senate, saying that he had always been hostile to the Romans; that he had killed his brother for being friendly to them; that he had aided Philip in collecting material for war against them, which material, when he became king, he did not desist from collecting, but added much more to it; that he was conciliating the Greeks in every possible way and furnishing military aid to the Byzantines, the Ætolians, and the Bœotians; that he had possessed himself of the great stronghold of Thrace and had stirred up dissensions among the Thessalians and the Perrhæbi when they wanted to send an embassy to Rome.

[2] “And of your two friends and allies,” he said, “he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom and conspired to kill Arthetaurus, the Illyrian chief, and gave shelter to his murderers.” Eumenes also slandered him on account of his marriages, both of which were with royal families, and for his bridal processions escorted by the whole fleet of Rhodes. He even made his industry a crime and his sobriety of life (being so young), and his being beloved and praised by so many in so short a time. Of the things that could excite their jealousy, envy, and fear even more strongly than direct accusations, Eumenes omitted nothing, and he urged the Senate to beware of a youthful enemy so highly esteemed and so near to them.

[3] The Senate, in fact, did not like to have on their flank a sober-minded, laborious, and popular king, an hereditary enemy to themselves, attaining eminence so suddenly. So, making a pretended accusation of the things alleged by Eumenes, they decided to make war against Perseus, but kept the matter a secret among themselves. When Harpalus, who had been sent by Perseus to answer the charge of Eumenes, and a certain ambassador of the Rhodians, desired to discuss the matter in the presence of Eumenes, who was still there, they were not admitted; but after his departure they were received. These, being angry at such treatment, and using too much freedom of speech, exasperated still more the Romans, who were already meditating war against Perseus and the Rhodians. Many senators, however, blamed Eumenes for causing so great a war on account of his own private grudges and fears, and the Rhodians refused to receive only his among all the representatives of the kings sent to their festival of the sun.

[4] When Eumenes was returning to Asia he went up from Cirrha to Delphi to sacrifice, and there four men, hiding behind a wall, made an attempt upon his life. Other causes besides this were advanced by the Romans for a war against Perseus, although it had not yet been decreed, and ambassadors were sent to the allied kings, Eumenes, Antiochus, Ariarathes, Masinissa, and Ptolemy of Egypt, also to Greece Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, and to such of the islands as they could perhaps draw to their side. This specially troubled

the Greeks, some because fond of Perseus as a Philhellene, and some because compelled to enter into agreement with the Romans. (Y.R. 583)

[5] When Perseus learned these facts he sent other ambassadors to Rome, who said that the king was surprised and wished to know for what reason they had abandoned the agreement and sent around legates against himself, their ally. If they were offended at anything, they ought to discuss the matter first. The Senate then accused him of the things that Eumenes had told them, and also of what Eumenes had suffered, and especially that Perseus had taken possession of Thrace and had collected an army and war material, which were not the doings of one desiring peace. Again he sent ambassadors who, deeply grieved, spoke as follows in the senate-chamber: "To those who are seeking an excuse for war, O Romans, anything will serve for a pretext, (B.C. 171) but if you have respect for treaties, — you who profess so much regard for them, — what have you suffered at the hands of Perseus that you should bring war against him? It cannot be because he has an army and war material. He does not hold them against you, nor do you prohibit other kings from having them, nor is it wrong that he should take precautions against those under his rule, and against his neighbors, and foreigners who might have designs against him. But to you, Romans, he sent ambassadors to confirm the peace and only recently renewed the treaty.

[6] "But, you say, he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom. Yes, in self-defence, for he had invaded our territory. This fact Perseus himself explained to you, and afterward you renewed the treaty with him, as Eumenes had not yet slandered him. The affair of Abrupolis antedates the treaty and seemed to you just, when you ratified it. You say that he made war on the Dolopians, but they were his own subjects. It is hard if he is to be obliged to give an account to you of what he does with his own. He gives it nevertheless, being moved by his high regard for you and for his own reputation. The Dolopians put their governor to death with torture, and Perseus asks what you would have done to any of your subjects who had been guilty of such a crime. But the slayers of Arthetaurus lived on in Macedonia! Yes, by the common law of mankind, the same under which you give asylum to fugitives from other countries. But when Perseus learned that you considered this a crime he forbade them his kingdom entirely.

[7] "He gave aid to the Byzantines, the Ætolians, and the Bœotians, not against you, but against others. Of these things our ambassadors advised you beforehand, and you did not object until Eumenes uttered his slander against us, which you did not allow our ambassadors to answer in his presence. But you accuse Perseus of the plot against him at Delphi. How many Greeks, how many barbarians, have sent ambassadors to you to complain against Eumenes, to all of whom he is an enemy because so base a man! As for Erennius of Brundisium, who would believe that Perseus would choose a Roman citizen, your friend and patron, to administer poison to the Senate, as though he could destroy the Senate by means of him, or by destroying some of them render the

others more favorable to himself? Erennius has lied to those who are inciting you to war, furnishing them a plausible pretext. Eumenes, moved by hatred, envy, and fear, does not scruple to make it a crime on the part of Perseus that he is liked by so many people, that he is a Philhellene, and that he leads the life of a temperate ruler, free from drunkenness and luxury. And you endure to listen to such stuff from this accuser!

[8] "Beware lest his slanders multiply against yourselves, if you cannot endure temperate, honest, and industrious neighbors. Perseus challenges Erennius and Eumenes and anybody else to scrutiny and trial before you. He reminds you of his father's zeal and assistance to you against Antiochus the Great. You realized it very well at the time; it would be base to forget it now. He invokes the treaties that you made with his father and with himself, and he does not hesitate to exhort you to fear the gods by whom you swore, and not to bring an unjust war against your allies and not to make nearness, sobriety, and preparation causes of complaint. It is not worthy of you to be stirred by envy and fear like Eumenes. On the contrary, it will be the part of wisdom for you to spare neighbors who are diligent and, as Eumenes says, are well prepared!"

[9] When the ambassadors had thus spoken the Senate gave them no answer, but made a public declaration of war, and the consul ordered the ambassadors to depart from Rome the same day and from Italy within thirty days. The same orders were proclaimed to all Macedonian residents. Consternation mingled with anger followed this action of the Senate, that, on a few hours' notice, so many people were compelled to depart together, who were not able to find animals in so short a time, or to carry all their goods themselves. Some, in their confusion, could not reach a lodging-place, but passed the night in the middle of the roads. Others threw themselves on the ground at the city gates with their wives and children. Everything happened that was likely to follow such an unexpected decree, for it was unexpected to them on account of the pending negotiation."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"After his victory Perseus, either to make sport of Crassus, and by way of joke, or to test his present state of mind, or fearing the power and resources of the Romans, or for some other reason, sent messengers to him to treat for peace, and promised to make many concessions which his father, Philip, had refused. In this promise he seemed to be rather joking with him and testing him. But Crassus replied that it would not be worthy of the dignity of the Roman people to come to terms with him unless he should surrender Macedonia and himself to them. Being ashamed that the Romans were the first to retreat, Crassus called an assembly, in which he praised the Thessalians for their brave conduct in the catastrophe, and falsely accused the Aetolians and the other Greeks of being the first to fly; and these men he sent to Rome."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Both armies employed the rest of the summer in collecting corn, Perseus threshing in the fields and the Romans in their camp."

FROM SUIDAS

"He (Q. Marcius) was foremost in labor, although sixty years of age and very corpulent."

FROM SUIDAS

"Then somebody ran to Perseus, while he was refreshing himself with a bath, and told him [that the enemy was approaching]. He sprang out of the water, exclaiming that he had been captured before the battle."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 585) "Perseus, having already gradually plucked up courage (B.C. 169) after his flight, wickedly put to death Nicias and Andronicus, whom he had sent with orders to throw his money into the sea and to burn his ships; because after the ships and money had been saved he knew that they were witnesses of his disgraceful panic and might tell others of it. And from that time, by a sudden change, he became cruel and reckless toward everybody. Nor did he show any soundness or wisdom of judgment thereafter, but he, who had before been most persuasive in council and shrewd in calculation and courageous in battle, barring his inexperience, when fortune began to change became suddenly and unaccountably timid and imprudent, as well as changeable and maladroit in all things. Thus we see many who lose their usual discretion when reverses come."

FROM PEIRESC

"The Rhodians sent ambassadors to Marcius to congratulate him on the state of affairs in his war with Perseus. Marcius advised the ambassadors to persuade the Rhodians to send legates to Rome to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus. When the Rhodians heard these things they changed their minds, thinking that the affairs of Perseus were not in such bad shape, for they could not imagine that Marcius would have given this advice without the concurrence of the Romans. But he did this and many other things on his own motion, by reason of cowardice. The Rhodians nevertheless sent ambassadors to Rome and others to Marcius."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 586) "Genthius, king of a tribe of Illyrians bordering on Macedonia,

having formed an alliance with Perseus in consideration of 300 talents, of which he had received a part down, made an attack upon Roman Illyria, and when the Romans sent Perpenna and Petilius as ambassadors to inquire about it, he put them in chains. When Perseus learned this he decided not to pay the rest of the money, thinking that now the Romans would make war on him for this outrage. He also sent legates to the Getæ on the other side of the Danube, and he offered money to Eumenes if he would come (B.C. 168) over to his side, or negotiate for him a peace with Rome, or help neither party in the contest. He hoped either that Eumenes would do some one of these things, which could not be kept secret from the Romans, or that he should cause Eumenes to be suspected by the very attempt. Eumenes refused to come over to his side, and he demanded 1500 talents for negotiating a peace, or 1000 for remaining neutral. But now Perseus, learning that 10,000 foot and as many horse were coming to him as mercenaries from the Getæ, began forthwith to despise Eumenes, and said that he would pay nothing for his neutrality, for that would be a disgrace to both of them, but for negotiating a peace he would not fail to pay, and would deposit the money in Samothrace until the treaty was concluded, so fickle and penurious in all matters had he become in his infatuation. Nevertheless, one of the things that he hoped for took place: Eumenes fell under suspicion at Rome.

[2] When the Getæ had crossed the Danube, it was claimed that there was due to Clælius, their leader, 1000 gold staters and, also, ten to each horseman and five to each foot-soldier, the whole amounting to a little over 150,000 pieces of gold. Perseus sent messengers to them bearing military cloaks, gold necklaces, and horses for the officers, and 10,000 staters. When he was not far from their camp he sent for Clælius. The latter asked the messengers whether they had brought the gold, and when he learned that they had not, he ordered them to go back to Perseus. When Perseus learned this, he was again misled by his evil genius, and complained among his friends of the fickleness and bad faith of the Getæ, and pretended to be afraid to receive 20,000 of them in his camp. He said that he could hardly subdue 10,000 of them if they should rebel.

[3] While saying these things to his friends, he offered other fictions to the Getæ and asked for half of their force, promising to give them the gold that he had on hand — so inconsistent was he, and so anxious about the money that he had ordered to be thrown into the sea a little while before. Clælius, seeing the messengers returning, asked in a loud voice whether they had brought the gold, and when they wanted to talk about something else he ordered them to speak of the gold first. When he learned that they did not have it, he led his army home without waiting to hear another word from them. Thus Perseus deprived himself of this powerful force of auxiliaries, which had opportunely arrived. He was so foolish, also, that while wintering with a large army at Phila he made no incursion into Thessaly, which furnished supplies to the Romans, but sent a force to Ionia to prevent the bringing of supplies to them

from that quarter.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Some divinity was jealous of the prosperity of Paulus when he had reached such a pinnacle of fortune. Of his four sons he gave the two elder, Maximus and Scipio, for adoption into other families. The two younger ones died, one of them three days before his triumph and the other five days after it. Paulus alluded to this among other things in his address to the people. When he came to the forum to give an account of his doings, according to the custom of generals, he said, “I sailed from Brundisium to Corcyra in one day. Five days I was on the road from Corcyra to Delphi, where I sacrificed to the god. In five days more I arrived in Thessaly and took command of the army. Fifteen days later I overthrew Perseus and conquered Macedonia. All these strokes of good fortune coming so rapidly led me to fear the approach of some calamity to the army or to you. When the army was made safe, I feared for you on account of the invidiousness of fate. Now that the calamity falls upon me, in the sudden loss of my two sons, I am the most unfortunate of men for myself, but free from anxiety as to you.” Having spoken thus, Paulus became the object of universal admiration, and commiseration on account of his children; and he died not long after.”

FROM PEIRESC

THE ILLYRIAN WARS

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Illyrians — The Vengeance of Apollo — First Contact with the Romans

THE Greeks call those people Illyrians who occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Ister (Danube). This is the length of the country. Its breadth is from Macedonia and the mountains of Thrace to Pannonia and the Adriatic and the foot-hills of the Alps. Its breadth is five days' journey and its length thirty — so the Greek writers say. The Romans measured the country and found its length to be upward of 6000 stades and its width about 1200.

[2] They say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily; and the nations called Celts, Illyrians, and Galatians took their origin from them. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems to me the most plausible. Illyrius had six sons, Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Mædus, Taulas, and Perrhæbus, also daughters, Partho, Daortho, Dassaro, and others, from whom sprang the Taulantii, the Perrhæbi, the Enchelees, the Autarienses, the Dardani, the Partheni, the Dassaretii, and the Darsii. Autarieus had a son Pannonius, or Pæon, and the latter had sons, Scordiscus and Triballus, from whom nations bearing similar names were derived. But I will leave these matters to the archæologists.

[3] The Illyrian tribes are many, as is natural in so extensive a country; and celebrated even now are the names of the Scordisci and the Triballi, who inhabited a wide region and destroyed each other by wars to such a degree that the remnant of the Triballi took refuge with the Getæ on the other side of the Danube, and, though flourishing until the time of Philip and Alexander, is now extinct and its name scarcely known in the regions once inhabited by it. The Scordisci, having been reduced to extreme weakness in the same way, and having suffered much at a later period in war with the Romans, took refuge in the islands of the same river. In the course of time some of them returned and settled on the confines of Pannonia, and thus it happens that a tribe of the Scordisci still remains in Pannonia. In like manner the Ardiæi, who were distinguished for their maritime power, were finally destroyed by the Autarienses, whose land forces were stronger, but whom they had often defeated. The Liburni, another Illyrian tribe, were next to the Ardiæi as a nautical people. These committed piracy in the Adriatic Sea and islands with their light, fast-sailing pinnaces, from which circumstance the Romans to this day call their own light, swift biremes liburnicas.

[4] The Autarienses were overtaken with destruction by the vengeance of Apollo. Having joined Molostimus and the Celtic people called Cimbri in an

expedition against the temple of Delphi, the greater part of them were destroyed by storm, hurricane, and lightning just before the sacrilege was committed. Upon those who returned home there came a countless number of frogs, which filled the streams and polluted the water. The noxious vapors rising from the ground caused a plague among the Illyrians which was especially fatal to the Autarienses. At last they fled from their homes, and as the plague still clung to them (and for fear of it nobody would receive them), they came, after a journey of twenty-three days, to a marshy and uninhabited district of the Getæ, where they settled near the Bastarnæ. The god visited the Celts with an earthquake and overthrew their cities, and did not abate the calamity until these also fled from their abodes and made an incursion into Illyria among their fellow-culprits, who had been weakened by the plague. While robbing the Illyrians they caught the plague and again took to flight and plundered their way to the Pyrenees. When they were returning to the east the Romans, mindful of their former encounters with the Celts, and fearful lest they should cross the Alps and invade Italy, sent against them both consuls, who were annihilated with the whole army. This calamity to the Romans brought great dread of the Celts upon all Italy until Gaius Marius, who had lately triumphed over the Numidians and Mauritanians, was chosen commander and defeated the Cimbri repeatedly with great slaughter, as I have related in my Celtic history. Being reduced to extreme weakness, and for that reason excluded from every land, they returned home, inflicting and suffering many injuries on the way.

[5] Such was the punishment which the god visited upon the Illyrians and the Celts for their impiety. But they did not desist from temple robbing, for again, in conjunction with the Celts, certain Illyrian tribes, especially the Scordisci, the Mædi, and the Dardani again invaded Macedonia and Greece together, and plundered many temples, including that of Delphi, but losing many men this time also. The Romans, thirty-two years after their first encounter with the Celts, having fought with them at intervals since that time, now, under the leadership of Lucius Scipio, made war against the Illyrians, on account of this temple-robbery, as they [the Romans] now held sway over the Greeks and the Macedonians. It is said that the neighboring tribes, remembering the calamity that befell all the Illyrians on account of the crime of the Autarienses, would not give aid to the temple-robbers, but abandoned them to Scipio, who destroyed the greater part of the Scordisci, the remainder fleeing to the Danube and settling in the islands of that river. He made peace with the Mædi and Dardani, accepting from them part of the gold belonging to the temple. One of the Roman writers says that this was the chief cause of the numerous civil wars of the Romans after Lucius Scipio's time till the establishment of the empire. So much by way of preface concerning the peoples whom the Greeks called Illyrians.

[6] These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Rhærtians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighboring tribes who inhabited the right

bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguished from one another just as the various Greek peoples are distinguished from each other, and they call each by its own name, but they consider the whole of Illyria as embraced under a common designation. Whence this idea took its start I have not been able to find out, but it continues to this day, for they farm the tax of all the nations from the source of the Danube to the Euxine Sea under one head, and call it the Illyrian tax. Why the Romans subjugated them, and what were the real causes or pretexts of the wars, I acknowledged, when writing of Crete, that I had not discovered, and I exhorted those who were able to tell more, to do so. I shall write down only what I know.

CHAPTER II

First Illyrian War — Second Illyrian War — War with Genthius — War with the Dalmatians

(Y.R. 524)

[7] Agron was king of that part of Illyria which borders (B.C. 230) the Adriatic Sea, over which sea Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his successors held sway. Agron captured a part of Epirus and also Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Pharus in succession, where he established garrisons. When he threatened the rest of the Adriatic with his fleet, the isle of Issa implored the aid of the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to accompany the Issii and to ascertain what offences Agron imputed to them. The Illyrian vessels attacked the ambassadors on their voyage and slew Cleemporus, the envoy of Issa, and the Roman Coruncanius; the remainder escaped (Y.R. 525) by flight. Thereupon the Romans invaded Illyria by land (B.C. 229) and sea. Agron, in the meantime, had died, leaving an infant son named Pinnes, having given the guardianship and regency to his wife, although she was not the child's mother. Demetrius, who was Agron's governor of Pharus and who held Corcyra also, surrendered both places to the invading Romans by treachery. The latter then entered into an alliance with Epidamnus and went to the assistance of the Issii and of the Epidamnians, who were besieged by the Illyrians. The latter raised the siege and fled, and one of their tribes, called the Atintani, went over to the Romans. After these (Y.R. 526) events the widow of Agron sent ambassadors to Rome to (B.C. 228) surrender the prisoners and deserters into their hands. She begged pardon also for what had been done, not by herself, but by Agron. They received for answer that Corcyra, Pharus, Issa, Epidamnus, and the Illyrian Atintani were already Roman subjects, that Pinnes might have the remainder of Agron's kingdom and be a friend of the Roman people if he would keep hands off the aforesaid territory, and agree not to sail beyond Lissus nor to keep more than two Illyrian pinnaces, both to be unarmed. The woman accepted all these conditions.

[8] This was the first conflict and treaty between the Romans and the Illyrians. Thereupon the Romans made Corcyra and Apollonia free. To Demetrius they gave certain castles as a reward for his treason to his own people, adding the express condition that they gave them only conditionally, for they suspected the man's bad faith; and (Y.R. 532) before long he began to show it. While the Romans were (B.C. 222) engaged in a three years' war with the Gauls on the river Po, Demetrius, thinking that they had their hands full, set forth on a piratical expedition, brought the Istrians, another Illyrian tribe, into the enterprise, and detached the Atintani from Rome. The Romans, when they had settled their business with the Gauls, immediately sent a naval force and overpowered the pirates. The following year they marched against

Demetrius and his Illyrian fellow-culprits. Demetrius fled to Philip, king of Macedon, but when he returned and resumed his piratical career in the Adriatic they slew him and utterly demolished his native town of Pharus, (Y.R. 534) which was associated with him in crime. They spared the (B.C. 220) Illyrians on account of Pinnes, who again besought them to do so. And such was the second conflict and treaty between them and the Illyrians.

[9] The following events I have written as I have found them, not in due order according to their times of occurrence, but rather taking each Illyrian nation separately. When the Romans were at war with the Macedonians during the reign of Perseus, the successor of Philip, Genthius, an Illyrian chief, made an alliance with Perseus for money and (Y.R. 586) attacked Roman Illyria. When the Romans sent ambassadors (B.C. 168) to him on this subject he put them in chains, charging that they had not come as ambassadors, but as spies. The Roman general, Anicius, in a naval expedition, captured some of Genthius' pinnaces and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and shut him up in a castle. When he begged a parley Anicius ordered him to surrender himself to the Romans. He asked and obtained three days for consideration, at the end of which time, his subjects having meanwhile gone over to Anicius, he asked for an interview with the latter, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon in the most abject manner. Anicius encouraged the trembling wretch, lifted him up, and invited him to supper, but as he was going away from the feast he ordered the lictors to cast him into prison. Anicius afterward led both him and his sons in triumph at Rome. The whole war with Genthius was finished within twenty days. When Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, returned to Rome, he received secret orders from the Senate to go back on particular business relating to the seventy towns that (Y.R. 587) had belonged to Genthius. They were much alarmed, but (B.C. 167) he promised to pardon them for what they had done if they would deliver to him all the gold and silver they had. When they agreed to do so he sent a detachment of his army into each town appointing the same day for all the commanding officers to act, and ordering them to make proclamation at daybreak in each that the inhabitants should bring their money into the market-place within three hours, and when they had done so to plunder what remained. Thus Paulus despoiled seventy towns in one hour.

[10] The Ardei and the Palarii, two other Illyrian tribes, made a raid on Roman Illyria, and the Romans, being otherwise occupied, sent ambassadors to scare them. When they refused to be obedient, the Romans collected an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horse to be despatched against them. (Y.R. 619) When the Illyrians learned this, as they were not yet prepared (B.C. 135) for fighting, they sent ambassadors to crave pardon. The Senate ordered them to make reparation to those whom they had wronged. As they were slow in obeying, Fulvius Flaccus marched against them. This war resulted in an excursion only, for I cannot find any definite end to it. (Y.R. 625) Sempronius Tuditanus and Tiberius Pandusa waged war (B.C. 129) with the Iapydes, who live

among the Alps, and seem to (Y.R. 635) have subjugated them, as Lucius Cotta and Metellus seem (B.C. 119) to have subjugated the Segestani; but both tribes revolted not long afterward. (Y.R. 598)

[11] The Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, made an (B.C. 156) attack on the Illyrian subjects of Rome, and when ambassadors were sent to them to remonstrate they were not received. The Romans accordingly sent an army against them, with Marcius Figulus as consul and commander. While Figulus was laying out his camp the Dalmatians over-powered the guard, defeated him, and drove him out of the camp in headlong flight to the plain as far as the river Naro. As the Dalmatians were returning home (for winter was now approaching), Figulus hoped to fall upon them unawares, but he found them reassembled from their towns at the news of his approach. Nevertheless, he drove them into the city of Delminium, from which place they first got the name of Delmatenses, which was afterward changed to Dalmatians. As he was not able to attack this strongly defended town from the road, nor to use the engines that he had, on account of the height of the place, he attacked and captured some other towns that were partially deserted on account of the concentration of forces at Delminium. Then, returning to Delminium, he hurled sticks of wood, two cubits long, covered with flax and smeared with pitch and sulphur, from catapults into the town. These caught fire from friction and, flying in the air like torches, wherever they fell caused a conflagration, so that the greater part of the town was burned. This was the end of the war waged by Figulus against the Dalmatians. At a later period, in (Y.R. 635) the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus, war was declared (B.C. 119) against the Dalmatians, although they had been guilty of no offence, because he desired a triumph. They received him as a friend and he wintered among them at the town of Salona, after which he returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

CHAPTER III

Julius Cæsar and the Illyrians — The Pannonians on the Danube

[12] At the time when Cæsar held the command in Gaul these same Dalmatians and other Illyrians, who were then in a very prosperous condition, took the city of Promona (Y.R. 704) from the Liburni, another Illyrian tribe. The latter put (B.C. 50) themselves in the hands of the Romans and appealed to Cæsar, who was near by. Cæsar sent word to those who were holding Promona that they should give it up to the Liburni, and when they refused, he sent against them a strong detachment of his army who were totally destroyed by the Illyrians. Nor did Cæsar renew the attempt, for he had no leisure then, on account of the civil strife with Pompey. When the civil strife burst forth in war Cæsar crossed the Adriatic from Brundisium in the winter, with what forces he had, and opened his campaign against Pompey in Macedonia. Antony brought another army to Cæsar's aid in Macedonia, he also crossing the Adriatic in mid-winter. Gabinius led fifteen cohorts of foot and 3000 horse for him by way of Illyria, passing around the Adriatic. (Y.R. 706) The Illyrians, fearing punishment for what they had done (B.C. 48) to Cæsar not long before, and thinking that his victory would be their destruction, attacked and slew the whole army under Gabinius, except Gabinius himself and a few who escaped. Among the spoils captured was a large amount of money and war material.

[13] Cæsar was preoccupied by the necessity of coming to a conclusion with Pompey, and, after Pompey's death, with the numerous parts of his faction still remaining. When he had settled everything he returned to Rome and made preparations for war with the Getæ and the Parthians. The Illyrians began to fear lest he should attack them, as they were on his intended line of march. So they sent ambassadors to Rome to crave pardon for what they had done and to offer their friendship and alliance, vaunting themselves (Y.R. 709) as a very brave race. Cæsar was hastening his preparations (B.C. 45) against the Parthians; nevertheless, he gave them the dignified answer that he could not make friends of those who had done what they had, but that he would grant them pardon if they would subject themselves to tribute and give him hostages. They promised to do both, and accordingly he sent Vatinius thither with three legions and a large cavalry force to impose a light tribute on them and receive the (Y.R. 710) hostages. When Cæsar was slain the Dalmatians, thinking (B.C. 44) that the Roman power resided in him and had perished with him, would not listen to Vatinius on the subject of the tribute or anything else. When he attempted to use force they attacked and destroyed five of his cohorts, including their commanding officer, Bæbius, a man of senatorial rank. Vatinius took refuge with the remainder of his force in Epidamnus. The Roman Senate transferred this army, together with the province of Macedonia and Roman Illyria, to Brutus Cæpio, one of Cæsar's murderers, and at the

same time assigned Syria to Cassius, another of the assassins. But they also, being involved in war with Antony and the second Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, had no time to attend to the Illyrians.

[14] The Pæones are a great nation on the Danube, extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. They are called Pæones by the Greeks, but Pannonians by the Romans. They are counted by the Romans as a part of Illyria, as I have previously said, for which reason it seems proper that I should include them in my Illyrian history. They have been renowned from the Macedonian period through the Agrianes, who rendered very important aid to Philip and Alexander and are Pæones of Lower Pannonia bordering on Illyria. When the expedition of Cornelius against the Pannonians resulted disastrously, so great a fear of those people came over all the Italians that for a long time afterwards none of the consuls ventured to march against them. Concerning the early history of the Illyrians and Pannonians, I have not been able to discover anything further, nor have I found in the commentaries of Augustus anything earlier in the chapters treating of the Pannonians.

[15] I think that other Illyrian tribes besides those mentioned had previously come under Roman rule, but how, I do not know. Augustus did not describe the transactions of others so much as his own, telling how he brought back those who had revolted and compelled them again to pay tribute, how he subjugated others that had been independent from the beginning, and how he mastered all the tribes that inhabit the summits of the Alps, barbarous and warlike peoples, who often plundered the neighboring parts of Italy. It is a wonder to me that so many great Roman armies traversing the Alps to conquer the Gauls and Spaniards, should have overlooked these tribes, and that even Gaius Cæsar, that most successful man of war, did not despatch them during the ten years that he was fighting the Gauls and wintering in that very country. But the Romans seem to have been intent only upon getting through the Alpine region on the business they were bestirring themselves about, and Cæsar seems to have delayed putting an end to the Illyrian troubles on account of the Gallic war and the strife with Pompey, which closely followed it. It appears that he was chosen commander of Illyria as well as of Gaul — not the whole of it, but as much as was then under Roman rule.

CHAPTER IV

*Augustus invades Illyria — Subjugation of the Salassi and of the Iapydes —
Hard Fighting at Metulus — Destruction of the City — War against the
Segestani — Their City Captured*

[16] When Augustus had made himself master of everything, he informed the Senate, by way of contrast with Antony's slothfulness, that he had freed Italy from the savage tribes that had so often raided it. He overcame the Oxyæi, the Perthoneatæ, the Bathiatæ, the Taulantii, the Cambæi, the Cinambri, the Meromenni, and the Pyriassæi in one campaign. By more prolonged effort he also overcame the Docleatæ, the Carui, the Interphrurini, the Naresii, the Glintidiones, and the Taurisci. From these tribes he exacted the tributes they had been failing to pay. When these were conquered, the Hippasini and the Bessi, neighboring tribes, were overcome by fear and surrendered themselves to him. Others which had revolted, the Meliteni and the Corcyreans, who inhabited islands and practised piracy, he destroyed utterly, putting the young men to death and selling the rest as slaves. He deprived the Liburnians of their ships because they also practised piracy. (Y.R. 719) The Mœntini and the Avendeatæ, two tribes of the Iapydes, (B.C. 35) dwelling within the Alps, surrendered themselves to him at his approach. The Arrepini, who are the most numerous and warlike of the Iapydes, betook themselves from their villages to their city, but when he arrived there they fled to the woods. Augustus took the city, but did not burn it, hoping that they would deliver themselves up, and when they did so he allowed them to occupy it.

[17] Those who gave him the most trouble were the Salassi, the transalpine Iapydes, the Segestani, the Dalmatians, the Dæsiatæ, and the Pannonians, far distant from the Salassi, who occupy the higher Alpine mountains, difficult of access, the paths being narrow and hard to climb. For this reason they had not only preserved their independence, but had levied tolls on those who passed through their country. Vetus assaulted them unexpectedly, seized the passes by stratagem, and besieged them for two years. They were driven to surrender for want of salt, which they use largely, and they received a Roman garrison; but when Vetus went away they expelled the garrison forthwith, and, possessing themselves of the mountain passes, they mocked at the forces that Augustus sent against them, as unable to accomplish anything of importance. Thereupon Augustus, anticipating a war with Antony, acknowledged their independence and allowed them to go unpunished for their offences against Vetus. But as they were suspicious of what might happen, they laid in large supplies of salt and made (Y.R. 720) incursions into the Roman territory until Messala Corvinus (B.C. 34) was sent against them and reduced them by hunger. In this way were the Salassi subjugated. (Y.R. 719)

[18] The transalpine Iapydes, a strong and savage tribe, drove back the

Romans twice within the space of about twenty years, overran Aquileia, and plundered the Roman colony of Tergestus. When Augustus advanced against them by a steep and rugged road, they made it still harder for him by felling trees. As he advanced farther they took refuge in another forest, where they lay in ambush for the approaching foe. Augustus, who was always suspecting something of this kind, sent forces to occupy certain ridges which flanked both sides of his advance through the flat country and the fallen timber. The Iapydes darted out from their ambush and wounded many of the soldiers, but (B.C. 35) the greater part of their own forces were killed by the Romans who fell upon them from the heights above. The remainder again took refuge in the thickets, abandoning their town, the name of which was Terponus. Augustus took this town, but did not burn it, hoping that they also would give themselves up, and they did so.

[19] Thence he advanced to another place called Metulus, which is the chief town of the Iapydes. It is situated on a heavily timbered mountain, on two ridges with a narrow valley between them. Here were about 3000 warlike and well-armed youth, who easily beat off the Romans who surrounded their walls. The latter raised a mound. The Metulians interrupted the work by assaults by day and by night, and harassed the soldiers from the walls with engines which they had obtained from the war which Decimus Brutus had waged there with Antony and Augustus. When their wall began to crumble they built another inside, abandoned the ruined one, and took shelter behind the other. The Romans captured the abandoned one and burned it. Against the new fortification they raised two mounds and from these threw four bridges to the top of the wall. Then, in order to distract their attention, Augustus sent a part of his force around to the rear of the town and ordered the others to dash across the bridges to the walls. He ascended to the top of a high tower to see the result.

[20] Some of the barbarians ran from the parapet to meet the Romans who were crossing, while others, unseen, sought to undermine the bridges with their long spears. They were much encouraged at seeing one bridge fall and a second one follow on top of it. When a third one went down a regular panic overtook the Romans, so that no one ventured on the fourth bridge until Augustus leaped down from the tower and reproached them. As they were not roused to their duty by his words, he seized a shield and sprang upon the bridge himself. Agrippa and Hiero, two of the generals, and one of his bodyguard, Lucius, and Volas ran with him, only these four with a few armor-bearers. He had almost crossed the bridge when the soldiers, overcome by shame, rushed after him in crowds. Then this bridge, being overweighted, fell also, and the men on it went down in a heap. Some were killed and others were carried away with broken bones. Augustus was injured in the right leg and in both arms. Nevertheless, he ascended the tower with his signals forthwith and showed himself safe and sound, lest dismay should arise from a report of his death. In order that the enemy might not fancy that he was going

to give in and retire he began to construct new bridges; by which means he struck terror into the Metulians, who thought that they were contending against an unconquerable will.

[21] The next day they sent messengers to Augustus offering to give fifty hostages whom he might select, and promising to receive a garrison and to assign to them the highest hill while they themselves would occupy the other. When the garrison entered and he ordered them to lay down their arms they were very angry. They shut their wives and children up in their council-chamber and stationed guards there with orders to set fire to the building in case things went wrong with them, and then they attacked the Romans with desperation. Since, however, they made the attack from a lower position upon those occupying higher ground, they were completely overpowered. Then the guards set fire to the council-chamber and many of the women killed their children and themselves. Others, holding in their arms their children still alive, leaped into the flames. Thus all the Metulian youth perished in battle and the greater part of the non-combatants by fire. Their city was entirely consumed, and, large as it was, not a trace of it now remains. After the destruction of Metulus the remainder of the Iapydes, being terror-stricken, surrendered to Augustus. The transalpine Iapydes were then for the first time brought in subjection to the Romans. After Augustus departed the Poseni (Y.R. 720) rebelled and Marcus Helvius was sent against them. He (B.C. 34) conquered them and after punishing the leaders of the revolt with death sold the rest as slaves. (Y.R. 719)

[22] At an earlier time the Romans twice attacked the (B.C. 35) country of the Segestani, but obtained no hostages nor anything else, for which reason the Segestani became very arrogant. Augustus advanced against them through the Pannonian territory, which was not yet under subjection to the Romans. Pannonia is a wooded country extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. The inhabitants do not live in cities, but scattered through the country or in villages according to relationship. They have no common council and no rulers over the whole nation. They number 100,000 fighting men, but they do not assemble in one body, because they have no common government. When Augustus advanced against them they took to the woods, from which they darted out and slew the stragglers of the army. As long as Augustus hoped that they would surrender voluntarily he spared their fields and villages. As none of them came in he devastated the country with fire and sword for eight days, until he came to the Segestani. Theirs is also Pannonian territory, on the river Save, on which is situated a city strongly fortified by the river and by a very large ditch encircling it. For this reason Augustus greatly desired to possess it as a magazine convenient for a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnæ on the other side of the Ister, which is there called the Danube, but a little lower down is called the Ister. The Save flows into it, and Augustus caused ships to be built in the latter stream to bring provisions to the Danube for him.

[23] For these reasons he desired to obtain possession of Segesta. As he was

approaching, the Segestani sent to inquire what he wanted. He replied that he desired to station a garrison there and to have them give him 100 hostages in order that he might use the town safely as a base of operations in his war against the Dacians. He also asked for as much food as they were able to supply. The chief men of the town acquiesced, but the common people were furious, yet consented to the giving of the hostages, perhaps because they were not their children, but those of the notables. When the garrison came up, however, they could not bear the sight of them, but shut the gates in a mad fury and stationed themselves on the walls. Thereupon Augustus bridged the river and surrounded the place with ditch and palisade, and, having blockaded them, raised two mounds. Upon these the Segestani made frequent assaults and, being unable to capture them, endeavored to destroy them with torches and fire thrown from above. When aid was sent to them by the other Pannonians Augustus met and ambuscaded this reënforcement, destroyed a part of their force, and put the rest to flight. After this they got no more help from the Pannonians.

[24] Thus the Segestani, after enduring all the evils of a siege, were taken by force on the thirtieth day, and then for the first time they began to beg. Augustus, admiring them for their bravery and yielding to their prayers, neither killed nor banished them, but contented himself with a fine. He caused a part of the city to be separated from the rest by a wall, and in this he placed a garrison of twenty-five cohorts. Having accomplished this he went back to Rome, intending to return to Illyria in the spring. But a rumor becoming current that the Segestani had massacred the garrison, he set forth hastily in the winter. However, he found that the rumor was false, yet not without cause. They had been in danger from a sudden uprising of the Segestani and had lost many men by reason of its unexpectedness, but on the next day they rallied and put down the insurgents. Augustus turned his forces to Dalmatia, another Illyrian country bordering on Taulantia.

CHAPTER V

Second War against the Dalmatians — The City of Promona taken — Sunodium burned — The Dalmatians subdued

(Y.R. 720)

[25] The Dalmatians, after the slaughter of the five cohorts under Gabinius and the taking of their standards, elated by their success, had not laid down their arms for ten years. When Augustus advanced against them they made an alliance with each other for mutual aid in war. They had upwards of 12,000 fighting men under a general named Versus. He occupied Promona, the city of the Liburni, and fortified it, although it was very strong by nature. It is a mountain stronghold surrounded on all sides by sharp-pointed hills like saw-teeth. The greater part of his forces were stationed in the town, but he placed guards on the (B.C. 34) hills and all of them looked down upon the Romans from elevated positions. Augustus in plain sight began to draw a wall around the whole, but secretly he sent his bravest men to seek a path to the highest of the hills. These, concealing themselves in the woods, fell upon the guards by night while they were asleep, slew them, and signalled to Augustus in the twilight. He led the bulk of the army to make an attempt upon the city, and sent another force to hold the height that had been taken, while the captors of it should get possession of the lower hills. Terror and confusion fell upon the barbarians everywhere, for they believed themselves to be attacked on all sides. Especially were those on the hills alarmed lest they should be cut off from their supply of water, for which reason they all fled to Promona.

[26] Augustus surrounded the town, and two hills which were still held by the enemy, with a wall forty stades in length. When Testimus, another Dalmatian general, brought an army to the relief of the place Augustus met him and drove him back to the mountains, and while Testimus was still looking on he took Promona before the line of circumvallation was finished. For when the citizens made a sally and were sharply repulsed, the Romans pursued them and entered the town with them, where they killed a third part of them. The remainder took refuge in the citadel, at the gates of which a Roman cohort was placed to keep watch. On the fourth night the barbarians assaulted them, and they fled terror-stricken from the gates. Augustus repulsed the enemy's assault, and the following day received their surrender. The cohort that had abandoned its position was obliged to cast lots, and every tenth man suffered death. The lot fell upon two centurions among others. It was ordered, as a further punishment, that the surviving members of the cohort should subsist on barley instead of wheat for that summer.

[27] Promona being thus taken, Testimus, who was still looking on, disbanded his army, telling them to scatter in all directions. For this reason the Romans were not able to pursue them long, as they feared to divide

themselves into small bands, being ignorant of the roads, and the foot-prints of the fugitives being much confused. They took the town of Sunodium at the edge of the forest in which the army of Gabinius had been entrapped by the Dalmatians in a long and deep gorge between two mountains. There also they laid an ambushade for Augustus, but after he had burned Sunodium he sent soldiers around by the summits of the mountains to keep even pace with him on either side while he passed through the gorge. He cut down trees and captured and burned all the towns he found on his way. While he was besieging the city of Setovia a force of barbarians came to its assistance, which he met and prevented from entering the place. In this conflict he was struck by a stone on the knee and was confined for several days. When he recovered he returned to Rome to perform the duties of the consulship with Volcatius Tullus, his colleague, leaving Statilius Taurus to finish the war. (Y.R. 721)

[28] Entering upon his new consulship on the Calends (B.C. 33) of January, and delivering the government to Autronius Pætus the same day, he started back to Dalmatia at once, the triumvirate still existing; for two years remained of the second five-year period which the triumvirs themselves had ordained and the people confirmed. And now the Dalmatians, oppressed by hunger and cut off from foreign supplies, met him on the road and delivered themselves up with supplications, giving 700 of their children as hostages, as Augustus demanded, and also the Roman standards taken from Gabinius. They also promised to pay the tribute that had been in arrears since the time of Gaius Cæsar and to be obedient henceforth. Augustus deposited the standards in the portico called the Octavia. After the Dalmatians were prostrated Augustus advanced against the Derbani, who likewise begged pardon with supplications, gave hostages, and promised to pay the past-due tribute. In like manner other tribes at his approach gave hostages for observing the treaties that he made with them. Some, however, he was prevented by sickness from reaching. These gave no hostages and made no treaties. It appears, however, that they were subjugated later. Thus Augustus subdued the whole Illyrian country, not only the parts that (Y.R. 725) had revolted from the Romans, but those that had never (B.C. 29) before been under their rule. Wherefore the Senate awarded him an Illyrian triumph, which he enjoyed later, together with one for his victory over Antony.

[29] The remaining peoples, who are considered by the Romans to be parts of Illyria, are the Rhætians and the Noricans, on this side of Pannonia, and the Mysians on the other side as far as the Euxine Sea. I think that the Rhætians and Noricans were subdued by Gaius Cæsar during the Gallic war or by Augustus during the Pannonian war, as they lie between the two. I have found no mention of any war against them separately, whence I infer that they were conquered along with other neighboring tribes.

[30] Marcus Lucullus, brother of that Licinius Lucullus who conducted the war against Mithridates, advanced against the Mysians and arrived at the river

where six Grecian cities lie adjacent to the Mysian territory, namely, Istrus, Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesembria, Catalis, and Apollonia; from which he brought to Rome the great statue of Apollo which was afterward set up on the Palatine Hill. I have found nothing further done by the Roman republic as to the Mysians. They were not subjected to tribute by Augustus, but by Tiberius, who succeeded him as Roman emperor. All the things done by command of the people before the taking of Egypt have been written by me for each country separately. Those countries that the emperors themselves pacified after Egypt was taken, or annexed as their own work, will be mentioned after the affairs of the commonwealth. There I shall tell more about the Mysians. For the present, since the Romans consider the Mysians a part of Illyria and this is my Illyrian history, in order that it may be complete it seems proper to premise that Lucullus invaded Mysia as a general of the republic and that Tiberius took it in the time of the empire.

THE SYRIAN WARS

CHAPTER I

Ambition of Antiochus the Great — His First Disagreement with Rome — A Conference at Lysimacheia — Hannibal at Ephesus — Antiochus forms Alliances

(Y.R. 530) ANTIOCHUS (the son of Seleucus and grandson of Antiochus), (B.C. 224) king of the Syrians, the Babylonians, and other nations, was the sixth in succession from that Seleucus who succeeded Alexander in the government of the Asiatic countries around the Euphrates. He invaded Media and Parthia, and other countries that had revolted from his ancestors, and performed many exploits, from which he was named Antiochus the Great. Elated by his successes, and by the (Y.R. 556) title which he had derived from them, he invaded Cœle-Syria (B.C. 198) and a portion of Cilicia and took them away from Ptolemy Philopator [Epiphanes], king of Egypt, who was still a boy. As there was nothing small in his views he marched among the Hellespontines, the Æolians, and the Ionians as though they belonged to him as the ruler of Asia; and, indeed, they had been formerly subjects of the Asiatic (Y.R. 558) kings. Then he crossed over to Europe, brought Thrace (B.C. 196) under his sway, and reduced by force those who would not obey him. He fortified Chersonesus and rebuilt Lysimacheia, which Lysimachus, who ruled Thrace in the time of Alexander, built as a stronghold against the Thracians themselves, but which they destroyed after his death. Antiochus repopled it, calling back the citizens who had fled, redeeming those who had been sold as slaves, bringing in others, supplying them with cattle, sheep, and agricultural implements, and omitting nothing that might contribute to its speedy completion as a stronghold; for the place seemed to him to be admirably situated to hold all of Thrace in subjection, and a convenient base of supplies for other operations that he contemplated.

[2] Here the open disagreements between him and the Romans began, for as he passed among the Greek cities thereabout most of them joined him and received his garrisons, because they feared capture by him. But the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus, and some others who still resisted, sent ambassadors to Flamininus, the Roman general, who had lately overthrown Philip the Macedonian in a great battle in Thessaly; for the affairs of the Macedonians and of the Greeks were closely linked together at certain times and places, as I have shown in my Grecian history. Accordingly, certain embassies passed between Antiochus and Flamininus and tested each other to no purpose. The Romans and Antiochus had been suspicious of each other for a long time, the former surmising that he would not keep quiet because he was so much puffed up by the extent of his dominions and the acme of fortune that he had reached. Antiochus, on the other hand, believed that the Romans were the only people who could put a stop to his increase of power and prevent him

from passing over to Europe. Still, there was no outward cause of enmity between them until ambassadors came to Rome from Ptolemy Philopator complaining that Antiochus had taken Syria and Cilicia away from him. The Romans gladly seized this occasion as one well suited to their purposes, and sent to Antiochus ostensibly to bring about a reconciliation between him and Ptolemy, but really to find out his designs and to check him as much as they could.

[3] Gnaeus, the chief of the embassy, demanded that Antiochus should allow Ptolemy, who was a friend of the Roman people, to rule over all the countries that his father had left to him, and that the cities of Asia that had been part of the dominions of Philip should be independent, for it was not right that Antiochus should usurp powers of which the Romans had deprived Philip. "We are wholly at a loss to know," he said, "why Antiochus should come from Media bringing such a fleet and such an army from the upper country to the Asiatic coast, make an incursion into Europe, build cities there, and subdue Thrace, unless these are the preparations for another war." Antiochus replied that Thrace had belonged to his ancestors, that it had fallen away from them when they were occupied elsewhere, and that he had resumed possession because he had leisure to do so. He had built Lysimacheia as the future seat of government of his son Seleucus. He would leave the Greek cities of Asia independent if they would acknowledge the gratitude therefor as due to himself and not to the Romans. "I am a relative of Ptolemy," he said, "and I shall be his father-in-law, although I am not so now, and I will see to it that he renders gratitude to you. I am at a loss to know by what right you meddle with the affairs of Asia when I never interfere with those of Italy." And so they separated without coming to any understanding, and both sides broke into more open threats. (Y.R. 559)

[4] A rumor having spread abroad that Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 195) was dead, Antiochus hastened to Egypt in order to seize the country while bereft of a ruler. While on this journey Hannibal the Carthaginian met him at Ephesus. He was now a fugitive from his own country on account of the accusations of his enemies, who reported to the Romans that he was hostile to them, that he wanted to bring on a war, and that he could never enjoy peace. This was a time when the Carthaginians were leagued with the Romans by treaty. Antiochus received Hannibal in a magnificent manner on account of his great military reputation, and kept him near himself. At Lycia he learned that Ptolemy was alive. So he gave up the idea of seizing Egypt and turned his attention to Cyprus, hoping to take it instead of Egypt, and sailed thither with all speed. Encountering a storm at the mouth of the river Sarus and losing many of his ships, some of them with his soldiers and friends, he sailed back to Seleucia in Syria to repair his damaged fleet. There he celebrated the nuptials of his children, Antiochus and Laodice, whom he had joined together in marriage. (Y.R. 561)

[5] Now, determining no longer to conceal his intended (B.C. 193) war with the

Romans, he formed alliances by marriage with the neighboring kings. To Ptolemy in Egypt he sent his daughter Cleopatra, surnamed Syra, giving with her Coele-Syria as a dowry, which he had taken away from Ptolemy himself, thus flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans. To Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent his daughter Antiochis, and the remaining one to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But the latter, seeing that Antiochus was about to engage in war with the Romans and that he wanted to form a marriage connection with him on this account, refused her. To his brothers, Attalus and Philetærus, who were surprised that he should decline marriage relationship with so great a king, who was also his neighbor and who made the first overtures, he showed that the coming war would be of doubtful issue at first, but that the Romans would prevail in the end by their courage and perseverance. "If the Romans conquer," said he, "I shall be firmly seated in my kingdom. If Antiochus is the victor, I may expect to be stripped of all my possessions by my powerful neighbor, or, if I am allowed to reign, to be ruled over by him." For these reasons he rejected the proffered marriage.

CHAPTER II

Sends an Embassy to Rome — Hannibal's Advice to Antiochus — Hannibal sends a Messenger to Carthage — Roman Ambassadors meet Hannibal at Ephesus — Colloquy between Hannibal and Scipio Africanus — The Place of Hannibal's Death

[6] Then Antiochus went down to the Hellespont and crossed over to Chersonesus and possessed himself of a large part of Thrace by conquest or surrender. He freed the Greeks who were under subjection to the Thracians, and conciliated the Byzantines in many ways, because their city was admirably situated at the outlet of the Euxine Sea. By gifts and by fear of his warlike preparations he brought the Galatians into his alliance, because he considered them formidable by reason of their bodily size. Then he went back to Ephesus and sent as ambassadors to Rome Lysias, Hegesianax, and Menippus. They were sent really to find out the intentions of the Senate, but for the sake of appearances Menippus said, "King Antiochus, while strongly desirous of the friendship of the Romans and willing to be their ally if they wish, is surprised that they urge him to give up the cities of Ionia and to remit tribute for certain states, and not to interfere with certain of the affairs of Asia and to leave Thrace alone, though it has always belonged to his ancestors. Yours are not the exhortations of friends, but resemble orders given by victors to the vanquished." The Senate, perceiving that the embassy had come to make a test of their disposition, replied curtly, "If Antiochus will leave the Greeks in Asia free and independent, and keep away from Europe, he can be the friend of the Roman people if he desires." Such was the answer of the Romans, and they gave no reason for their rejoinder.

[7] As Antiochus intended to invade Greece first and thence begin his war against the Romans, he communicated his design to Hannibal. The latter said that as Greece had been wasted for a long time, the task would be easy; but that wars which were waged at home were the hard ones to bear, by reason of the scarcity which they caused, and that those which took place in foreign territory were much easier to endure. Antiochus could never vanquish the Romans in Greece, where they would have plenty of home-grown corn and all needed material. Hannibal urged him to occupy some part of Italy and make his base of operations there, so that the Romans might be weakened both at home and abroad. "I have had experience of Italy," he said, "and with 10,000 men I can occupy some convenient place and write to my friends in Carthage to stir up the people to revolt. As they are already discontented with their condition, and harbor ill-will toward the Romans, they will be filled with courage and hope if they hear that I am ravaging Italy again." Antiochus listened eagerly to this advice, and as he considered a Carthaginian accession a great advantage (as it would have been) for his war, directed him to write to

his friends at once.

[8] Hannibal did not write the letters, since he did not consider it yet safe to do so, as the Romans were searching out everything and the war was not yet openly declared, and he had many opponents in Carthage, and the city had no fixed or sound policy, — the very lack of which caused its destruction, not long afterward. But he sent Aristo, a Tyrian merchant, to his friends, on the pretext of trading, to tell them that when he should invade Italy they should rouse Carthage to avenge her wrongs. Aristo did this, but when Hannibal's enemies learned that he was in the city they raised a tumult as though a revolution was impending, and searched everywhere to find him. In order that Hannibal's friends might not be particularly accused, he posted letters in front of the senate-chamber secretly by night, saying that Hannibal exhorted the whole senate to rescue the country with the help of Antiochus. Having done this he sailed away. In the morning the friends of Hannibal were relieved of their fears by this afterthought of Aristo, which implied that he had been sent to the whole senate. The city was filled with all kinds of tumult, the people feeling bitterly toward the Romans, but despairing of accomplishing anything indirectly. Such was the situation of affairs in Carthage. (Y.R. 562)

[9] In the meantime Roman ambassadors, and among them Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power, were sent, like those of Antiochus, to ascertain his designs and to form an estimate of his strength. Learning that the king had gone to Pisidia, they waited for him at Ephesus. There they entered into frequent conversations with Hannibal, Carthage being then at peace with them and war with Antiochus not yet declared. They reproached Hannibal for flying his country when the Romans had nothing to complain against him, or against the other Carthaginians, under the terms of the last treaty. They did this in order to cast suspicion on Hannibal in the mind of the king by the protracted conversations and intercourse. Hannibal, although a most profound military genius, did not perceive their design, but the king, when he learned what had been going on, did suspect him, and was more reluctant to give him his confidence thereafter. There was also some jealousy and envy added, lest Hannibal should carry off the glory of the exploits.

[10] It is said that at one of their meetings in the gymnasium Scipio and Hannibal had a conversation on the subject of generalship, in the presence of a number of (B.C. 192) bystanders, and that Scipio asked Hannibal whom he considered the greatest general, to which the latter replied, "Alexander of Macedon." To this Scipio assented since he also yielded the first place to Alexander. Then he asked Hannibal whom he placed next, and he replied, "Pyrrhus of Epirus," because he considered boldness the first qualification of a general; "for it would not be possible," he said, "to find two kings more enterprising than these." Scipio was rather nettled by this, but nevertheless he asked Hannibal to whom he would give the third place, expecting that at least the third would be assigned to him; but Hannibal replied, "To myself; for when I was a young man I conquered Spain and crossed the Alps with an

army, the first after Hercules. I invaded Italy and struck terror into all of you, laid waste 400 of your towns, and often put your city in extreme peril, all this time receiving neither money nor reënforcements from Carthage.” As Scipio saw that he was likely to prolong his self-laudation he said, laughing, “Where would you place yourself, Hannibal, if you had not been defeated by me?” Hannibal, now perceiving his jealousy, replied, “In that case I should have put myself before Alexander.” Thus Hannibal continued his self-laudation, but flattered Scipio in a delicate manner by suggesting that he had conquered one who was the superior of Alexander.

[11] At the end of this conversation Hannibal invited Scipio to be his guest, and Scipio replied that he would be so gladly if Hannibal were not living with Antiochus, who was held in suspicion by the Romans. Thus did they, in a manner worthy of great commanders, cast aside their enmity at the end of their wars. Not so Flamininus, for, at a later period when Hannibal had fled after the defeat of Antiochus and was wandering around Bithynia, Flamininus sent an embassy to King Prusias on other matters, and, although he had no grievance against Hannibal, and had no orders from the Senate, and Hannibal was no longer formidable to them, Carthage having fallen, he caused Prusias to put him to death by poison. There was a story that an oracle had once said: ““Libyssan earth shall cover Hannibal’s remains.”“

So he believed that he should die in Libya. But there is a river Libyssus in Bithynia, and the adjoining country takes the name of Libyssa from the river. These things I have placed side by side as memorials of the magnanimity of Hannibal and Scipio and of the smallness of Flamininus.

CHAPTER III

Antiochus invades Greece — Amynder, King of the Athamanes, joins him — Hannibal repeats his Advice — The Romans prepare for War — Philip joins the Romans

[12] Antiochus, on his return from Pisidia to Ephesus, entered upon the business with the Roman ambassadors and promised to leave the Rhodians, the Byzantines, the Cyzicæans, and the other Greeks of Asia free and independent if the Romans would make a treaty with him, but he would not release the Ætolians and the Ionians, since they had long been accustomed to obey the barbarian kings of Asia. The Roman ambassadors came to no agreement with him — in fact, they had not come to make an agreement, but to find out his purposes. So they returned to Rome. There-upon an Ætolian embassy came to Antiochus, of which Thoas was the principal member, offering him the command of the Ætolian forces and urging him to embark for Greece at once, as everything was in readiness there. They would not allow him to wait for the army that was coming from upper Asia, but by exaggerating the strength of the Ætolians and promising the alliance of the Lacedæmonians and of Philip of Macedon in addition, who was angry with the Romans, they urged his crossing. He assembled his forces very hastily, nor did even the news of his son's death in Syria delay him at all. He sailed to Eubœa with 10,000 men, who were all that he had in hand at the time. He took possession of the whole island, which surrendered to him through fear. Michithio, one of his generals, fell upon the Romans at Delium (a place sacred to Apollo), killed some of them, and took the rest prisoners.

[13] Amynder, king of the Athamanes, leagued himself with Antiochus for the following reason. A certain Macedonian, named Alexander, who had been educated at Megalopolis and admitted to citizenship there, pretended that he was a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to make people believe his fables he named his two sons Philip and Alexander and his daughter Apama. The latter he betrothed to Amynder. Her brother Philip conducted her to the nuptial ceremony, and when he saw that Amynder was weak and inexperienced he remained there and took charge of the government by virtue of this connection. By holding out to this Philip the hope that he would restore his ancestral kingdom of Macedonia to him, Antiochus secured the alliance of the Athamanes. He secured that of the Thebans also by going to Thebes and making a speech to the people. He was emboldened to enter upon this great war relying most rashly on the Thebans, Amynder, and the Ætolians, and he made a reconnoissance of Thessaly to determine whether he should invade it at once or after the winter had passed. As Hannibal expressed no opinion on the subject, Antiochus, before coming to a decision, asked him his thought.

[14] Hannibal replied, "It is not difficult to reduce the Thessalians either

now or at the end of winter, if you wish. Exhausted by much suffering they will change now to you, and again to the Romans, if any misfortune befalls you. We have come here without any army of our own, trusting to the Ætolians, who said that the Lacedæmonians and Philip would join us. Of these I hear that the Lacedæmonians are as hostile to us as the Achæans are, and as for Philip I do not see him here helping you, although he can turn the scale of this war for whichever side he favors. I hold the same opinion as before, that you should call in an army from Asia as quickly as possible and not put any reliance on Amynder or the Ætolians. When your army comes, carry the war into Italy so that they may be distracted by evils at home, and thus harm you as little as possible, and make no advance movement for fear of what may befall themselves. The plan I spoke of before is no longer available, but you ought to employ half of your fleet in ravaging the shores of Italy and keep the other half lying in wait for opportunities, while you station yourself with all your land forces at some point in Greece near to Italy, making a feint of invasion and invading it at any time if you can. Try by every means to make an alliance with Philip, because he can be of the greatest service to whichever side he espouses. If he will not consent, send your son Seleucus against him by way of Thrace so that Philip likewise may be distracted by troubles at home, and prevented from furnishing aid to the enemy.” Such were the counsels of Hannibal, and they were the best of all that were offered; but, moved by jealousy of his reputation and judgment, the other counsellors, and the king himself no less, cast them all aside lest Hannibal should seem to excel them in generalship, and lest the glory of the exploits should be his — except that Polyxenidas was sent to Asia to bring an army. (Y.R. 563)

[15] When the Romans heard of the irruption of Antiochus into Greece and the killing and capture of Romans at Delium, they declared war. In this way the war between them, which had been smouldering a long time, first actually broke out. So great was the dominion of Antiochus, ruler of many powerful nations of upper Asia, and of all but a few on the sea-coast, who had now invaded Europe; so formidable was his reputation and so complete his preparation, so many and so famous had been his exploits against other peoples, from which he had earned the title of Great, that the Romans anticipated that this war would be long and severe for them. They had their suspicions also of Philip of Macedon, whom they had lately conquered, and of the Carthaginians also, lest they should prove false to the treaty because Hannibal was cooperating with Antiochus. Other subject peoples were under suspicion lest revolution should break out among them in consequence of the fame of Antiochus. For these reasons they sent forces into all the provinces to watch them without provoking hostilities. With them were sent commanders called six-axe men (prætors), so called because the consuls (B.C. 191) had twelve bundles of rods and axes (as the kings before them had), whereas the prætors had only half the dignity of the consuls and half the number of insignia of office. As in cases of great peril they showed their anxiety for Italy also, lest

there should be some weakening or revolt against them there. They sent a large force of infantry to Tarentum to guard against an attack in that quarter, and also a fleet to patrol the coast. So great was the alarm caused by Antiochus at first. When everything appertaining to the government at home was arranged, they raised an army to serve against Antiochus, 20,000 from the city and double that number from the allies, to cross the Adriatic in the early spring. Thus they employed the whole winter in making preparations for war.

[16] Antiochus marched against the Thessalians and came to Cynoscephalæ, where the Macedonians had been defeated by the Romans, and finding the remains of the dead still unburied, gave them a magnificent funeral. Thus he curried favor with the Macedonians and accused Philip before them of leaving unburied those who had fallen in his service. Until now Philip had been wavering and in doubt which side he should espouse, but when he heard of this he joined the Romans at once. He invited Bæbius, their nearest general, to a rendezvous and gave pledges anew of faithful alliance against Antiochus. Bæbius praised him for this, and felt emboldened to send Appius Claudius straightway with 2000 foot through Macedonia into Thessaly. When Appius arrived at Tempe and from that point saw Antiochus besieging Larissa, he kindled a large number of fires to conceal the smallness of his force. Antiochus thought that Bæbius and Philip had arrived, and became panic-stricken, abandoned the siege on a pretext of bad weather, and retreated to Chalcis. There he fell in love with a pretty girl, and, although he was above fifty years of age and was supporting the burden of so great a war, he celebrated his nuptials with her, gave a public festival, and allowed his army to spend the whole winter in idleness and luxury. When spring came he made a descent upon Acarnania, where he perceived that idleness had unfitted his army for every kind of duty. Then he repented himself Of his marriage and his public festival. Nevertheless he reduced a part of Acarnania and was besieging the rest of its strongholds when he learned that the Romans were making a passage of the Adriatic. Then at once he returned to Chalcis.

CHAPTER IV

The Romans cross the Adriatic — Antiochus occupies Thermopylæ — Battle at Thermopylæ — Antiochus defeated — Flees to Asia — The two Scipios sent against him

[17] The Romans crossed hastily from Brundisium to Apollonia with the forces that were then ready, being 2000 horse, 20,000 foot, and a few elephants, under the command of Acinius Manius Glabrio. They marched to Thessaly and relieved the besieged cities. They expelled the enemy's garrisons from the towns of the Athamanes and made a prisoner of that Philip of Megalopolis who was still expecting the throne of Macedonia. They also captured about 3000 of the soldiers of Antiochus. While Manius was doing these things, Philip made a descent upon Athamania and brought the whole of it under subjection, King Amynder fleeing to Ambracia. When Antiochus learned these facts, he was terrified by the rush of events and by the suddenness of the change of fortune, and he now perceived the wisdom of Hannibal's advice. He sent messenger after messenger to Asia to hasten the coming of Polyxenidas. Then from all sides he drew in what forces he had. These amounted to 10,000 foot and 500 horse of his own, besides some allies, with which he occupied Thermopylæ in order to put this difficult pass between himself and the enemy while waiting for the arrival of his army from Asia. The passage at Thermopylæ is long and narrow, flanked on the one side by a rough and inhospitable sea and on the other by a deep and impassable morass. It is overhung by two mountain peaks, one called Tichius and the other Callidromus. The place also contains some hot springs, whence comes the name Thermopylæ (the Hot Gates).

[18] There Antiochus built a double wall on which he placed engines. He sent Ætolian troops to occupy the summits of the mountains to prevent anybody from coming around secretly by way of the hill called Atropos, as Xerxes had come upon the Spartans under Leonidas, the mountain paths at that time being unguarded. One thousand Ætolians occupied each mountain. The remainder encamped by themselves near the city of Heraclea. When Manius saw the enemy's preparations he gave the signal for battle on the morrow and ordered two of his tribunes, Marcus Cato and Lucius Valerius, to select such forces as they pleased and to go around the mountains by night and drive the Ætolians from the heights as best they could. Lucius was repulsed from Mount Tichius by the Ætolians, who at that place fought well, but Cato, who moved against Mount Callidromus, fell upon the enemy while they were still asleep, about the last watch. Nevertheless there was a stiff fight here, as he was obliged to climb over high rocks and precipices in the face of an opposing enemy. Meantime Manius was leading his army against Antiochus' front in straight lines, as this was the only way possible in the

narrow pass. The king placed his light-armed troops and peltasts in front of the phalanx, and drew up the phalanx itself in front of the camp, with the archers and slingers on the right hand next to the foot-hills, and the elephants, with the guard that always accompanied them, on the left near the sea.

[19] Battle being joined, the light-armed troops assailed Manius first, rushing in from all sides. He received their onset bravely, first yielding and then advancing and driving them back. The phalanx opened and let the light-armed men pass through. It then closed and pushed forward, the long pikes set densely together in order of battle, with which the Macedonians from the time of Alexander and Philip have struck terror into enemies who have not dared to encounter the thick array of long pikes presented to them. At this juncture the Ætolians were seen fleeing from Callidromus with loud cries, and leaping down into the camp of Antiochus. At first neither side knew what had happened, and there was confusion among both in their uncertainty but when Cato made his appearance pursuing the Ætolians with shouts of victory and was already close above the camp of Antiochus, the king's forces, who had been hearing for some time back fearful accounts of the Roman style of fighting, and who knew that they themselves had been enervated by idleness and luxury all winter, took fright. Not knowing how large Cato's force was, it was magnified to their minds by terror. Fearing for the safety of their camp they fled to it in disorder, with the intention of defending it against the enemy. But the Romans were close at their heels and entered the camp with them. Then there was another flight of the Antiocheans as disorderly as the first. Manius pursued them as far as Scarphia, killing and taking prisoners. Returning thence he plundered the king's camp, and by merely showing himself drove out the Ætolians who had broken into the Roman camp during his absence.

[20] The Romans lost about 200 in the battle and the pursuit; Antiochus about 10,000, including prisoners. The king himself, at the first sign of defeat, fled precipitately with 500 horse as far as Elateia, and from Elateia to Chalcis, and thence to Ephesus with his bride Eubœa, as he called her, with his ships; but not all of them, for the Roman admiral made an attack upon some that were bringing supplies, and sunk them. When the people of Rome heard of this victory, so swiftly and easily gained, they offered sacrifice, being satisfied with their first trial of the formidable reputation of Antiochus. To Philip, in return for his services as an ally, they sent his son Demetrius, who was still a hostage in their hands.

[21] While these things were going on in the city, Manius received the supplications of the Phoceans, the Chalcideans, and others who had coöperated with Antiochus, and he relieved their fears. He and Philip ravaged Ætolia and reduced its cities. He captured, in hiding, Democritus, the general of the Ætolians, who had threatened Flamininus that he would pitch his camp on the banks of the Tiber. Manius, with an army laden with baggage and spoils, made his way to Callipolis over Mount Corax, the highest, rockiest,

and most difficult in that region. Many soldiers, by reason of the badness of the road, fell over precipices and were dashed in pieces with their arms and accoutrements. Although the Ætolians might have punished them severely, they were nowhere to be seen, having sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. In the meantime Antiochus ordered the satraps of upper Asia to send their army down to the coast in all haste, and he fitted out a fleet which he put under the command of Polyxenidas, an exile from Rhodes. He crossed over to Chersonesus and again fortified it. He also strengthened Sestos and Abydos, through which the Roman legions would be obliged to pass if they should invade Asia. He made Lysimacheia his principal magazine for the present war and accumulated large supplies of arms and provisions in it, believing that the Romans would presently attack him with large land and sea forces. The latter appointed Lucius Scipio as the successor of Manius in the command, as he was then consul, but as he was inexperienced in war they appointed as his lieutenant his brother, Publius Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power and who first bore the title of Africanus.

CHAPTER V

The Romans win a Naval Victory — The Scipios march to the Hellespont — A Roman Fleet captured by Stratagem — Fighting at Pergamus — The Naval Battle of Myonessus

[22] While the Scipios were still making their preparations, Livius, who had charge of the coast defence of Italy and who had been chosen the successor of Atilius, with his own coast-guard ships and some contributed by the Carthaginians and other allies, sailed for the Piræus. Receiving there the fleet from Atilius he set sail with eighty-one decked ships, Eumenes following with fifty of his own, one-half of which had decks. They put in at Phocæa, a place belonging to Antiochus, but which received them from fear, and on the following day they sailed out for a naval engagement. Polyxenidas, commanding the fleet of Antiochus, met them with 200 ships much lighter than those opposed to him, which was a great advantage to him, since the Romans were not yet experienced in nautical affairs. Seeing two Carthaginian ships sailing in front, he sent three of his own against them and took them, but found them empty, the crews having leaped overboard. Livius dashed angrily at the three with his flag-ship, much in advance of the rest of the fleet. The enemy being three to one grappled him contemptuously with iron hooks, and when the ships were fastened together the battle was fought as though it were on land. The Romans, being much superior in valor, sprang upon the enemy's ships, overpowered them, and returned, bringing back two ships captured simultaneously by one. This was the prelude to the naval engagement. When the fleets came together the Romans had the best of it by reason of their bodily strength and bravery, but on account of the unwieldy size of their ships they could not capture the enemy, who got away with their nimble craft, and, by rapid flight, took refuge in Ephesus. The Romans repaired to Chios, where twenty-seven Rhodian ships joined them as allies. When Antiochus received the news of this naval fight, he sent Hannibal to Syria to fit out another fleet from Phœnicia and Cilicia. When he was returning with it the Rhodians drove him into Pamphylia, captured some of his ships, and blockaded the rest. (Y.R. 564)

[23] In the meantime Publius Scipio arrived in Ætolia with the consul and received the command of the army from Manius. He scorned the siege of the Ætolian towns as small business, and allowed the imploring people to send a new embassy to Rome, while he hastened against Antiochus before his brother's consulship should expire. He moved by way of Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, and it would have been a very hard march for him had not Philip of Macedon repaired the roads, entertained him, escorted him, bridged the streams some time before, and furnished him provisions. In return for this the Scipios immediately relieved him from the payment of the

remaining money indemnity, having been authorized to do so by the Senate if they should find him zealous. They also wrote to Prusias, king of Bithynia, reminding him that the Romans were in the habit of augmenting the possessions of the kings in alliance with them. They said that, although they had conquered Philip of Macedon, they had allowed him to retain his kingdom, had released his son whom they had held as a hostage, and had remitted the money payment still due. Thereupon Prusias willingly entered into (B.C. 190) alliance with them against Antiochus. Livius, the commander of the fleet, when he learned that the Scipios were on the march, left Pausimachus, the Rhodian, with the Rhodian ships and a part of his own, in Æolis, and himself sailed with the greater part to the Hellespont to assist the army. Sestos and Rhæteum, and the harbor of the Achæans, and several other places surrendered to him. Abydos refused and he laid siege to it.

[24] After the departure of Livius, Pausimachus trained his sailors by repeated exercises, and constructed machines of various kinds. He attached iron pans containing fire to long poles and suspended them over the sea, so as to clear his own ships and fall upon those of the enemy when they approached. While he was thus engaged Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, who was also a Rhodian, but had been banished for crime, laid a trap for him. He promised to deliver the fleet of Antiochus to him if he would agree to help him in securing readmittance to his own country. Pausimachus suspected the wily rascal and took special pains to guard against him. But after Polyxenidas had written him an autograph letter on the subject of the betrayal and in accord therewith had sailed away from Ephesus on the pretence of procuring corn for the army, Pausimachus, observing the movement and thinking that no one would put his own signature to a letter proposing a betrayal unless he was speaking the truth, felt entire confidence, relaxed his vigilance, and sent his own fleet away to procure corn. Polyxenidas, seeing that his stratagem was successful, reassembled his ships, and sent the pirate Nicander to Samos with a few men to create confusion by getting in the rear of Pausimachus on the land, and himself sailed at midnight, and about daybreak fell upon him while still asleep. Pausimachus, in this sudden and unexpected catastrophe, ordered his men to abandon their ships and defend themselves on land. When Nicander attacked him in the rear he thought that the land had been taken possession of by night not merely by those who were visible, but by a much larger number. So he made another confused rush for his ships. He was foremost in the encounter and the first to fall, fighting bravely. The rest were all captured or killed. Seven of the ships, which were provided with the fire-apparatus, escaped, as no one dared approach them for fear of conflagration. The remaining twenty Polyxenidas towed to Ephesus.

[25] Upon the news of this victory Phocæa again changed sides to Antiochus, as did also Samos and Cuma. Livius, fearing for his own ships, which he had left in Æolis, returned to them in haste. Eumenes hastened to

join him, and the Rhodians sent the Romans twenty new ships. In a short time they were all in good spirits and they sailed toward Ephesus prepared for another engagement. As no enemy appeared they divided their naval force into two parts, one half for a long time showing itself on the high sea, while the other landed on the enemy's coast and ravaged it until Nicander attacked them from the interior, took away their plunder, and drove them back to their ships. Then they withdrew to Samos, and Livius' term of office as admiral expired.

[26] About this time Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, ravaged the territory of Eumenes and laid siege to Pergamus, shutting up the soldiers in it. On account of this Eumenes sailed with haste to Elæa, the naval station of his kingdom, and with him L. Æmilius Regillus, the successor of Livius as admiral. One thousand foot-soldiers and 100 picked horse had been sent by the Achæans as allies to Eumenes. When their commander, Diophanes, from the wall saw the soldiers of Seleucus sporting and drinking in a contemptuous way, he urged the Pergameans to join him in a sally against the enemy. As they would not agree to this he armed his 1000 foot and his 100 horse, led them out of the city under the wall, and stood there quietly. The enemy derided him for a long time on account of the smallness of his force and because he did not dare to fight, but he fell upon them while they were taking their dinner, threw them into confusion, and put their advance guard to flight. While some sprang for their arms, and others tried to bridle their horses or to catch those that ran away or to mount those that would not stand, Diophanes won a most glorious victory, the Pergameans cheering vociferously from the walls, but even then not venturing out. Having killed as many as he could in a brief demonstration and taken a certain number of prisoners with their horses, he quickly returned. The following day he again stationed the Achæans under the wall, the Pergameans again not going out with him. Seleucus approached him with a large body of horse and challenged him to battle, but Diophanes did not accept the challenge. He kept his station close under the wall and watched his opportunity. Seleucus remained till midday, when he turned and led his tired horsemen back. Then Diophanes fell upon his rear and threw it into confusion, and after doing all the damage he could, returned forthwith to his place under the wall. By continually stealing upon the enemy in this way whenever they were collecting forage or wood, and inflicting losses upon them, he compelled Seleucus to move away from Pergamus, and finally drove him out of Eumenes' territory altogether.

[27] Not long afterward Polyxenidas and the Romans had a naval engagement near Myonnesus, in which the former had ninety decked ships, and Regillus, the Roman admiral, eighty-three, of which twenty-five were from Rhodes. The latter were ranged by their commander, Eudorus, on the left wing. Seeing Polyxenidas on the other wing extending his line much beyond that of the Romans, and fearing lest it should be surrounded, he sailed rapidly around there with his swift ships and experienced oarsmen, and brought his

fire-ships against Polyxenidas first, scattering flames everywhere. The ships of the latter did not dare to meet their assailants on account of the fire, but, sailing round and round, tried to keep out of the way, shipped much water, and were exposed to ramming behind the bows. Presently a Rhodian ship struck a Sidonian, and the blow being severe the anchor of the latter was dislodged and stuck in the former, fastening them together. The two ships being immovable the contest between the crews became like a land fight. As many others hastened to the aid of each, the competition on both sides became spirited, and the Roman ships broke through the Antiochean line of battle, which was exposed in this way, and surrounded the enemy before they knew it. When they discovered it there was a flight and a pursuit. Twenty-nine of the Antiochean ships were lost, thirteen of which were captured with their crews. The Romans lost only two vessels. Polyxenidas captured the Rhodian ship and brought it to Ephesus.

CHAPTER VI

Consternation of Antiochus — Antiochus sends Proposals to the Scipios — Both Armies prepare for Battle — The Roman Formation — Antiochus draws up his Forces — The Battle of Magnesia — The Macedonian Phalanx broken — Total Defeat of Antiochus

[28] Such was the result of the naval engagement at Myonnesus. Before Antiochus heard of it he was fortifying the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with the greatest care, thinking, as was the fact, that this was very important as a defence against the Romans, who would have found it very difficult to pass, or to get through the rest of Thrace, if Philip had not conducted them. But Antiochus, who was generally fickle and light-minded, when he heard of his defeat at Myonnesus was completely panic-stricken, and thought that his evil genius had conspired against him. Everything had turned out contrary to his expectations. The Romans had beaten him on the sea, where he thought he was much superior. The Rhodians had shut Hannibal up in Pamphylia. Philip was helping the Romans over the impassable roads, whereas Antiochus supposed that he would have a lively remembrance of what he had suffered from them. Everything unnerved him, and the deity took away his reasoning powers (as is usually the case when misfortunes multiply), so that he abandoned the Chersonesus without cause, even before the enemy came in sight, neither carrying away nor burning the great stores which he had collected there of grain, arms, money, and engines, but leaving all these sinews of war in good condition for the enemy. He paid no attention to the Lysimacheans who, as though after a siege, with lamentations accompanied him in his flight, together with their wives and children. He was intent only upon preventing the enemy from crossing at Abydos, and rested his last hope of success wholly on that. Yet he was so beside himself that he did not even defend the crossing, but hastened to reach the interior in advance of the enemy, not even leaving a guard at the straits.

[29] When the Scipios learned of his flight they took Lysimacheia on their march, possessed themselves of the treasure and arms in the Chersonesus, crossed the unguarded Hellespont in haste in order to arrive at Sardis before Antiochus, who did not yet know that they had crossed. The panic-stricken king, charging his own faults to the score of fortune, sent Heraclides the Byzantine to the Scipios to treat for peace. He offered to give them Smyrna, Alexandria on the Granicus, and Lampsacus, on account of which cities the war had been begun, and to pay them half the cost of the war. He was authorized if necessary to surrender the Ionian and Æolian cities which had sided with the Romans in the fight and whatever else the Scipios might ask. These things Heraclides was to propose publicly. He was authorized to promise Publius Scipio privately a large sum of money and the surrender of

his son, whom the king had taken prisoner in Greece as he was sailing from Chalcis to Demetrias. This son was the Scipio who afterwards took and destroyed Carthage, and was the second to bear the name of Scipio Africanus. He was the son of Paulus, who conquered Perseus, king of Macedon, and of Scipio's daughter, and had been adopted by Scipio. The Scipios in council gave this answer to Heraclides, "If Antiochus wishes peace he must surrender not only the cities of Ionia and Æolia, but all of Asia this side of Mount Taurus, and pay the whole cost of the war incurred on his account." Privately Publius said to Heraclides, "If Antiochus had offered these conditions while he still held the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia they would have been gladly accepted; perhaps so if he were only still guarding the passage of the Hellespont. But now that we have crossed in safety and have not merely bridled the horse (as the saying is), but mounted him, we cannot consent to such light conditions. I thank the king for his proposal and shall thank him still more after receiving my son. I will repay him now with good advice, that he accept the terms offered instead of waiting for severer ones."

[30] After this conference Publius was taken sick and withdrew to Elæa, leaving Gnæus Domitius as his brother's counsellor. Antiochus thinking, as Philip of Macedon did, that nothing worse than these terms could befall him if he were vanquished in war, drew his forces together near the plain of Thyatira not far from the enemy, and sent Scipio's son to him at Elæa. Scipio advised those who brought his son that Antiochus should not fight until he himself should return to the army. Antiochus, acting on this advice, transferred his camp to Mount Sipylus and fortified it with a strong wall. He also interposed the river Phrygius between himself and the enemy, so that he should not be compelled to fight against his will. Domitius, however, in a spirit of ambition, wanted to decide the war himself. So he boldly crossed the river and established a camp at a distance of twenty stades from Antiochus. Four days in succession they both drew up their forces in front of their own fortifications, but neither of them began a battle. On the fifth day Domitius did the same again and haughtily advanced. As Antiochus did not meet him he moved his camp nearer. After an interval of one day he announced by herald in the hearing of the enemy that he would fight Antiochus on the following day whether he was willing or not. The latter was perplexed and again changed his mind. Although he would have ventured heretofore only to make a stand under the wall or to repel the enemy from the wall, till Scipio should regain his health, he now thought that with superior numbers it would be disgraceful to decline an engagement. So he prepared for battle.

[31] Both marched out about the last watch, just before daylight. The ordering of the troops on either side was as follows. The Roman legionaries, to the number of 10,000, formed the left wing resting on the river. Behind these were 10,000 Italian allies, and both these divisions were in files in triple line of battle. Behind the Italians came the army of Eumenes and about 3000 Achæan peltasts. Thus stood the left, while on the right wing were the Roman

and Italian cavalry and those of Eumenes, not more than 3000 in all. Mingled with all these were light-armed troops and bowmen, and around Domitius himself were four troops of horse. Altogether they were about 30,000 strong. Domitius took his station on the right wing and placed the consul in the centre. He gave the command of the left wing to Eumenes. Considering his African elephants of no use, being few in number and of small size, as those of Africa usually are (and the small ones are afraid of the larger), he placed them in the rear of all. Such was the Roman line of battle.

[32] The total force of Antiochus was 70,000 and the strongest of these was the Macedonian phalanx of 16,000 men, still arrayed after the fashion of Alexander and Philip. These were placed in the centre, divided into ten sections of 1600 men each, with fifty men in the front line of each section and thirty-two deep. On the flanks of each section were twenty-two elephants. The appearance of the phalanx was like that of a wall, of which the elephants were the towers. Such was the arrangement of the infantry of Antiochus. His horse were stationed on either wing, consisting of the mail-clad Galatians and the Macedonian corps called the Agema, so named because they were picked horsemen. An equal number of these were stationed on either side of the phalanx. Besides these the right wing had certain light-armed troops, and other horsemen with silver shields, and 200 mounted archers. On the left were the Galatian bands of the Tectosagi, the Trocmi, the Tolistoboi, and certain Cappadocians furnished by King Ariarthes, and a mingling of other tribes. There was another body of horse, mail-clad but light-armed, called the Companion cavalry. In this way Antiochus drew up his forces. He seems to have placed most reliance on his cavalry, whom he stationed in large numbers on his front. The serried phalanx, in which he should have placed most confidence, on account of its high state of discipline, was crowded together unskilfully in a narrow space. Besides the forces enumerated there was a great multitude of slingers, archers, javelin throwers, and peltasts from Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Crete, Tralles, and Cilicia, armed after the Cretan fashion. There were also other mounted archers from the Dahæ, Mysia, Elymaïs, and Arabia, riding on swift camels, who shot arrows with dexterity from their high position, and used very long thin knives when they came to close combat. Antiochus also placed scythe-bearing chariots in the space between the armies to begin the battle, with orders to retire after the first onset.

[33] The appearance of his formation was like that of two armies, one to begin the fight, the other held in reserve. Each was arranged in a way to strike terror into the enemy both by numbers and equipment. Antiochus commanded the horse on the right wing in person; his son Seleucus commanded the left. Philip, the master of the elephants, commanded the phalanx, and Mendis and Zeuxis the skirmishers. The day was dark and gloomy so that the sight of the display was obscured and the aim of the missiles of all kinds impaired by the misty and murky atmosphere. When Eumenes perceived this he disregarded

the remainder of the enemy's force, and fearing only the onset of the scythe-bearing chariots, which were mostly ranged against him, he ordered the slingers, archers, and other light-armed under his command to circle around the chariots and aim at the horses, instead of the drivers, for when a horse becomes unmanageable in a chariot all the chariot becomes useless. He often breaks the ranks of his own friends, who are afraid of the scythes. So it turned out. The horses being wounded in great numbers charged with their chariots upon their own ranks. The camels were thrown into disorder first, as they were next in line to the chariots, and after them the mail-clad horse who could not easily dodge the scythes on account of the weight of their armor. Great was the tumult and various the disorder started chiefly by these runaways and spreading along the whole front, the apprehension being even worse than the fact. For, as by reason of distance and multitude, discordant cries and manifold fears, the truth was not clearly grasped even by those near the danger, so these transmitted the alarm constantly magnified to those beyond.

[34] Eumenes, having succeeded admirably in his first attempt and cleared the ground held by the camels and chariots, led his own horse and those of the Romans and Italians in his division against the Galatians, the Cappadocians, and the other collection of mercenaries opposed to him, cheering loudly and exhorting them to have no fear of these inexperienced men who had been deprived of their advance supports. They obeyed him and made so heavy a charge that they put to flight not only those, but the adjoining squadrons and the mail-clad horse, who were already thrown into disorder by the chariots. The greater part of these, unable to turn and fly quickly, on account of the weight of their armor, were captured or killed. While this was the state of affairs on the left of the Macedonian phalanx, Antiochus, on the right, broke through the Roman line of battle, dismembered it, and pursued a long distance.

[35] The Macedonian phalanx, which had been stationed between the two bodies of horse in a narrow space in the form of a square, when denuded of cavalry on either side, had opened to receive the light-armed troops, who had been skirmishing in front, and closed again. Thus crowded together, Domitius easily enclosed them with his numerous light cavalry. Having no opportunity to charge or even to deploy their dense mass, they began to suffer severely; and they were indignant that military experience availed them nothing, exposed as they were on all sides to the weapons of the enemy. Nevertheless, they presented their thick-set pikes on all four sides. They challenged the Romans to close combat and preserved at all times the appearance of being about to charge. Yet they did not advance, because they were foot-soldiers and heavily armed, and saw that the enemy were mounted. Most of all they feared to relax their close formation lest they might not readily bring it together again. The Romans did not come to close quarters nor approach them because they feared the discipline, the solidity, and the desperation of this veteran corps ; but circled around them and assailed them with javelins and arrows,

none of which missed their mark in the dense mass, who could neither turn the missiles aside nor dodge them. After suffering severely in this way they yielded to necessity and fell back step by step, but with a bold front, in perfect order and still formidable to the Romans. The latter kept their distance and continued to circle around and wound them, until the elephants inside the Macedonian phalanx became excited and unmanageable. Then the phalanx broke into disorderly flight.

[36] After he had gained this success, Domitius hastened to the camp of Antiochus and overpowered the forces guarding it. In the meantime Antiochus, after pursuing for a long distance that part of the Roman legionaries opposed to him, came to the Roman camp, where he found no guard, either of cavalry or light-armed troops (for Domitius, thinking that the river afforded sufficient protection, had not provided any). But a military tribune, the prefect of the camp, hastened to meet him with a body of fresh troops and checked his advance, and the fugitives took new courage from their comrades and rallied. The king returned haughty as one who had gained a victory, knowing nothing of what had taken place elsewhere. When Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, with a large body of horse, threw himself in his way, Antiochus easily cut through them, but he disregarded the enemy, who took to flight before they had received much damage. When he discovered his defeat and saw the field of battle strewn with the bodies of his own men, horses, and elephants, and his camp already captured, he fled precipitately, arriving at Sardis about mid-night. From Sardis he went to the town *Cæænæn*, which they call *Apamea*, whither he had been informed that his son had fled. On the following day he retreated to Syria, leaving officers in *Celænæ* to collect the remains of his army. He also sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. The latter was engaged in burying his own dead, stripping those of the enemy, and collecting prisoners. Of the Roman dead there were found twenty-four knights and 300 foot-soldiers from the city, being mostly those whom Antiochus had slain. Eumenes lost only fifteen of his horse. It is believed that the loss of Antiochus, including prisoners, was 50,000. It was not easy to number them on account of their multitude. Some of his elephants were killed and fifteen were captured.

CHAPTER VII

Antiochus sues for Peace — Scipio's Reply — Treaty ratified — Accusations against Scipio — A Similar Accusation against Epaminondas — Manlius succeeds Scipio — A Disaster in Thrace — Rewards to Eumenes

[37] After this brilliant victory, to many people quite unexpected (for it did not seem at all likely that the smaller force, fighting in a strange land, would overcome a much larger one so completely, and especially the Macedonian phalanx which was then in a high state of discipline and valor, and had the reputation of being formidable and invincible), the friends of Antiochus began to blame him for his rashness in quarrelling with the Romans and for his want of skill and his bad judgment from the beginning. They blamed him for giving up the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with their arms and apparatus without making any defence against the enemy, and for leaving the Hellespont unguarded, when even the Romans would not have expected to force a passage easily. They accused him of his latest blunder in rendering the strongest part of his army useless by its cramped position, and for putting his reliance on the promiscuous multitude of raw recruits rather than on men who had become skilled in military affairs by long training, and had been hardened by many wars to the highest state of valor and endurance. While these discussions were going on among the friends of Antiochus, the Romans were in high spirits and considered no tasks too hard for them now, under favor of the gods and their own courage, for it brought them great confidence in their own good fortune that such a small number, meeting the enemy on the march, in the first battle, in a foreign country, should have overcome a much greater number, composed of so many peoples, with all the royal preparations, including valiant mercenaries and the renowned Macedonian phalanx, and the king himself, ruler of this vast empire and surnamed the Great, — all in a single day. It became a common saying among them, "There was a king — Antiochus the Great!"

[38] While the Romans were thus congratulating them selves the consul gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus, his brother, Publius, having recovered his health and returned from Elæ. These wanted to know on what terms Antiochus could be a friend of the Roman people. To them Publius made the following reply: "The grasping nature of Antiochus has been the cause of his present and past misfortunes. While he was the possessor of a vast empire, which the Romans did not object to, he seized Cœle-Syria, which belonged to Ptolemy, his own relative and our friend. Then he invaded Europe, which did not concern him, subjugated Thrace, fortified the Chersonesus, and rebuilt Lysimacheia. He passed thence into Greece and took away the liberty of the people whom the Romans had lately freed, and kept on this course till he was defeated in battle at Thermopylæ, and put to flight.

Even then he did not forego his grabbing propensity, for, although frequently beaten at sea, he did not seek peace until we had crossed the Hellespont. Then he scornfully rejected the conditions offered to him, and, again collecting a vast army and uncounted supplies, he continued the war against us, determined to come to an engagement with his betters, until he plunged into this great calamity. We might properly impose a severer punishment on him for his obstinacy in fighting us so persistently, but we are not accustomed to abuse our own prosperity or to aggravate the misfortunes of others. We will offer him the same conditions as before, adding a few which will be equally for our own and his future advantage. He must abandon Europe altogether and all of Asia this side of the Taurus, the boundaries to be fixed hereafter; he shall surrender all the elephants he has, and such number of ships as we may prescribe, and for the future keep no elephants and only so many ships as we allow; must give twenty hostages, whom the consul will select, and pay for the cost of the present war, incurred on his account, 500 Euboïc talents down and 2500 more when the Senate ratifies the treaty; and 12,000 more during twelve years, each yearly installment to be delivered in Rome. He shall also surrender to us all prisoners and deserters, and to Eumenes whatever remains of the possessions he acquired by his agreement with Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If Antiochus accepts these conditions without guile we will grant him peace and friendship subject to the Senate's ratification."

[39] All the terms offered by Scipio were accepted by the ambassadors. That part of the money which was to be paid down, and the twenty hostages, were furnished. Among the latter was Antiochus, the younger son of Antiochus. The Scipios and Antiochus both sent messengers to Rome. The Senate ratified their acts, and a treaty was written carrying out Scipio's views, a few things being added or made plain that had been left indefinite. The boundaries of the dominions of Antiochus were to be the two promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedonium, beyond which he should not sail for purposes of war. He should have only twelve war-ships for the purpose of keeping his subjects under control, but he might have more if he were attacked. He should not recruit mercenaries from Roman territory nor entertain fugitives from the same, and the hostages should be changed every third year, except the son (Y.R. 565) of Antiochus. This treaty was engraved on brazen tablets (B.C. 189) and deposited in the Capitol (where it was customary to deposit such treaties), and a copy of it was sent to Manlius Vulso, Scipio's successor in the command. He administered the oath to the ambassadors of Antiochus at Apamea in Phrygia, and Antiochus did the same to the tribune, Thermus, who was sent for this purpose. This was the end of the war between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, and some thought that it was by reason of the favor extended by Antiochus to Scipio's son that it went no farther. (Y.R. 567)

[40] When Scipio returned, some persons accused him of this, and two tribunes of the people brought a charge of corruption and betrayal of the public interest against him. He made light of it and scorned the accusation,

and as his trial was set for the day which happened to be the anniversary of his victory over Carthage, he sent victims for sacrifice to the Capitol in advance of his coming, and then made his appearance in court clad in festive garments instead of the mournful and humble garb customary to those under accusation, whereby he made a profound impression on all and predisposed them favorably as to a high-minded citizen conscious of his own rectitude. When he began to speak he made no mention of the accusation against him, but detailed the events of his life, what he had done, the (B.C. 187) wars he had waged for his country, how he had carried on each, and how often he had been victorious. It delighted the listeners to hear this grand discourse. When he came to the overthrow of Carthage he was roused to the highest pitch of eloquence and filled the multitude, as well as himself, with noble rage, saying, "On this very day, O citizens, I won the victory and laid at you feet Carthage, that had lately been such an object of terror to you. Now I am going up to the Capitol to offer the sacrifice appointed for the day. As many of you as love your country join me in the sacrifice, which is offered for your own good." Having finished his speech he went to the Capitol, having made no allusion to the charge against him. The crowd followed him, including most of the judges, with joyful acclamations, which were continued while he was performing the sacrifice. The accusers were nonplussed and did not dare to call him to trial again, as that was to no purpose, or to charge him with demagogism, because they knew that his whole life had been above the reach of suspicion or calumny.

[41] In this way Scipio disdained to notice an accusation unworthy of his career, being wiser, as I think, than Aristides when charged with theft, or Socrates when accused as he was. Each of these under a like calumny made no reply, unless Socrates said what Plato makes him say. Scipio was more lofty-minded than Epaminondas, too, when he held the office of Bœotarch with Pelopidas and one other. The Thebans gave each of them an army and sent them to assist the Arcadians and Messenians, in war against the Lacedæmonians, but recalled them on account of certain calumnies, before they had accomplished what they intended to do. Yet they did not turn over the command to their successors for six months, nor until they had driven out the Lacedæmonian garrisons and substituted Arcadians in their places. Epaminondas had compelled his colleagues to take this course and had undertaken that they should be held guiltless. When they returned home the prosecuting officers put them on trial for their lives, separately (for the law made it a capital offence to withhold by force a command which had been assigned to another), (Y.R. 385) but the other two escaped punishment by exciting pity and (B.C. 369) by long speeches, putting the blame on Epaminondas, who had authorized them to say this and who so testified while they were speaking. He was tried last. "I acknowledge," he said, "that I retained the command beyond my time, contrary to law, and that I coerced those whom you have just acquitted. Nor do I deprecate the death penalty, since I have broken the law. I only ask, for my past services, that you inscribe on my tomb, 'Here lies the

victor of Leuctra. Although his country had not dared to face this enemy, or even a stranger that wore the Doric cap, he led his fellow-citizens to the very doors of Sparta. His country put him to death for violating the laws for her own good.” After saying this he stepped down from the rostrum and offered to surrender his person to those who wished to drag him to punishment. The judges, moved to shame by the speech, and to admiration of the defence, and to reverence for the man who had spoken, did not wait to take the vote, but ran out of the court-room. The reader may compare these cases together as he likes. (Y.R. 565)

[42] Manlius, who succeeded Scipio as consul, went to (B.C. 189) the countries taken from Antiochus and regulated them. The Tolistoboi, one of the Galatian tribes in alliance with Antiochus, had taken refuge on Mount Olympus in Mysia. With great difficulty Manlius ascended the mountain and pursued them as they fled until he had killed and hurled over the rocks so large a number that it was impossible to count them. He took 40,000 of them prisoners and burned their arms, and as it was impossible to take about with him so many captives while the war was continuing, he gave them to the neighboring barbarians. Among the Tectosagi and the Trocmi he fell into danger by ambush and barely escaped. He came back against them, however, and found them packed together in a great crowd in camp. He enclosed them with his light-armed troops and rode around ordering his men to shoot them at a distance, but not to come in contact with them. The crowd was so dense that no dart missed its mark. He killed 8000 of them and pursued the remainder beyond the river Halys. Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, who had sent military aid to Antiochus, became alarmed and sent entreaties, and 200 talents (Y.R. 566) in money besides, by which means he kept Manlius out of (B.C. 188) his country. The latter returned to the Hellespont with vast treasures, uncounted money, and an army laden with spoils.

[43] Manlius had done well so far, but he managed very badly afterward. He scorned to go home by water in the summer time. He made no account of the burden he was carrying. He neglected to keep the army in good discipline while on the march, because it was not going to war, but returning home with its spoils. He marched by a long, narrow, and difficult road through Thrace in a stifling heat. Nor did he send word to Philip of Macedonia to meet and escort him. He did not divide his army into parts, so that it might move more lightly and have what was needed more handy. Nor did he keep his baggage in good order for easy defence. He led his army higgledy-piggledy, all strung out, with the baggage in the centre of the line, so that neither the vanguard nor the rear-guard could render assistance quickly by reason of the length and narrowness of the road. So, when the Thracians attacked him in flank from all directions, he lost a large part of the spoils, and of the public money, and of the army itself. He escaped into Macedonia with the remainder — by which means it became very plain how great a service Philip had rendered by escorting the Scipios, and how Antiochus had blundered in abandoning the

Chersonesus. Manlius passed from Macedonia into Thessaly, and thence into Epirus, crossed to Brundisium, dismissed what was left of his army to their homes, and returned to Rome.

[44] The Rhodians and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, were very proud of their share in the alliance against Antiochus. Eumenes set out for Rome in person and the Rhodians sent envoys. The Senate gave to the Rhodians Lycia and Caria, which they took away from them soon afterward, because in the war with Perseus, king of Macedonia, they showed themselves rather favorable to him. They bestowed upon Eumenes all the rest of the territory taken from Antiochus, except the Greek cities in Asia. Of the latter, those that were formerly tributary to Attalus, the father of Eumenes, were ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes, while those which formerly paid to Antiochus were released from tribute altogether and made independent. In this way the Romans disposed of the lands they had gained in the war.

CHAPTER VIII

The Successors of Antiochus the Great — Antiochus Epiphanes — Antiochus Eupator — Demetrius Soter — Tigranes, King of Armenia, conquers Syria — Pompey seizes it for the Romans — Also Phœnicia and Palestine — Later History of Syria

(Y.R. 567)

[45] Afterward, on the death of Antiochus the Great, his (B.C. 187) son Seleucus succeeded him. He gave his son Demetrius as a hostage in place of his brother Antiochus. When the latter arrived at Athens on his way home, Seleucus was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy of a certain Heliodorus, one of the court officers. When Heliodorus sought to possess himself of the government he was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, who installed Antiochus therein in order to secure his good-will; for, by reason of certain bickerings, they had already grown suspicious of the Romans. Thus Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the Great, ascended the throne of Syria. He was called Epiphanes (the Illustrious) by the Syrians, because when the government (Y.R. 579) was seized by usurpers he showed himself to be their (B.C. 175) true sovereign. By cementing the friendship and alliance of Eumenes he governed Syria and the neighboring nations with a firm hand. He appointed Timarchus as satrap of Babylon and Heraclides as treasurer, two brothers, both of whom had been his favorites. He made an expedition against Artaxias, king of Armenia, and took him prisoner. (Y.R. 590)

[46] Epiphanes died, leaving a son, Antiochus, nine years of age, to whom the Syrians gave the name of Eupator, in commemoration of his father's bravery. The boy was educated by Lysias. The Senate was glad that this Antiochus, who had early shown himself high spirited, died young. When Demetrius, the son of Seleucus and nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes (grandson of Antiochus the Great and first cousin of this boy), at this time a hostage at Rome, and twenty-three years old, asked that he should be installed in the kingdom as belonging to him rather than to the boy, the Senate would not allow it. They thought that it would be more for their advantage that Syria should be governed (B.C. 164) by an immature boy than by a full-grown man. Learning that there were many elephants in Syria and more ships than had been allowed to Antiochus in the treaty, they sent ambassadors thither, who killed the elephants and burned the ships. It was a pitiful sight, the killing of these rare and tame beasts and the burning of the ships. A certain Leptines of Laodicea was so exasperated by the sight that he stabbed Gnæus Octavius, the chief of this embassy, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium at that place, and Lysias buried him.

[47] Demetrius came before the Senate again and asked at all events to be released as a hostage, since he had been given as a substitute for Antiochus,

who was now dead. When his request was not granted he escaped secretly by (Y.R. 592) boat. As the Syrians received him gladly, he ascended the (B.C. 162) throne after having put Lysias to death and the boy with him. He removed Heraclides from office and killed Timarchus, who rebelled and who had administered the government of Babylon badly in other respects. For this he received the surname of Soter (the Protector), which was first bestowed upon him by the Babylonians. When he was firmly established in the kingdom he sent a crown valued at 10,000 pieces of gold to the Romans as the gift of their former hostage, and also delivered up Leptines, the murderer of Octavius. They accepted the crown, but not Leptines, because they intended to hold the Syrians responsible (Y.R. 595) for that crime. Demetrius took the government of (B.C. 159) Cappadocia away from Ariarthes and gave it to Olophernes, who was supposed to be the brother of Ariarthes, receiving 1000 talents therefor. The Romans, however, decided that as brothers both Ariarthes and Olophernes should reign together.

[48] These princes were deprived of the kingdom — and their successor, Ariobarzanes, also, a little later — by Mithridates, king of Pontus. The Mithridatic war grew out of this event, among others, — a very great war, full of vicissitudes to many nations and lasting nearly forty years. During this time Syria had many kings, succeeding each other at brief intervals, but all of the royal lineage, and there were many changes and revolts from the dynasty. The Parthians, who had previously revolted from the rule of the Seleucidæ, seized Mesopotamia, which had been subject to that house. Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had annexed many neighboring principalities, and from these exploits had acquired the title of King of Kings, attacked the Seleucidæ because they would not acknowledge his supremacy. Antiochus Pius was not able (Y.R. 671) to withstand him. Tigranes conquered all of the Syrian (B.C. 83) peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt. He took Cilicia at the same time (for this was also subject to the Seleucidæ) and put his general, Magadates, in command of all these conquests for fourteen years. (Y.R. 685)

[49] When the Roman general, Lucullus, was pursuing (B.C. 69) Mithridates, who had taken refuge in the territory of Tigranes, Magadates went with his army to Tigranes' assistance. Thereupon Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, entered Syria clandestinely and assumed the government with the consent of the people. Nor did Lucullus, who first made war on Tigranes and wrested his newly acquired territory from him, object to Antiochus exercising his ancestral (Y.R. 688) authority. But Pompey, the successor of Lucullus, (B.C. 66) when he had overthrown Mithridates, allowed Tigranes to reign in Armenia and expelled Antiochus from the government of Syria, although he had done the Romans no wrong. The real reason for this was that it was easy for Pompey, with an army under his command, to rob an unarmed king, but the pretence was that it was unseemly for the Seleucidæ, whom Tigranes had dethroned, to govern Syria, rather than the Romans who had conquered

Tigranes.

[50] In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia and both inland Syria and Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea. The Jewish nation still resisted, and Pompey conquered them, sent their king, Aristobulus, to Rome, and destroyed their greatest, and to them holiest, city, Jerusalem, as Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, had formerly done. It was afterward rebuilt and Vespasian destroyed it again, and Hadrian did the same in our time. On account of these rebellions the tribute imposed upon all Jews is heavier per capita than upon the generality of taxpayers. The annual tax on the (Y.R. 691) Syrians and Cilicians is one per cent. of the valuation of (B.C. 63) the property of each. Pompey put the various nations that had belonged to the Seleucidæ under kings or chiefs of their own. In like manner he confirmed the four chiefs of the Galatians in Asia, who had coöperated with him in the Mithridatic war, in their tetrarchies. Not long afterward they all came gradually under the Roman rule, mostly in the time of Augustus.

[51] Pompey now put Scaurus, who had been his quæstor in the war, in charge of Syria, and the Senate afterward appointed Marcius Philippus as his successor and Lentulus Marcellinus as the successor of Philippus, both being of prætorian rank. Much of the biennial term of each was consumed in warding off the attacks of the neighboring Arabs. It was on account of these events in Syria that Rome began to appoint for Syria proconsuls, so-called, with power to levy troops and engage in war like consuls. The first of these sent out with an army was Gabinius. As he (Y.R. 699) was in readiness to begin the war, Mithridates, king of the (B.C. 55) Parthians, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his brother, Orodes, persuaded Gabinius to turn his forces from the Arabs against the Parthians. At the same time Ptolemy XI., king of Egypt, who likewise had lost his throne, prevailed upon him by a large sum of money to turn his arms from the Parthians against Alexandria. Gabinius overcame

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the Alexandrians and restored Ptolemy to power, but (B.C. 54) was himself banished by the Senate for invading Egypt without their authority, and undertaking a war considered ill-omened by the Romans; for it was forbidden by the Sibylline books. I think that Crassus succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria — the same who met with a great disaster when waging war against the Parthians. While (Y.R. 703) Lucius Bibulus was in command of Syria after Crassus, the (B.C. 51) Parthians made an incursion into that country. While the (Y.R. 714) government was in charge of Saxa, the successor of Bibulus, (B.C. 40) they overran the country as far as Ionia, the Romans being then occupied by the civil wars. I shall deal with these events more particularly in my Parthian history.

CHAPTER IX

Syria at the Death of Alexander the Great — Seleucus Nicator — The Extent of the Emplire — Oracles and Prodigies concerning Seleucus — Cities founded by him — Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

[52] In this book of Syrian history I have told how the Romans came into possession of Syria, and how they brought it to its present condition. It will not be amiss to tell how the Macedonians, who ruled Syria before the Romans, acquired the same country. After the Persians, Alexander became the sovereign of Syria as well as of all other peoples whom he found. He died leaving one son very small and

Y.R.431

another yet unborn. The Macedonians, who were loyal to (B.C. 323) the race of Philip, chose Ardiæus, the brother of Alexander, as king during the minority of Alexander's sons, although he was considered to be hardly of sound mind, and they changed his name from Ardiæus to Philip. They also kept careful guard over the wife, who was enceinte. Meanwhile Alexander's friends continued in charge of the conquered nations, divided into satrapies, which Perdiccas parcelled among them by the authority of King Philip. Not long afterward, when the true kings died, these satraps became kings. The first satrap of Syria was Laomednon of Mitylene, who derived his authority from Perdiccas and from Antipater, who succeeded the latter as prime minister. To this Laomedon, Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, came with a fleet and offered him a large sum of money if he would hand over Syria to him, because it was well situated for defending Egypt and for attacking Cyprus. When Laomedon refused Ptolemy seized him. Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. Thus Ptolemy ruled Syria for a while, left a garrison there, and returned to Egypt.

Y.R.433

[53] Antigonus was satrap of Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. (B.C. 321) Having been left as overseer of all Asia when Antipater went to Europe, he besieged Eumenes, the satrap of Cappadocia, who had been publicly declared an enemy of the Macedonians. The latter fled and brought Media under his power, but Antigonus afterward captured and killed him. When he returned he was received magnificently (Y.R. 438) by Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon. One day Seleucus (B.C. 316) punished one of the governors without consulting Antigonus, who was present, and the latter became angry and demanded an accounting of his money and possessions. As Seleucus was inferior to Antigonus in power he fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Thereupon Antigonus removed Blitor, the governor of Mesopotamia, from office, because he allowed Seleucus to escape, and took upon himself the government of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and all the countries from Media to the Hellespont, Antipater having died in the

meantime. The other satraps at once became envious of his possession of so large a share of the territory; for which reason chiefly, and at the instance of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, the satrap of Thrace, and Cassander, the son of Antipater and leader of the Macedonians after his father's death, entered into a league with each other. They sent a joint embassy to Antigonus and demanded that he should share with them and with the other Macedonians who had lost their satrapies, his newly acquired lands and money. Antigonus treated their demand with scorn, and they jointly made war against him. Antigonus prepared to meet them. He drove out all of Ptolemy's garrisons in Syria and stripped him of all the possessions that he still retained in Phoenicia and Coele-Syria.

[54] Then he marched beyond the Cilician gates, leaving his son Demetrius, who was about twenty-two years of age, at Gaza with an army to meet Ptolemy, who was coming from Egypt, but the latter defeated the young man badly in a battle near Gaza and compelled him to fly to his father. Ptolemy immediately sent Seleucus to Babylon to resume the government and gave him 1000 foot-soldiers and 300 horse for the purpose. With this small force Seleucus took Babylon, the inhabitants receiving him with enthusiasm, and within a short time he augmented his power greatly. Nevertheless Antigonus ward off the attack of Ptolemy and gained a splendid naval victory over him near Cyprus, in which his son Demetrius was the commander. On account of this very notable exploit the army began to call both Antigonus and Demetrius kings, as their own kings (Ardiaeus, the son of Philip and Olympias, and the two sons of Alexander) were now dead. Ptolemy's army also (Y.R. 442) saluted him as king lest by inferiority of rank he should be (B.C. 312) deemed less lofty than the victors in the late battle. Thus for these men similar consequences followed contrary events. All the others followed suit, and all the satraps became kings.

[55] In this way Seleucus became king of Babylonia. He also acquired the kingdom of Media, slaying with his own hand in battle Nicator whom Antigonus had left as satrap of that country. He afterward waged many wars with Macedonians and barbarians. The two principal ones were with Macedonians, the second with Lysimachus, king of Thrace, the first with Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus commanded in person and fought in person although he was above eighty years of age. Antigonus (Y.R. 453) was killed in battle, and then all the kings who had been (B.C. 301) in league with Seleucus against him divided his territory among themselves. At this division all Syria from the Euphrates to the sea, also inland Phrygia, fell to the lot of Seleucus. Always lying in wait for the neighboring nations, strong in arms and persuasive in council, he acquired Mesopotamia, Armenia, the so-called Seleucid Cappadocia, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyri, Sogdiani, Arachotes, Hyrcanians, and other adjacent peoples that had been subdued by Alexander, as far as the river Indus, so that the boundaries of his empire were the most extensive in Asia after that of Alexander. The whole

region from Phrygia to the Indus was subject to Seleucus. He crossed the Indus and waged war with Androcottus, king of the Indians, who dwelt on the banks of that stream, until they came to an understanding with each other and contracted a marriage relationship. Some of these exploits were performed before the death of Antigonus and some afterward.

[56] It is said that while he was still serving under Alexander and following him in the war against the Persians he consulted the Didymæan oracle to inquire about his return to Macedonia and that he received for answer: —

“Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you.”

It was said also that in Macedonia a great fire burst forth on his ancestral hearth without anybody lighting it; also that his mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to carry, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said that at a later period, when he was returning to recover Babylon, he stumbled against a stone and that when he caused this stone to be dug up an anchor was found under it. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay. For this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring. Some say that while Alexander was still alive and looking on, another omen of the future power of Seleucus was made manifest in this wise. After Alexander had returned from India to Babylon and while he was sailing around the Babylonian lagoons with a view to the irrigation of the Assyrian fields from the Euphrates, (Y.R. 431) a wind struck him and carried away his diadem (B.C. 323) and hung it on a bunch of reeds growing on the tomb of an ancient king. This of itself signified the early death of Alexander. They say that a sailor swam after it, put it on his own head, and, without wetting it, brought it to Alexander, who gave him at once a silver talent as a reward for his kind service. The soothsayers advised putting the man to death. Some say that Alexander followed their advice. Others say the contrary. Other narrators skip that part of the story and say that it was no sailor at all, but Seleucus who swam after the king's diadem, and that he put it on his own head to avoid wetting it. The signs turned out true as to both of them in the end, for Alexander departed from life in Babylon and Seleucus became the ruler of a larger part of his dominions than any other of Alexander's successors.

[57] Such are the prophecies I have heard of concerning Seleucus. Directly after the death of Alexander he became the leader of the Companion cavalry, which Hephæstion, and afterwards Perdiccas, commanded during the life of Alexander. After commanding the horse he became satrap of Babylon, and after satrap, king. As he was very successful in war he acquired the surname of Nicator. At (Y.R. 442)-474

least that seems more probable than that he received it (B.C. 312)-280

from the killing of Nicator. He was of such a large and 28 powerful frame

that once when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his ropes, Seleucus held him alone, with nothing but his hands, for which reason his statues are ornamented with horns. He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the two most renowned at the present time are the two Seleucias, one on the sea and the other on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phœnicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apamea in Syria. To others he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits, or in honor of Alexander; whence it comes to pass that in Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names, such as Berrhœa, Edessa, Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaia, Pella, Orophus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heræa, and Apollonia; in Parthia also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylos, Achaia; in India Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata. From the victories of Seleucus come the names of Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in Armenia very near Cappadocia.

[58] They say that when he was about to build the two Seleucias a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea, for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place. Accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day. They say, also, that when the Magi were ordered to indicate the propitious day and hour for beginning the foundations of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris they falsified as to the hour because they did not want to have such a stronghold built against themselves. While the king was waiting in his tent for the appointed hour, and the army, in readiness to begin the work, stood quietly till Seleucus should give the signal, suddenly, at the true hour of destiny, they seemed to hear a voice ordering them on. So they sprang to their work with such alacrity that the heralds who tried to stop them (Y.R. 442)-474

were not able to do so. When the work was brought to an (B.C. 312)-280 end Seleucus, being troubled in his mind, again made inquiry of the Magi concerning his city, and they, having first secured a promise of impunity, replied, "That which is fated, O King, whether it be for better or worse, neither man nor city can change, for there is a fate for cities as well as for men. It pleases the gods that this city shall endure for ages, because it was begun on the hour on which it was begun. We feared lest it should be a stronghold against ourselves, and falsified the appointed time. Destiny is stronger than crafty Magi or an unsuspecting king. For that reason the deity announced the more propitious hour to the army. It is permitted you to know these things so surely that you need not suspect us of deception still, for you were presiding over the army yourself, as king, and you had yourself ordered them to wait; but the army, ever obedient to you in facing danger and toil, could not now be restrained, even when you gave them the order to stop, but

sprang to their work, not a part of them merely, but all together, and their officers with them, thinking that the order had been given. In fact it had been given. That was the reason why not even you could hold them back. What can be stronger in human affairs than a king, unless it be a god, who overcame your intention and supplanted us in giving you directions about the city; for the god is in hostility to us and to all the people round about? What can our resources avail hereafter with a more powerful race settled along side of us? This city of yours has had a fortunate beginning, it will be great and enduring. We beg that you will confirm your pardon of our fault which we committed from fear of the loss of our own prosperity.” The king was pleased with what the Magi said and pardoned them. This is what I have heard about Seleucia.

CHAPTER X

Seleucus, Antiochus, and Stratonice — Seleucus divides his Kingdom — Death of Seleucus — Death of Lysimachus

(Y.R. 461)

[59] Seleucus, while still living, appointed his son, Antiochus, (B.C. 293) king of upper Asia in place of himself. If this seems noble and kingly on his part, even nobler and wiser was his behavior in reference to his son's falling in love, and his self-restraint in suffering; for Antiochus was in love with Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus, his own stepmother, who had already borne a child to Seleucus. Recognizing the wickedness of this passion, Antiochus did nothing wrong, nor did he show his feelings, but he fell sick, took to his bed, and longed for death. Nor could the celebrated physician, Erasistratus, who was serving Seleucus at a very high salary, form any diagnosis of his malady. At length, observing that his body was free from all the symptoms of disease, he conjectured that this was some condition of the mind, through which the body is often strengthened or weakened by sympathy. Grief, anger, and other passions disclose themselves; love only is concealed by the modest. As Antiochus would confess nothing when the physician asked him in confidence, he took a seat by his side and watched the changes of his body to see how he was affected by each person who entered his room. He found that when others came the patient was all the time weakening and wasting away at a uniform pace, but when Stratonice came to visit him his mind was greatly agitated by the struggles of modesty and conscience, and he remained silent. But his body in spite of himself became more vigorous and lively, and when she went away he became weaker again. So the physician told Seleucus that his son had an incurable disease. The king was overwhelmed with grief and cried aloud. Then the physician added, "His disease is love, love for a woman, but a hopeless love."

[60] Seleucus was astonished that there could be any woman whom he, king of Asia, could not prevail upon to marry such a son as his, by entreaties, by gold, by gifts, by the whole of this great kingdom, the eventual inheritance of the sick prince, which the father would give to him even now, if he wished it, in order to save him. Desiring to learn only one thing more, he asked, "Who is this woman?" Erasistratus replied, "He is in love with my wife." "Well then, my good fellow," rejoined Seleucus, "since you are so bound to us by friendship and favors, and are a model of goodness and wisdom in matters of small moment, will you not save this princely young man for me, the son of your friend and king, unfortunate in love but virtuous, who has concealed his sinful passion and prefers to die rather than confess it? Do you so despise Antiochus? Do you despise his father also?" Then Erasistratus changed his tactics, and, as though he were giving him a knock-down argument, said,

“You would not give Antiochus your wife if he were in love with her, although you are his father.” Seleucus swore by all the gods of his royal house that he would willingly and cheerfully give her, and make himself an illustrious example of a kind and good father to a chaste son who controlled his passion and did not deserve such suffering. Much more he added of the same sort, and, finally, began to lament that he could not himself be the physician to his unhappy boy, but must needs depend on Erasistratus in this matter also.

[61] When Erasistratus saw that the king was in earnest and not hypocritical, he told the whole truth. He related how he had discovered the nature of the malady, and how he had detected the secret passion. Seleucus was overjoyed, but it was a difficult matter to persuade his son and not less so to persuade his wife; but he succeeded finally. Then he assembled his army, which was perhaps expecting something of the kind, and told them of his exploits and of the extent of his empire, showing that it surpassed that of any of the other successors of Alexander, and saying that as he was now growing old it was hard for him to govern it on account of its size. “I wish,” he said, “to divide it, and so at the same time to provide for your safety in the future and give a part of it now to those who are dearest to me. It is fitting that all of you, who had advanced to such greatness of dominion and power under me since the time of Alexander, should coöperate with me in everything. The dearest to me, and well worthy to reign, are my grownup son and my wife. As they are young, I pray they may soon have children to be an ample guarantee to you of the permanency of the dynasty. I will join them in marriage in your presence and will send them to be sovereigns of the upper provinces now. And I charge you that none of the customs of the Persians and other nations is more worthy of observance than this one law, which is common to all of them, ‘That what the king ordains is always right.’” When he had thus spoken the army shouted that he was the greatest king of all the successors of Alexander and the best father. Seleucus laid the same injunctions on Stratonice and his son, then joined them in marriage, and sent them to their kingdom, showing himself even stronger in this famous act than in his deeds of arms.

[62] Seleucus had seventy-two satraps under him, so extensive was the territory over which he ruled. The greater part he had transferred to his son, but he continued to reign over the country which lies between the Euphrates and the sea. The last war that he waged was with Lysimachus, for the possession of Phrygia on the Hellespont. Lysimachus (Y.R. 473) was defeated and slain in battle. Then Seleucus crossed (B.C. 281) the Hellespont in order to possess himself of Lysimacheia, but he was killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus who accompanied him. This Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Euridice, the daughter of Antipater. He had left Egypt from fear, because his father had decided to leave the kingdom to his youngest son. Seleucus had received him as the unfortunate son of his friend, and thus he supported, and took around with himself everywhere, his own murderer. (Y.R. 474)

[63] Thus Seleucus died at the age of seventy-three, (B.C. 280) having reigned forty-two years. It seems to me that the oracle hit the mark in his case when it said to him, "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you," for Lysimacheia is in Europe, and he then crossed over to Europe for the first time after leaving it with the army of Alexander. It is said also that once when he consulted an oracle in reference to his own death he received this answer:

"If you keep away from Argos you will reach your allotted year, but if you approach that place you will die before your time."

There is an Argos in Peloponnesus, another in Amphilochia, another in Orestea (whence come the Macedonian Argeadæ), and the one on the Ionian sea, said to have been built by Diomedes during his wanderings, — all these, and every place named Argos in every other country, Seleucus inquired about and avoided. While he was advancing from the Hellespont to Lysimacheia a splendid great altar presented itself to his view, which he was told had been built either by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis, or by the Achæans who besieged Troy, for which reason the people in the neighborhood still called it Argos, either by a corruption of the name of the ship Argo, or from the native place of the sons of Atreus. While he was learning these things he was killed by Ptolemy, who stabbed him in the back. Philetzerus, the prince of Pergamus, bought the body of Seleucus from Ceraunus for a large sum of money, burned it, and sent the ashes to his son Antiochus. The latter deposited them at Seleucia-by-the-Sea, where he erected a temple to his father on consecrated ground, to which ground he gave the name of Nicatorium.

[64] I have heard that Lysimachus, who was one of the armor-bearers of Alexander, was once running by his side for a long distance, and, being fatigued, took hold of the tail of the king's horse and continued to run; that he was struck in the forehead by the point of the king's spear, which opened one of his veins from which the blood flowed profusely; that Alexander, for want of a bandage, bound up the wound with his own diadem which was thus saturated with blood; and that Aristandrus, Alexander's soothsayer, when he saw Lysimachus carried away wounded in this manner, said, "That man will be a king, but he will reign with toil and trouble." He reigned nearly forty years, counting those in which he was satrap, and he did reign with toil and trouble. He fell in battle, while still commanding his army, at the age of seventy. Seleucus did not long survive him. Lysimachus' dog watched his body lying on the ground for a long time, and kept it unharmed by birds or beasts until Thorax of Pharsalia found and buried it. Some say that he was buried by his own son, Alexander, who fled to Seleucus from fear when Lysimachus put to death his other son, Agathocles; that he searched for the body a long time and found it at last by means of the dog, and that it was already partly decomposed. The Lysimacheians deposited the bones in their temple and named the temple itself the Lysimacheum. Thus did these two kings, the bravest and most renowned for bodily size, come to their end at

nearly the same time, one of them at the age of seventy, the other three years older, and both fighting with their own hands until the day of their death.

CHAPTER XI

The Successors of Seleucus — Demetrius Soter — Palace Conspiracies — End of the Seleucidæ

[65] After the death of Seleucus, the kingdom of Syria passed in regular succession from father to son as follows: the first was the same Antiochus who fell in love with his stepmother, to whom was given the surname of Soter (the Protector) for driving out the Gauls who had made an incursion into Asia from Europe. The second was another Antiochus, born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos (the Divine) from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant, Timarchus. This Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, Laodice and Berenice, the former a love-match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Laodice assassinated him and afterward Berenice and her child. Ptolemy, the son of Philadelphus, avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt, taking advantage of the confusion in the house of the Seleucidæ. (Y.R. 588)

[66] Seleucus, the son of Theos and Laodice, surnamed (B.C. 246) Callinicus (the Triumphant), succeeded Theos as king of (Y.R. 528) Syria. After Seleucus his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, (B.C. 226) succeeded in the order of their age. As Seleucus was sickly and poor and unable to command the obedience of the army, he was poisoned by a court conspiracy in the (Y.R. 530) second year of his reign. His brother was Antiochus the (B.C. 224) Great, who went to war with the Romans, of whom I have

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written above. He reigned thirty-seven years. I have (B.C. 187) already spoken of his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, both of whom ascended the throne. The former reigned twelve years, but feebly and without success by reason of his father's misfortune. Antiochus (Epiphanes) reigned not quite twelve years, in the course of which he captured Artaxias the Armenian and made an expedition into Egypt (Y.R. 579) against Ptolemy VI., who had been left an orphan with one (B.C. 175) brother. While he was encamped near Alexandria, Popilius came to him as Roman ambassador, bringing an order in writing that he should not attack the Ptolemies. When he had read it he replied that he would think about it. Popilius drew a circle around him with a stick and (Y.R. 590) said, "Think about it here." He was terrified and withdrew (B.C. 164) from the country, and robbed the temple of Venus Elymais; then died of a wasting disease, leaving a son nine years of age, the Antiochus Eupator already mentioned. (Y.R. 592) *seq.*

[67] I have also spoken of Demetrius, his successor, who (B.C. 162) *seq.*

had been a hostage in Rome and who escaped and became king. He was

also called Soter by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after the son of Seleucus Nicator. Against him a certain Alexander took up arms, falsely pretending to be of the family of the Seleucidæ, to whom Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave aid because he hated Demetrius. The latter was deprived of his kingdom by this means and died. His son, Demetrius, drove out Alexander. For his victory over this bastard of the family he was surnamed Nicator by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after Seleucus. Following the example of Seleucus he made an expedition against the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by them and lived in the palace of King Phraates, who gave him his sister, Rhodoguna, in marriage.

[68] While the country was without a government Diodotus, a slave of the royal house, placed on the throne a young boy named Alexander, a son of Alexander the Bastard and of Ptolemy's daughter. Afterward he put the boy to death and undertook the government himself and assumed the name of Trypho. But Antiochus, the brother of the captive Demetrius, learning in Rhodes of his captivity, came home and, with great difficulty, put Trypho to death. Then he marched with an army against Phraates and demanded his brother. Phraates was afraid of him and sent Demetrius back. Antiochus nevertheless fought with the Parthians, was beaten, and committed suicide. When Demetrius returned to his kingdom he was killed by the craft of his wife, Cleopatra, who was jealous on account of his marriage with Rhodoguna, for which reason also she had previously married his brother Antiochus. She had (Y.R. 592) *seq.*

borne two sons to Demetrius, named Seleucus and Antiochus (B.C. 162) *seq.*

Grypus (the Hook Nosed); and to Antiochus one son, named Antiochus Cyzicenus. She had sent Grypus to Athens and Cyzicenus to Cyzicus to be educated.

[69] As soon as Seleucus assumed the diadem after his brother's death his mother shot him dead with an arrow, either fearing lest he should avenge his father or moved by an insane hatred for everybody. After Seleucus, Grypus became king, and he compelled his mother to drink poison that she had mixed for himself. So justice overtook her at last. Grypus was worthy of such a mother. He laid a plot against Cyzicenus, his half-brother, but the latter found it out, made war on him, drove him out of the kingdom, and became king of Syria in his stead. Then Seleucus, the son of Grypus, made war on his uncle and took the government away from him. The new sovereign was violent and tyrannical and was burned to death in the gymnasium at the city of Mopsus in Cilicia. Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, succeeded him. The Syrians thought that he escaped a plot of his cousin Seleucus on account of his piety, for which reason they gave him the name of Antiochus Pius. He was really saved by a handsome prostitute with whom he was in love. I think that the Syrians must have given him this title by way of joke, for this Pius married Selene, who had been the wife of his father, Cyzicenus, and of his uncle, Grypus. For this reason the divine vengeance pursued him and he was expelled the kingdom by

Tigranes.

[70] The son of Pius and Selene, who was brought up in Asia and was for that reason called Asiaticus, was deprived of the government of Syria by Pompey, as I have already mentioned. He was the seventeenth king of Syria, reckoning from Seleucus (for I leave out Alexander and his son as being illegitimate, and also their slave, Diodotus), and he reigned only one year, while Pompey was busy elsewhere. The dynasty of the Seleucidæ lasted 230 years. To compute the time from Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman domination there must be added fourteen years of the rule of Tigranes. So much, in the way of foreign history, concerning the Macedonian kings of Syria.

THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

CHAPTER I

Prusias, King of Bithynia — His Attack upon Attalus — His Son Nicomedes — Conspiracy against Prusias — Death of Prusias

THE Greeks think that the Thracians who marched to the Trojan war with Rhesus, who was killed by Diomedes in the night-time in the manner described in Homer's poems, fled to the outlet of the Euxine sea at the place where the crossing to Thrace is shortest. Some say that as they found no ships they remained there and possessed themselves of the country called Bebrycia. Others say that they crossed over to the country beyond Byzantium called Thracian Bithynia and settled along the river Bithya, but were forced by hunger to return to Bebrycia, to which they gave the name of Bithynia from the river where they had previously dwelt; or perhaps the name was changed by them insensibly with the lapse of time, as there is not much difference between Bithynia and Bebrycia. So some think. Others say that their first ruler was Bithys, the son of Zeus and Thrace, and that the two countries received their names from them.

[2] So much by way of preface concerning Bithynia. Of the forty-nine kings who successively ruled the country before the Romans, it does not concern me to make special mention in writing Roman history. Prusias, surnamed the Hunter, was the one to whom Perseus, king of Macedonia, gave his sister in marriage. When Perseus and the Romans, not long afterward, went to war with each other, Prusias did not take sides with either of them. When Perseus was taken prisoner Prusias went to meet the Roman generals, clad in a toga which they call the *stola*, shod in the Italian fashion, with his head shaved and wearing on it a *capitegium* in the manner of slaves who have been made free in their masters' wills, and making himself appear base and insignificant in other ways. When he met them he said in the Latin tongue, "I am the freedman of the Romans, which is to say 'emancipated.'" "They laughed at him and sent him to Rome. As he appeared equally ridiculous there he obtained pardon. (Y.R. 600)

[3] Some time later, being incensed against Attalus, king (B.C. 154) of the Asiatic country about Pergamus, Prusias ravaged his territory. When the Roman Senate learned of this they sent word to Prusias that he must not attack Attalus, who was their friend and ally. As he was slow in obeying, the ambassadors laid stern commands upon him to obey the orders of the Senate and to go with 1000 horse to the boundary line to negotiate a treaty with Attalus, who, they said, was awaiting him there with an equal number. Despising the handful of men with Attalus and hoping to ensnare him, Prusias sent the ambassadors in advance to say that he was following with 1000 men, but actually put his whole army in motion and advanced as if to battle. When Attalus and the ambassadors learned of this they took to promiscuous flight.

Prusias seized the beasts of burden belonging to the Romans that had been left behind, captured and destroyed the stronghold of Nicephorium, burned the temples in it, and besieged Attalus, who had fled to Pergamus. When these things became known in Rome a fresh embassy was sent, ordering Prusias to make compensation to Attalus for the damage done to him. Then Prusias became alarmed, obeyed the order, and retired. The ambassadors decided that as a penalty he must transfer to Attalus twenty decked ships at once, and pay him 500 talents of silver within a certain time. Accordingly he gave up the ships and began to make the payments at the prescribed time.

[4] As Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty they became greatly attached to his son, Nicomedes. Thus the latter fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live in Rome. Learning that he ^(Y.R. 606) was much esteemed there also, Prusias directed him to ^(B.C. 148) petition the Senate to release him from the payment of the money still due to Attalus. He sent Menas as his fellow-ambassador, and told him if he should secure a remission of the payments to spare Nicomedes, but if not, to kill him at Rome. For this purpose he sent a number of small boats with him and 2000 soldiers. As the fine imposed on Prusias was not remitted (for Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to argue on the other side, showed that it was less in amount than the plunder), Menas, seeing that Nicomedes was an estimable and attractive young man, was at a loss to know what to do. He did not dare to kill him, nor to go back himself to Bithynia. The young man noticed his delay and sought a conference with him, which was just what he wanted. They formed a plot against Prusias and secured the coöperation of Andronicus, the legate of Attalus, that he should persuade Attalus to take back Nicomedes to Bithynia. They met by agreement at Bernice, a small town in Epirus, where they entered into a ship by night to confer as to what should be done, and separated before daylight.

[5] In the morning Nicomedes came out of the ship clad in the royal purple and wearing a diadem on his head. Andronicus met him, saluted him as king, and formed an escort for him with 500 soldiers that he had with him. Menas, pretending that he had then for the first time learned that Nicomedes was present, rushed to his 2000 men and exclaimed with assumed trepidation, "Since we have two kings, one at home and the other going there, we must look out for our own interests, and form a careful judgment of the future, because our safety lies in foreseeing correctly which of them will be the stronger. One of them is an old man, the other is young. The Bithynians are averse to Prusias; they are attached to Nicomedes. The leading Romans are fond of the young man, and Andronicus has already furnished him a guard, showing that Nicomedes is in alliance with Attalus, who rules an extensive dominion alongside the Bithynians and is an old enemy of Prusias." In addition to this he expatiated on the cruelty of Prusias and his outrageous conduct toward everybody, and the general hatred in which he was held by the Bithynians on this account. When he saw that the soldiers also abhorred the

wickedness of Prusias he led them forthwith to Nicomedes and saluted him as king, just as Andronicus had done before, and formed a guard for him with his 2000 men.

[6] Attalus received the young man warmly and ordered Prusias to assign certain towns for his occupation, and territory to furnish him supplies. Prusias replied that he would presently give his son the whole kingdom of Attalus, which he had intended for Nicomedes when he invaded Asia before. After giving this answer he made a formal accusation at Rome against Nicomedes and Attalus and cited them to trial. The forces of Attalus at once made an incursion into Bithynia, the inhabitants of which gradually took sides with the invaders. Prusias, trusting nobody and hoping that the Romans would rescue him from the toils of the conspiracy, asked and obtained from his son-in-law, Diegylis, the Thracian, 500 men, and with these alone as a body-guard he took refuge in the citadel of Nictæa. The Roman prætor, in order to favor Attalus, delayed introducing the ambassadors of Prusias to the Senate at Rome. When he did introduce them, the Senate voted that the prætor himself should choose legates and send them to settle the difficulty. He selected three men, one of whom had once been struck on the head with a stone, from which he was badly scarred; another was a diseased cripple, and the third was considered almost a fool; wherefore Cato made the contemptuous remark concerning this embassy, that it had no understanding, no feet and no head.

[7] The legates proceeded to Bithynia and ordered that the war be discontinued. Nicomedes and Attalus pretended to acquiesce. The Bithynians had been instructed to say that they could no longer endure the cruelty of Prusias, especially after they had openly complained against him. On the pretext that these complaints were not yet known at Rome the legates adjourned, leaving the business unfinished. When Prusias despaired of assistance from the Romans (in reliance upon whom he had neglected to provide ^(Y.R. 148) means for his own defence) he retired to Nicomedia in order to possess himself of the city and resist the invaders. The inhabitants, however, betrayed him and opened the gates, and Nicomedes entered with his army. Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus, where he was stabbed by some of the emissaries of Nicomedes. In this way Nicomedes succeeded Prusias as king of the Bithynians. At his death his son, Nicomedes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him, the Senate confirming his ancestral authority. So much for Bithynia. To anticipate the sequel, another Nicomedes, grandson of this one, left the kingdom to the Romans in his will.

CHAPTER II

Cappadocia in Ancient Times — The First Mithridates Mithridates Eupator — His First Difficulty with the Romans — Sends an Ambassador to Them — His Dispute with Nicomedes — Duplicity of the Roman Legates

[8] Who were the rulers of Cappadocia before the Macedonians I am not able to say exactly — whether it had a government of its own or was subject to Darius. I judge that Alexander left behind him governors of the conquered nations to collect the tribute while he hastened after Darius. But it appears that he restored to Amisus, a city of Pontus, of Attic origin, its original democratic form of government. Yet Hieronymus says that he did not touch those nations at all, but that he went after Darius by another road, along the sea-coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia. But Perdiccas, who ruled the Macedonians after Alexander, captured and hanged Ariarthes, the governor of Cappadocia, either (Y.R. 606) because he had revolted or in order to bring that country under Macedonian rule, and placed Eumenes of Cardia over these peoples. Eumenes was afterward adjudged an enemy of Macedonia and put to death, and Antipater, who succeeded Perdiccas as overseer of the territory of Alexander, appointed Nicanor satrap of Cappadocia.

[9] Not long afterward dissensions broke out among the Macedonians. Antigonus expelled Laomedon from Syria and assumed the government himself. He had with him one Mithridates, a scion of the royal house of Persia. Antigonus had a dream that he had sowed a field with gold, and that Mithridates reaped it and carried it off to Pontus. He accordingly arrested him, intending to put him to death, but Mithridates escaped with six horsemen, fortified himself in a stronghold of Cappadocia, where many joined him in consequence of the decay of the Macedonian power, and possessed himself of the whole of Cappadocia and of the neighboring countries along the Euxine. This great power, which he had built up, he left to his children. They reigned one after another until the sixth Mithridates in succession from the founder of the house, and he went to war with the Romans. Since there were kings of this house of both Cappadocia and Pontus, I judge that they divided the government, some ruling one country and some the other.

[10] At any rate a king of Pontus, the Mithridates surnamed Euergetes (the Benefactor), who was the first of them inscribed as a friend of the Roman people, and who even sent some ships and a small force of auxiliaries to aid them against the Carthaginians, invaded Cappadocia as though it were a foreign country. He was succeeded by his son, Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus, and also Eupator. The (Y.R. 662) Romans ordered him to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, (B.C. 92) who had fled to them and who seemed to have a better title to the government of that country than Mithridates; or perhaps they distrusted the growing power of that great monarchy and thought

it would be better to have it divided into several parts. Mithridates obeyed the order, but he put an army at the service of Socrates, surnamed Chrestus, the brother of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who overthrew the latter and usurped the government. This Nicomedes (Y.R. 664) was the son of Nicomedes the son of Prusias, who had received (B.C. 90) the kingdom of Bithynia as his patrimony at the hands of the Romans. Simultaneously Mithraas and Bagoas drove out Ariobarzanes, whom the Romans had confirmed as king of Cappadocia, and installed Ariarthes in his place.

[11] The Romans decided to restore Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes at the same time, each to his own kingdom, and sent thither for this purpose an embassy, of which Manius Aquilius was the chief, and ordered Lucius Cassius, who was in charge of the Asiatic country around Pergamus and had a small army under his command, to coöperate in their mission. Similar orders were sent to Mithridates Eupator himself. But the latter, being angry with the Romans on account of their interference in Cappadocia, and having been recently despoiled of Phrygia by them (as narrated in my Hellenic history), did not coöperate. Nevertheless Cassius and Manius, with the army of the former, and a large force collected from the Galatians and Phrygians, restored Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia. They urged them at the same time, as they were neighbors of Mithridates, to make incursions into his territory and stir up a war, promising them the assistance of the Romans. Both of them hesitated to begin so important a war on their own border, because they feared the power of Mithridates. When the ambassadors insisted, Nicomedes, who had agreed to pay a large sum of money to the generals and ambassadors for restoring him to power, which he still owed, together with other large sums which he had borrowed on interest from the Romans in his country and for which they were dunning him, made an attack reluctantly on the (Y.R. 666) territory of Mithridates and plundered it as far as the city (B.C. 88) of Amastris, meeting no resistance. Although Mithridates had his forces in readiness he retreated, because he wanted to have good and sufficient cause for war.

[12] Nicomedes returned with large booty and Mithridates sent Pelopidas to the Roman generals and ambassadors. He was not ignorant that they wanted to bring on a war, and that they had incited this attack upon him, but he dissembled in order to procure more and clearer causes for the coming war, for which reason he reminded them of his own and his father's friendship and alliance, in return for which Pelopidas said that Phrygia and Cappadocia had been wrested from him, of which Cappadocia had always belonged to his ancestors and had been left to him by his own father. "Phrygia," he continued, "was given to him by your own general as a reward for his victory over Aristonicus; nevertheless he paid a large sum of money to that same general for it. But now you allow Nicomedes even to close the mouth of the Euxine, and to overrun the country as far as Amastris, and you see him carrying off vast plunder with impunity. My king was not weak, he was not unprepared to

defend himself, but he waited in order that you might be eye-witnesses of these transactions. Since you have seen all this, Mithridates, who is your friend and ally, calls upon you as friends and allies (for so the treaty reads) to defend us against the wrong-doing of Nicomedes, or to restrain the wrong-doer.”

[13] When Pelopidas had finished speaking the ambassadors of Nicomedes, who were there to answer him, said: “Mithridates plotted against Nicomedes long ago and put Socrates on the throne by force and arms, though Socrates was of a quiet disposition and thought it right that his elder brother should reign. This was the act of Mithridates to Nicomedes whom you, Romans, had established on the throne of Bithynia — a blow which was evidently aimed as much at you as at us. In like manner after you had commanded the Asiatic kings not to molest Europe, he seized the greater part of Chersonesus. Let these acts stand as examples of his arrogance, his hostility, his disobedience towards yourselves. Look at his great preparations. He stands in complete readiness, as for a great and predetermined war, not merely with his own army, but with great force of allies, Thracians, Scythians, and many other neighboring peoples. He has formed a marriage alliance with Armenia, and has sent to Egypt and Syria to make friends with the kings of those countries. He has 300 ships of war and is still adding to the number. He has sent to Phoenicia and Egypt for naval officers and steersmen. These things, that Mithridates is collecting in such vast quantities, are not designed for Nicomedes, nay, O Romans, but for you. He is angry with you because, when he had bought Phrygia by a corrupt bargain from one of your generals, you ordered him to give up his ill-gotten gains. He is angry on account of Cappadocia, which was given by you to Ariobarzanes. He fears your increasing power. He is making preparations under pretence that they are intended for us, but he means to attack you if he can. It will be the part of wisdom not to wait till he declares war against you, but to look at his deeds rather than his words, and not give up true and tried friends for a hypocrite who offers you the fictitious name of friendship, nor allow your decision concerning our kingdom to be annulled by one who is equally the foe of both of us.”

[14] After the ambassadors of Nicomedes had thus spoken Pelopidas again addressed the Roman assembly, saying that if Nicomedes was complaining of bygones, he accepted the decision of the Romans, but as to present matters which were transpiring under their eyes, the ravaging of Mithridates’ territory, the closing of the sea, and the carrying away of such vast plunder, there was no need of discussion or adjudication. “We call upon you, Romans, again,” he said, “either to prevent such outrages, or to assist Mithridates, who is their victim, or at all events to stand aside, allow him to defend himself, and not help either party.” While Pelopidas was repeating his demand, though it had been determined by the Roman generals long before to help Nicomedes, they made a pretence of listening to the argument on the other side. Yet the words

of Pelopidas and the alliance of Mithridates, which was still in force, put them to shame, and they were at a loss for some time what answer to make. Finally, after long thought, they made this artful reply, "We would not wish that Mithridates suffer harm at the hands of Nicomedes, nor can we allow war to be made against Nicomedes, because we do not think that it would be for the interest of Rome that he should be weakened." Having delivered this response they dismissed Pelopidas from the assembly, although he wanted to show the insufficiency of their answer.

CHAPTER III

Mithridates seizes Cappadocia — Sends Another Embassy — First Mithridatic War — The Romans badly defeated — Retreat of the Roman Forces — The Roman Generals captured

[15] Mithridates, having been denied justice by the Romans in this public manner, sent his son Ariarthes with a large force to seize the kingdom of Cappadocia. Ariarthes speedily overpowered it and drove out Ariobarzanes. Then Pelopidas returned to the Roman generals and said: ‘How patiently King Mithridates bore injury from you when he was deprived of Phrygia and Cappadocia not long ago you have been told already, O Romans. What injuries Nicomedes inflicted upon him you have seen — and have not heeded. And when we appealed to your friendship and alliance you answered as though we were not the accusers but the accused, saying that it would not be for your interest that harm should come to Nicomedes, as though he were the injured one. You therefore are accountable to the Roman republic for what has taken place in Cappadocia. Mithridates has done what he has done because you disdained us and mocked us in your answers. He intends to send an embassy to your Senate to complain against you. He summons you to defend yourselves there in person in order that ye may do nothing in haste, nor begin a war of such magnitude without the decree of Rome itself. You should bear in mind that Mithridates is ruling his ancestral domain, which is 2000 stades long, and that he has acquired many neighboring nations, the Colchians, a very warlike people, the Greeks bordering on the Euxine, and the barbarian tribes beyond them. He has allies also ready to obey his every command, Scythians, Taurians, Bastarnæ, Thracians, Sarmatians, and all those who dwell in the region of the Don and Danube and the sea of Azof. Tigranes of Armenia is his son-in-law and Arsaces of Parthia his ally. He has a large number of ships, some in readiness and others building, and apparatus of all kinds in abundance.

[16] “The Bithynians were not wrong in what they told you lately about the kings of Egypt and Syria. Not only are these likely to help us if war breaks out, but also your newly acquired province of Asia, and Greece, and Africa, and a considerable part of Italy itself, which even now wages implacable war against you because it cannot endure your greed. Before you are able to compose this strife you attack Mithridates and set Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes on him by turns, and you say, forsooth, that you are our friends and allies. You pretend to be so, and yet you act like enemies. Come now, if at last the consequences of your acts have put you in a better frame of mind, either restrain Nicomedes from injuring your friends and allies (in which case I promise that King Mithridates shall help you to put down the rebellion in Italy), or throw off the mask of friendship for us, or let us go to Rome and

settle the dispute there.” So spake Pelopidas. The Romans considered his speech insolent and ordered Mithridates to let Nicomedes and Cappadocia alone (for they had again restored Ariobarzanes to the latter). They also ordered Pelopidas to leave their camp immediately, and not to return unless the king obeyed their commands. Having given this answer they sent him away under guard lest he should inveigle some persons on the road.

[17] After they had finished speaking they did not wait to hear what the Senate and people of Rome would think about such a great war, but began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia. As soon as Lucius Cassius, the governor of Asia, had his own army in readiness all the allied forces were assembled. Then they were put in separate divisions and sent into camp, Cassius on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, Manius on Mithridates’ line of march to Bithynia, and Oppius, the third general, among the mountains of Cappadocia. Each of these had about 40,000 men, horse and foot together. They had also a fleet under command of Minucius Rufus and Gaius Popillius at Byzantium, guarding the mouth of the Euxine. Nicomedes was present with 50,000 foot and 6000 horse under his command. Such was the total strength of the forces brought together. Mithridates had in his own army 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, 300 ships with decks, 100 with two banks of oars each, and other apparatus in proportion. He had for generals Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two brothers. The king took charge of the greater number in person. Of the allied forces Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, led 10,000 horse from Armenia Minor, and Doryalus commanded the phalanx. Craterus had charge of 130 war chariots. So great were the preparations on either side when the Romans and Mithridates first came in conflict with each other, about the 173d Olympiad.

[18] When Nicomedes and the generals of Mithridates came in sight of each other in a wide plain bordered by the river Amnias they drew up their forces for battle. Nicomedes had his entire army in hand; Neoptolemus and Archelaus had only their light infantry and the cavalry of Arcathias and a few chariots; for the phalanx had not yet come up. They sent forward a small force to seize a rocky hill in the plain lest they should be surrounded by the Bithynians, who were much more numerous. When Neoptolemus saw his men driven from the hill he was still more in fear of being surrounded. He advanced with haste to their assistance, at the same time calling on Arcathias for help. When Nicomedes perceived the movement he sought to meet it by a similar one. Thereupon a severe and bloody struggle ensued. Nicomedes prevailed and put the Mithridateans to flight until Archelaus, advancing from the right flank, fell upon the pursuers, who were compelled to turn their attention to him. He yielded little by little in order that the forces of Neoptolemus might have a chance to rally. When he judged that they had done so sufficiently he advanced again. At the same time the scythe-bearing chariots made a charge on the Bithynians, cutting some of them in two, and tearing others to pieces. The army of Nicomedes was terrified at seeing men

cut in halves and still breathing, or mangled in fragments and their parts hanging on the scythes. Overcome rather by the hideousness of the spectacle than by loss of the fight, fear took possession of their ranks. While they were thus thrown into confusion Archelaus attacked them in front, and Neoptolemus and Arcathias, who had turned about, assailed them in the rear. They fought a long time facing both ways. After the greater part of his men had fallen, Nicomedes fled with the remainder into Paphlagonia, although the Mithridatean phalanx had not come into the engagement at all. His camp was captured, together with a large sum of money and many prisoners. All these Mithridates treated kindly and sent to their homes with supplies for the journey, thus gaining a reputation for clemency among his enemies.

[19] This first engagement of the Mithridatic war alarmed the Roman generals, because they had kindled so great a strife precipitately, without good judgment, and without any public decree. A small number of soldiers had overcome a much larger one, not by having a better position, or through any blunder of the enemy, but by the valor of the generals and the fighting quality of the army. Nicomedes now encamped alongside of Manius. Mithridates ascended Mount Scoroba, which lies on the boundary between Bithynia and Pontus. A hundred Sarmatian horse of his advance-guard came upon 800 of the Nicomedean cavalry and took some of them prisoners. Mithridates dismissed these also to their homes and furnished them supplies. Neoptolemus, and Nemanes the Armenian, overtook Manius on his retreat at the castle of Protophachium about the seventh hour, while Nicomedes was moving away to join Cassius, and compelled him to fight. He had 4000 horse and ten times that number of foot. They killed 10,000 of his men and took 300 prisoners. When they were brought to Mithridates he released them in like manner, thus winning the good opinion of his enemies. The camp of Manius was also captured. He fled to the river Sangarius, crossed it by night, and escaped to Pergamus. Cassius and Nicomedes and all the Roman ambassadors who were with the army decamped to a place called the Lion's Head, a very powerful stronghold in Phrygia, where they began to drill their newly collected mob of artisans, rustics, and other raw recruits, and made new levies among the Phrygians. Finding them worthless they abandoned the idea of fighting with such unwarlike men, dismissed them and retreated; Cassius with his own army to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamus, and Manius toward Rhodes. When those who were guarding the mouth of the Euxine learned these facts they scattered also and delivered the straits and all the ships they had to Mithridates.

[20] Having subverted the whole dominion of Nicomedes at one blow, Mithridates took possession of it and put the cities in order. Then he invaded Phrygia and lodged at an inn which had been occupied by Alexander the Great, thinking that it would bring him luck to halt where Alexander had once stopped. He overran the rest of Phrygia, together with Mysia and those parts of Asia which had been lately acquired by the Romans. Then he sent his

officers to the adjoining provinces and subjugated Lycia, Pamphylia, and the rest as far as Ionia. To the Laodiceans on the river Lycus, who were still resisting (for the Roman general, Quintus Oppius, had arrived with his cavalry and certain mercenaries at their town and was defending it), he made this proclamation by herald before the walls, "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him." Upon this announcement they dismissed the mercenaries unharmed, but led Oppius himself to Mithridates with his lictors marching in front of him by way of ridicule. Mithridates did him no harm, but took him around with him unbound, exhibiting a Roman general as his prisoner.

[21] Not long afterward he captured Manius Aquilius, one of the ambassadors and the one who was most to blame for this war. Mithridates led him around, bound on an ass, and compelled him to introduce himself to the public as Manius. Finally, at Pergamus, Mithridates poured molten gold down his throat, thus rebuking the Romans for their bribe-taking. After appointing satraps over the various nations he proceeded to Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, all of which received him gladly. The Ephesians overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities — for which they paid the penalty not long afterward. On his return from Ionia Mithridates took the city of Stratonicea, imposed a pecuniary fine on it, and placed a garrison in it. Seeing a handsome virgin there he added her to his list of wives. Her name, if anybody wishes to know it, was Monima, the daughter of Philopœmen. Against those Magnesians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians who still opposed him he directed his generals to make war.

CHAPTER IV

Mithridates orders a Massacre of Romans in Asia — Frightful Scenes in Ephesus and Other Cities — Mithridates attacks Rhodes — Is defeated on the Sea — Makes an Assault by Land — Is beaten off

[22] Such was the state of affairs with Mithridates. As soon as his outbreak and invasion of Asia were known at Rome they declared war against him, although they were occupied with grievous dissensions in the city and a formidable Social war, almost all parts of Italy having revolted one after another. When the consuls cast lots, the government of Asia and the Mithridatic war fell to Cornelius Sulla. As they had no money to defray his expenses they voted to sell the treasures that King Numa Pompilius had set apart for sacrifices to the gods; so great was their want of means at that time and so great their ambition for the commonwealth. A part of these treasures, sold hastily, brought 90000 pounds' weight of gold and this was all they had to spend on so great a war. Moreover Sulla was detained a long time by the civil wars, as I have stated in my history of the same. In the meantime Mithridates built a large number of ships for an attack on Rhodes, and he wrote secretly to all his satraps and magistrates that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their domestics of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with himself. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and offered rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding, and freedom to slaves for betraying their masters. To debtors for killing money-lenders he offered release from one-half of their obligations. These secret orders Mithridates sent to all the cities at the same time. When the appointed day came calamities of various kinds befell the province of Asia, among which were the following:

[23] The Ephesians tore fugitives, who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis, from the very images of the goddess and slew them. The Pergameans shot with arrows those who had fled to the temple of Æsculapius, while they were still clinging to his statues. The Adramytteans followed those who sought to escape by swimming, into the sea, and killed them and drowned their children. The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who had taken refuge about the Vesta statue of the senate-house, tore them from the shrine, killed children before their mothers' eyes, and then killed the mothers themselves and their husbands after them. The citizens of Tralles, in order to avoid the appearance of blood-guiltiness, hired a savage monster named Theophilus, of Paphlagonia, to do the work. He conducted the victims to the temple of Concord, and there murdered them, chopping off the

hands of some who were embracing the sacred images. Such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians throughout the province of Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of Italian blood; by which it was made very plain that it was quite as much hatred of the Romans as fear of Mithridates that impelled the Asiatics to commit these atrocities. But they paid a double penalty for their crime — one at the hands of Mithridates himself, who ill-treated them perfidiously not long afterward, and the other at the hands of Cornelius Sulla. In the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island of Cos, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and where he received, and afterward brought up in a royal way, a son of Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grand-mother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus.

[24] While these things were going on the Rhodians strengthened their walls and their harbor and erected engines of war everywhere, receiving some assistance from Telmessus and Lycia. All the Italians who escaped from Asia collected at Rhodes, among them Lucius Cassius, the proconsul of the province. When Mithridates approached with his fleet, the inhabitants destroyed the suburbs in order that they might not be of service to the enemy. Then they put to sea for a naval engagement with some of their ships ranged for an attack in front and some on the flank. Mithridates, who was sailing around in a quinquereme, ordered his ships to extend their wing out to sea and to quicken the rowing in order to surround the enemy, for they were fewer in number. The Rhodians were apprehensive of this manœuvre and retired slowly. Finally they turned about and took refuge in the harbor, closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls. He encamped near the city and continually tried to gain entrance to the harbor, but failing to do so he waited for the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime there was continual skirmishing going on among the soldiers in ambush around the walls. As the Rhodians had the best of it in these affairs, they gradually plucked up courage and kept their ships well in hand in order to dart upon the enemy whenever they should discover an opportunity.

[25] As one of the king's merchantmen was moving near them under sail a Rhodian two-bank ship advanced against it. Many on both sides hastened to the rescue and a severe naval engagement took place. Mithridates outweighed his antagonists both in fury and in the multitude of his fleet, but the Rhodians circled around and rammed his ships with such skill that they took one of his triremes in tow with its crew and tackle and much spoil, and brought it into the harbor. Another time, when one of their quinqueremes had been taken by the enemy, the Rhodians, not knowing this fact, sent out six of their swiftest ships to look for it, under command of their admiral, Demagoras. Mithridates despatched twenty-five of his against them. Demagoras retired before them until sunset. When it began to grow dark and the king's ships turned around to

sail back, Demagoras fell upon them, sunk two, drove two others into Lycia, and returned home on the open sea by night. This was the result of the naval engagement, as unexpected to the Rhodians on account of the smallness of their force as to Mithridates on account of the largeness of his. In this engagement while the king was sailing about in his ship and urging on his men, an allied ship from Chios ran against his in the confusion with a severe shock. The king pretended not to mind it at the time, but later he punished the pilot and the lookout man, and conceived a hatred for all Chians.

[26] About the same time the land forces of Mithridates set sail in merchant vessels and triremes, and a storm, blowing from Caunus, drove them toward Rhodes. The Rhodians promptly sailed out to meet them, fell upon them while they were still scattered and suffering from the effects of the tempest, captured some, rammed others, and burned others, and took about 400 prisoners. Thereupon Mithridates prepared for another naval engagement and siege at the same time. He built a sambuca, an immense machine for scaling walls, and mounted it on two ships. Some deserters showed him a hill that was easy to climb, where the temple of Zeus Atabyrius was situated, surrounded by a low wall. He placed a part of his army in ships by night, distributed scaling ladders to others, and commanded both parties to move silently until they should see a fire signal given from Mount Atabyrius; and then to make the greatest possible uproar, and some to attack the harbor and others the wall. Accordingly they approached in profound silence. The Rhodian sentries knew what was going on and lighted a fire. The army of Mithridates, thinking that this was the fire signal from Atabyrius, broke the silence with a loud shout, the scaling party and the naval contingent shouting all together. The Rhodians, not at all dismayed, answered the shout and rushed to the walls in crowds. The king's forces accomplished nothing that night, and the next day they were beaten off.

[27] The Rhodians were most dismayed by the sambuca, which was moved against the wall where the temple of Isis stands. It was operating with weapons of various kinds, both rams and projectiles. Soldiers in numerous small boats circled around it with ladders, ready to mount the wall by means of it. Nevertheless the Rhodians awaited its attack with firmness. Finally the sambuca collapsed of its own weight, and an apparition of Isis was seen hurling a great mass of fire down upon it. Mithridates despaired of his undertaking and retired from Rhodes. He then laid siege to Patara and began to cut down a grove dedicated to Latona, to get material for his machines, until he was warned in a dream to spare the sacred trees. Leaving Pelopidas to continue the war against the Lycians he sent 88 Archelaus to Greece to gain allies by persuasion or force according as he could. After this Mithridates committed most of his tasks to his generals, and applied himself to raising troops, making arms, and enjoying himself with his Stratonicean wife. He also held court to try those who were accused of conspiring against him, or of inciting revolution, or of favoring the Romans in any way.

CHAPTER V

*Athens sides with Mithridates — Other Greek States follow her Example —
Cornelius Sulla marches against Mithridates — Besieges the Piræus —
Archelaus makes a Sally — Sulla sends Lucullus to procure Ships — Hard
Fighting on the Walls — Famine in Athens — Battles Underground — Sulla
repulsed from Piræus*

(Y.R. 667)

[28] While Mithridates was thus occupied the following events took place in Greece: Archelaus, sailing thither with abundant supplies and a large fleet, possessed himself by force and violence of Delos and other strongholds which had revolted from the Athenians. He slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom were Italians, and turned the strongholds over to the Athenians. In this way, and by boasting about Mithridates and extravagantly praising him, he brought the Athenians into alliance with him. Archelaus sent them the sacred treasure of Delos by the hands of Aristion, an Athenian citizen, attended by 2000 soldiers to guard the money. These soldiers Aristion made use of to make himself master of the country, putting to death immediately some of those who favored the Romans and sending others to Mithridates. And these things he did although he professed to be a philosopher of the school of Epicurus. Nor was it only in Athens that men played the part of tyrants as did he and before him Critias and his fellow-philosophers. But in Italy, too, some of the Pythagoreans and those known as the Seven Wise Men in other parts of the Grecian world, who undertook to manage public affairs, governed more cruelly, and made themselves greater tyrants than ordinary despots; whence arose doubt and suspicion concerning other philosophers, whether their discourses about wisdom proceeded from a love of virtue or as (B.C. 87) a comfort in their poverty and idleness. We see many of these now, obscure and poverty-stricken, wearing the garb of philosophy as a matter of necessity, and railing bitterly at the rich and powerful, not because they have any real contempt for riches and power, but from envy of the possessors of the same. Those whom they speak ill of have much better reason for despising them. These things the reader should consider as spoken against the philosopher Aristion, who is the cause of this digression.

[29] Archelaus brought over to the side of Mithridates the Achæans, the Lacedæmonians, and all of Bœotia except Thespiæ, to which he laid close siege. At the same time Metrophanes, who had been sent by Mithridates with another army, ravaged Etubcca and the territory of Demetrias and Magnesia, which states refused to espouse his cause. Bruttius advanced against him with a small force from Macedonia, had a naval fight with him, sunk one large ship and one hemiolia, and killed all who were in them while Metrophanes was looking on. The latter fled in terror and, as he had a favorable wind, Bruttius

could not overtake him, but stormed Sciathos, which was a storehouse of plunder for barbarians, and crucified some of them who were slaves and cut off the hands of the freemen. Then he turned against Bœotia, having received reënforcements of 1000 horse and foot from Macedonia. Near Chæronea he was engaged in a fight of three days' duration with Archelaus and Aristion, which had an indecisive result. When the Lacedæmonians and Achæans came to the aid of Archelaus and Aristion, Bruttius thought that he was not a match for all of them together and withdrew to the Piræus until Archelaus came up with his fleet and seized that place also.

[30] Sulla, who had been appointed general of the Mithridatic war by the Romans, now for the first time passed over to Greece with five legions and a few cohorts and troops of horse and straightway called for money, reënforcements and provisions from Ætolia and Thessaly. As soon as he considered himself strong enough he crossed over to In the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome. Considered by B Attica to attack Archelaus. As he was passing through the probable but not certain likeness country all Bœotia joined him except a few, and among L. CORNELIUS SULIA In the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome, Considered by Bernoulli a probable but not certain likeness others the great city of Thebes which had rather lightly taken sides with the Mithridateans against the Romans, but now even more nimbly changed from Archelaus to Sulla before coming to a trial of strength. When Sulla reached Attica he detached part of his army to lay siege to Aristion in Athens, and himself went down to attack the Piræus, where Archelaus had taken shelter behind the wall with his forces. The height of the wall was about forty cubits and it was built of large square stones. It was the work of Pericles in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he rested his hope of victory on the Piræus he made it as strong as possible. Notwithstanding the height of the walls Sulla planted his ladders against them at once. After inflicting and receiving much damage (for the Cappadocians bravely repelled his attack), he retired exhausted to Eleusis and Megara, where he built engines for a new attack upon the Piræus and formed a plan for besieging it with mounds. Artifices and apparatus of all kinds, iron, catapults, and everything of that sort were supplied by Thebes. Sulla chopped down the grove of the Academy and constructed his largest engines there. He demolished the Long Walls, and used the stones, timber, and earth for building mounds.

[31] Two Athenian slaves in the Piræus — either because they favored the Romans or were looking out for their own safety in an emergency — wrote down everything that took place there, enclosed their writing in leaden balls, and threw them over to the Romans with slings. As this was done continually it came to the knowledge of Sulla, who gave his attention to the missives and found one which said, "To-morrow the infantry will make a sally in front upon your workers, and the cavalry will attack the Roman army on both flanks." Sulla placed an adequate force in ambush and when the enemy dashed out with the thought that their movement would completely surprise

him he gave them a greater surprise with his concealed force, killing many and driving the rest into the sea. This was the end of that enterprise. When the mounds began to rise Archelaus erected opposing towers and placed the greatest quantity of missiles on them. He sent for reënforcements from Chalcis and the other islands and armed his oarsmen, for he considered himself in extreme danger. As his army (Y.R. 87) was superior in number to that of Sulla before, it now became much more so by these reënforcements. He then darted out in the middle of the night with torches and burned one of the tortoises and the machines alongside of it; but Sulla made new ones in ten days' time and put them in the places of the former ones. Against these Archelaus established a tower on that part of the wall.

[32] Having received from Mithridates by sea a new army under command of Dromichætes, Archelaus led all his troops out to battle. He distributed archers and slingers among them and ranged them close under the walls so that the guards above could reach the enemy with their missiles. Others were stationed around the gates with torches to watch their opportunity to make a sally. The battle remained doubtful a long time; each side yielding by turns. First the barbarians gave way until Archelaus rallied them and led them back. The Romans were so dismayed by this that they were put to flight next, until Murena ran up and rallied them. Just then another legion, which had returned from gathering wood, together with some soldiers who had been disgraced, finding a hot fight in progress, made a powerful charge on the Mithridateans killed about 2000 of them and drove the rest inside the walls. Archelaus tried to rally them again and stood his ground so long that he was shut out and had to be pulled up by ropes. In consideration of their splendid behavior Sulla removed the stigma from those who had been disgraced and gave large rewards to the others.

[33] Now winter came on and Sulla established his camp at Eleusis and protected it by a deep ditch, extending from the high ground to the sea so that the enemy's horse could not readily reach him. While he was prosecuting this work fighting took place daily, now at the ditch, now at the walls of the enemy, who frequently came out and assailed the Romans with stones, javelins, and leaden balls. Sulla, being in need of ships, sent to Rhodes to obtain them, but the Rhodians were not able to send them because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus, a distinguished Roman who later succeeded Sulla as commander in this war, to proceed secretly to Alexandria and (Y.R. 667) Syria, and procure a fleet from those kings and cities that were skilled in nautical affairs, and to bring with it the Rhodian naval contingent also. Lucullus had no fear of the hostile fleet. He embarked in a fast sailing vessel and, by changing from one ship to another in order to conceal his movements, arrived at Alexandria. (Y.R. 668)

[34] Meanwhile the traitors in the Piræus threw another (B.C. 86) message over the walls, saying that Archelaus would on that very night send a convoy of soldiers with provisions to the city of Athens, which was suffering from

hunger. Sulla laid a trap for them and captured both the provisions and the soldiers. On the same day, near Chalcis, Minutius wounded Neoptolemus, Mithridates' other general, killed 1500 of his men, and took a still larger number prisoners. Not long after, by night, while the guards on the walls of the Piræus were asleep, the Romans took some ladders from the engines near by, mounted the walls, and killed the guards at that place. Thereupon some of the barbarians abandoned their posts and fled to the harbor, thinking that all the walls had been captured. Others, recovering their courage, slew the leader of the assailing party and hurled the remainder over the wall. Still others darted out through the gates and almost burned one of the two Roman towers, and would have burned it had not Sulla ridden up from the camp and saved it by a hard fight lasting all that night and the next day. Then the barbarians retired. Archelaus planted another great tower on the wall opposite the Roman tower and these two assailed each other, discharging all kinds of missiles constantly until Sulla, by means of his catapults, each of which discharged twenty of the heaviest leaden balls at one volley, had killed a large number of the enemy, and had so shaken the tower of Archelaus that it was rendered untenable, and the latter was compelled, by fear of its destruction, to draw it back with all speed.

[35] Meanwhile famine pressed more and more on the city of Athens, and the ball throwers in the Piræus gave information that provisions would be sent thither by night. Archelaus suspected that some traitor was giving information to the enemy about his convoys. Accordingly, at the same time that he sent it, he stationed a force at the gates with torches to make an assault on the Roman works if Sulla should attack the provision train. So it turned out that Sulla captured the train and Archelaus burned some of the Roman works. At the same time Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, with another army invaded Macedonia and without difficulty overcame the small Roman force there, subjugated the whole country, appointed satraps to govern it, and advanced against Sulla, but was taken sick and died near Tisæus. In the meantime the famine in Athens became very severe. Sulla built stockades around it to prevent anybody from going out so that, by reason of their numbers, the hunger should be more severe upon those who were shut in.

[36] When Sulla had raised his mound to the proper height at the Piræus he planted his engines on it. But Archelaus undermined the mound and carried away the earth, the Romans for a long time suspecting nothing. Suddenly the mound sank down. Quickly understanding the state of things, the Romans withdrew their engines and filled up the mound, and, following the enemy's example, began in like manner to undermine the walls. The diggers met each other underground, and fought there with swords and spears as well as they could in the darkness. While this was going on, Sulla pounded the wall with rams erected on the tops of mounds until part of it fell down. Then he hastened to burn the neighboring tower, and discharged a large number of fire-bearing missiles against it, and ordered his bravest soldiers to mount the

ladders. Both sides fought bravely, but the tower was burned. Another small part of the wall was thrown down also, over against which Sulla at once stationed a guard. Having now undermined a section of the wall, so that it was only sustained by wooden beams, he placed a great quantity of sulphur, hemp, and pitch under it, and set fire to the whole at once. The walls fell — now here, now there — carrying the defenders down with them. This great and unexpected crash demoralized the forces guarding the walls everywhere, as each one expected that the ground would sink under him next. Fear and loss of confidence kept them turning this way and that way, so that they offered only a feeble resistance to the enemy.

[37] Against the forces thus demoralized Sulla kept up an unceasing fight, continually changing the active part of his own army, bringing up fresh soldiers with ladders, one division after another, with shout and cheer, urging them forward with threats and encouragement at the same time, and telling them that victory would shortly be theirs. Archelaus, on the other hand, brought up new forces in place of his discouraged ones. He, too, changed their labor continually, cheering and urging them on, and telling them that their salvation would soon be secured. A high degree of zeal and courage was excited in both armies again and the fight became very severe, the slaughter being substantially equal on both sides. Finally Sulla, being the attacking party and therefore soonest exhausted, sounded a retreat and led his forces back, praising many of his men for their bravery. Archelaus forthwith repaired the damage to his wall by night, protecting a large part of it with a lunette curving inward. Sulla attacked this newly built wall at once with his whole army, thinking that as it was still moist and weak he could easily demolish it, but as he had to work in a narrow space and was exposed to missiles from above, both in front and flank, as is usual with crescent-shaped fortifications, he was again worn out. Then he abandoned all idea of taking the Piræus by assault and established a siege around it in order to reduce it by famine.

CHAPTER VI

Athens taken — Slaughter of the Inhabitants — Sulla returns to the Piræus — Drives Archelaus out — Burns the Piræus — Follows Archelaus — Battle of Chæronea — Archelaus routed — Great slaughter of the Barbarians

[38] Knowing that the defenders of Athens were severely pressed by hunger, that they had devoured all their cattle, boiled the hides and skins, and licked what they could get therefrom, and that some had even partaken of human flesh, Sulla directed his soldiers to encircle the city with a ditch so that the inhabitants might not escape secretly, even one by one. This done, he brought up his ladders and at the same time began to break through the wall. The feeble defenders were soon put to flight, and the Romans rushed into the city. A great and pitiless slaughter ensued in Athens, the inhabitants, for want of nourishment, being too weak to fly. Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre, not sparing women or children. He was angry that they had so suddenly joined the barbarians without cause, and had displayed such violent animosity toward himself. Most of the Athenians when they heard the order given rushed upon the swords of the slayers voluntarily. A few had taken their feeble course to the Acropolis, among them Aristion, who had burned the Odeum, so that Sulla might not have the timber in it at hand for storming the Acropolis. Sulla forbade the burning of the city, but allowed the soldiers to plunder it. In many houses they found human flesh prepared for food. The next day Sulla sold the slaves at auction. To the freemen who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, a very small number, he promised their liberty but took away their right as voters and electors because they had made war upon him. The same terms were extended to their offspring.

[39] In this way did Athens have her full of horrors. Sulla stationed a guard around the Acropolis, to whom Aristion and his company were soon compelled by hunger and thirst to surrender. Sulla inflicted the penalty of death on Aristion and his body-guard, and upon all who exercised any authority or who had done anything whatever contrary to the rules laid down for them after the first capture of Greece by the Romans. Sulla pardoned the rest and gave to all of them substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans. About forty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver was obtained from the Acropolis, — but these events at the Acropolis took place somewhat later.

[40] As soon as Athens was taken Sulla, impatient at the long siege of the Piræus, brought up rams, and projectiles of all kinds, and a large force of men, who battered the walls under the shelter of tortoises, and numerous cohorts who hurled javelins and shot arrows in vast numbers at the defenders on the walls in order to drive them back. He knocked down a part of the newly built lunette, which was still moist and weak. Archelaus had anticipated this from

the first and had built several others like it inside, so that Sulla came upon one wall after another, and found his task endless. But he pushed on with tireless energy, he relieved his men often, he was ubiquitous among them, urging them on and showing them that their entire hope of reward for their labors depended on accomplishing this small remainder. The soldiers, too, believing that this would in fact be the end of their toils, and spurred to their work by the love of glory and the thought that it would be a splendid achievement to conquer such walls as these, pressed forward vigorously. Finally, Archelaus was dumbfounded by their senseless and mad persistence, and abandoned the walls to them and betook himself to that part of the Piræus which was most strongly fortified and enclosed on all sides by the sea. As Sulla had no ships he could not attack it.

[41] Thence Archelaus withdrew to Thessaly by way of Bœotia and drew what was left of his entire forces together at Thermopyle, both his own and those brought by Dromichiætes. He also united with his command the army that had invaded Macedonia under Arcathias, the son of King Mithridates, which was fresh and at nearly its full strength, and had lately received recruits from Mithridates; for he never ceased sending forward reinforcements. While Archelaus was hastily gathering these forces Sulla burned the Piræus, which had given him more trouble than the city of Athens, not sparing the arsenal, or the navy yard, or any other of its famous belongings. Then he marched against Archelaus, proceeding also by way of Bœotia. As they neared each other the forces of Archelaus just from Thermopyle advanced into Phocis, consisting of Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and Phrygian troops, and others from Mithridates' newly acquired territory, in all 120,000 men. Each nationality had its own general, but Archelaus had supreme command over all. Sulla's forces were Italians and some Greeks and Macedonians, who had lately deserted Archelaus and come over to him, and a few others from the surrounding country, but they were not one-third the number of the enemy.

[42] When they had taken position opposite each other Archelaus repeatedly led out his forces and offered battle. Sulla hesitated on account of the nature of the ground and the numbers of the enemy. When Archelaus moved toward Chalcis Sulla followed him closely, watching for a favorable time and place. When he saw the enemy encamped in a rocky region near Chæronea, where there was no chance of escape for the vanquished, he took possession of a broad plain near by and drew up his forces in such a way that he could compel Archelaus to fight whether he wanted to or not, and where the slope of the plain favored the Romans either in advancing or retreating. Archelaus was hedged in by rocks which, in a battle, would not allow his whole army to act in concert, as he could not bring them together by reason of the unevenness of the ground; and if they were routed their flight would be impeded by the rocks. Relying for these reasons on his advantage of position Sulla moved forward in such a way that the enemy's superiority of numbers should not be

of any service to him. Archelaus did not dream of coming to an engagement at that time, for which reason he had been careless in choosing the place for his camp. Now that the Romans were advancing he perceived sorrowfully and too late the badness of his position, and he sent forward a detachment of horse to prevent the movement. The detachment was put to flight and shattered among the rocks. He next charged with sixty chariots, hoping to sever and break in pieces the formation of the legions by the shock. The Romans opened their ranks and the chariots were carried through by their own momentum to the rear, and before they could turn back they were surrounded and destroyed by the javelins of the rear guard.

[43] Although Archelaus might have fought safely from his fortified camp, where the crags would perhaps have defended him, he hastily led out his vast multitude of men who had not expected to fight here, and drew them up, in a place that had proved much too narrow, because Sulla was already approaching. He first made a powerful charge with his horse, cut the Roman formation in two, and, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, completely surrounded both parts. The Romans turned their faces to the enemy on all sides and fought bravely. The divisions of Galba and Hortensius suffered most since Archelaus led the battle against them in person, and the barbarians fighting under the eye of the commander were spurred by emulation to the highest pitch of valor. But Sulla moved to their aid with a large body of horse and Archelaus, feeling sure that it was Sulla who was approaching, for he saw the standards of the commander-in-chief, and a greater cloud of dust arising, released his grasp and began to resume his first position. Sulla, leading the best part of his horse and picking up two new cohorts that had been placed in reserve, struck the enemy before they had executed their manœuvre and formed a solid front. He threw them into confusion, put them to flight, and pursued them. While victory was dawning on that side, Murena, who commanded the left wing, was not idle. Chiding his soldiers for their remissness he, too, dashed upon the enemy valiantly and put them to flight.

[44] When Archelaus' two wings gave way the centre no longer held its ground, but took to promiscuous flight. Then everything that Sulla had foreseen befell the enemy. Not having room to turn around, or an open country for flight, they were driven by their pursuers among the rocks. Some of them rushed into the hands of the Romans. Others with more wisdom fled toward their own camp. Archelaus placed himself in front of them and barred the entrance, and ordered them to turn and face the enemy, thus betraying the greatest inexperience of the exigencies of war. They obeyed him with alacrity, but as they no longer had either generals to lead, or officers to align them, or standards to show where they belonged, but were scattered in disorderly rout, and had no room either to fly or to fight, the pursuit having brought them into their very narrowest place, they were killed without resistance, some by the enemy, upon whom they could not retaliate, and others by their own friends in

the jam and confusion. Again they fled toward the gates of the camp, around which they became congested. They up braided the gate-keepers. They appealed to them in the name of their country's gods and their common relationship, and reproached them that they were slaughtered not so much by the swords of the enemy as by the indifference of their friends. Finally Archelaus, after more delay than was necessary, opened the gates and received the disorganized runaways. When the Romans observed this they gave a great cheer, burst into the camp with the fugitives, and made their victory complete.

[45] Archelaus and the rest, who made their escape singly, came together at Chalcis. Not more than 10,000 of the 120,000 remained. The Roman loss was only fifteen, and two of these turned up afterward. Such was the result of the battle of Chæronea between Sulla and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, to which the sagacity of Sulla and the blundering of Archelaus contributed in equal measure. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners and a great quantity of arms and spoils, the useless part of which he put in a heap. Then he girded himself according to the Roman custom and burned it as a sacrifice to the gods of war. After giving his army a short rest he hastened with his best troops after Archelaus, but as the Romans had no ships the latter sailed securely among the islands and ravaged the coasts. He landed at Zacynthus and laid siege to it, but being attacked in the night by a party of Romans who were sojourning there he reembarked in a hurry and returned to Chalcis more like a robber than a warrior.

CHAPTER VII

Fury and Cruelty of Mithridates — The Dismal Fate of Chios — Terror of the Greek Cities in Asia — Conspiracy against Mithridates — Battle of Orchomenus — Archelaus again defeated by Sulla

[46] When Mithridates heard of this great disaster he was astonished and terror-stricken, as was natural. Nevertheless, he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that certain persons would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat, either now or later, if they should find a good chance, he arrested all suspects before the war should become sharper. First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects — all except three who escaped. Some of these he took by stratagem, the others he slew one night at a banquet. He believed that none of them would be faithful to him if Sulla should come near. He confiscated their property, established garrisons in their towns, and appointed Eumachus satrap of the nation. But the tetrarchs who had escaped raised an army from the country people forthwith, expelled him and his garrisons, and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he had seized. Being angry with the inhabitants of Chios, one of whose vessels had accidentally run against the royal ship in the naval battle near Rhodes, he first confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla, and then sent persons to inquire what property in Chios belonged to Romans. For a third move, his general, Zenobius, who was conducting an army to Greece, seized the walls of Chios and all the fortified places by night, stationed guards at the gates, and made proclamation that all strangers should remain quiet, and that the Chians should repair to the assembly so that he might give them a message from the king. When they had come together he said that the king was suspicious of the city on account of the Roman faction in it, but that he would be satisfied if they would deliver up their arms and give the children of their principal families as hostages. Seeing that their city was already in his hands they gave both. Zenobius sent them to Erythræ and told the Chians that the king would write to them directly.

[47] A letter came from Mithridates of the following tenor: “You favor the Romans even now, and many of your citizens are still sojourning with them. You are reaping the fruits of Roman property of which you do not make returns to us. Your trireme ran against and shook my ship in the battle before Rhodes. I willingly imputed that fault to the pilots alone, hoping that you would observe the rules of safety and remain my submissive subjects. Now you have secretly sent your chief men to Sulla, and you have never proved or declared that this was done without public authority, as was the duty of those who were not cooperating with them. Although my friends consider that those

who conspire against my government, and who intend to conspire against my person, ought to suffer death, I will let you off with a fine of 2000 talents.” Such was the purport of the letter. The Chians wanted to send legates to the king, but Zenobius would not allow it. As they were disarmed and had given up the children of their principal families, and a large barbarian army was in possession of the city, they groaned aloud, but they collected the temple ornaments and the women’s jewellery to the full amount of 2000 talents. When this sum had been made up Zenobius accused them of giving him short weight and summoned them to the theatre. Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theatre itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. Then he led the Chians one by one out of the theatre and put them in ships, the men separate from the women and children, and all treated with indignity by their barbarian captors. In this way they were dragged to Mithridates, who packed them off to Pontus on the Euxine. Such was the calamity that befell the citizens of Chios.

[48] When Zenobius approached Ephesus with his army, the citizens ordered him to leave his arms at the gates and come in with only a few attendants. He obeyed the order and made a visit to Philopœmen (the father of Monima, the favorite wife of Mithridates), whom the latter had appointed overseer of Ephesus, and summoned the Ephesians to the assembly. They expected nothing good from him, and adjourned the meeting till the next day. During the night, however, they met for mutual consultation and encouragement, after which they cast Zenobius into prison and put him to death. They then manned the walls, put the citizens in training, brought in supplies from the country, and put the city in a state of complete defence. When the people of Tralles, Hypæpa, Metropolis, and several other towns heard of this they feared lest they should meet the fate of Chios, and followed the example of Ephesus. Mithridates sent an army against the revolters and inflicted terrible punishments on those whom he captured, but as he feared other defections, he gave freedom to the Greek cities, proclaimed the cancelling of debts, gave the right of citizenship to all sojourners therein, and freed the slaves. He did this hoping (as indeed it turned out) that the debtors, sojourners, and slaves would consider their new privileges secure only under the rule of Mithridates, and would therefore be well disposed toward him. In the meantime Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Cleisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, all of them the king’s intimates (Asclepiodotus had once entertained him as a guest) joined in a conspiracy against Mithridates. Of this conspiracy Asclepiodotus himself became the informer, and in order to confirm his story he arranged that the king should conceal himself under a couch and hear what Mynnio said. The plot being thus revealed the conspirators were put to death with torture, and many others suffered from suspicion of similar designs. Thus eighty citizens of Pergamus were caught taking counsel together to like purpose, and others in other cities. The king sent spies everywhere who denounced their own enemies, and in this way about 1500 men lost their lives.

Some of these accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and put to death, others committed suicide, and still others took refuge with Mithridates himself in Pontus.

[49] While these events were taking place in Asia, Mithridates assembled an army of 80,000 men, which Dorylaeus led to Archelaus in Greece, who still had 10,000 of his former force remaining. Sulla had taken a position against Archelaus near Orchomenus. When he saw the great number of the enemy's horse coming up, he dug a number of ditches through the plain ten feet wide, and drew up his army to meet Archelaus when the latter advanced. The Romans fought badly because they were in terror of the enemy's cavalry. Sulla rode hither and thither a long time, encouraging and threatening his men. Failing to bring them up to their duty in this way, he leaped from his horse, seized a standard, ran out between the two armies with his shield-bearers, exclaiming, "If you are ever asked, Romans, where you abandoned Sulla, your general, say that it was at the battle of Orchomenus." When the officers saw his peril they darted from their own ranks to his aid, and the troops, moved by the sense of shame, followed and drove the enemy back in their turn. This was the beginning of the victory. Sulla again leaped upon his horse and rode among his troops praising and encouraging them until the end of the battle. The enemy lost 15,000 men, about 10,000 of whom were cavalry, and among them Diogenes, the son of Archelaus. The infantry fled to their camps.

[50] Sulla feared lest Archelaus should escape him again, because he had no ships, and take refuge in Chalcis as before. Accordingly he stationed night watchmen at intervals over the whole plain, and the next day he enclosed Archelaus with a ditch at a distance of less than 600 feet from his camp, to prevent his escape. Then he appealed to his army to finish the small remainder of the war, since the enemy were no longer even making show of resistance; and so he led them against the camp of Archelaus. Like scenes transpired among the enemy, with a change of feeling necessarily, the officers hurrying hither and thither, representing the imminent danger, and upbraiding the men if they should not be able to defend the camp against assailants inferior in numbers. There was a rush and a shout on each side, followed by many valiant deeds on the part of both. The Romans, protected by their shields, were demolishing a certain angle of the camp when the barbarians leaped down from the parapet inside and took their stand around this corner with drawn swords to ward off the invaders. No one dared to enter until the military tribune, Basillus, first leaped over and killed the man in front of him. Then the whole army dashed after him. The flight and slaughter of the barbarians followed. Some were captured and others driven into the neighboring lake, and, not knowing how to swim, perished while begging for mercy in barbarian speech, not understood by their slayers. Archelaus hid in a marsh, where he found a small boat by which he reached Chalcis. Whatever remained of the Mithridatean forces in separate detachments he summoned

thither with all speed.

CHAPTER VIII

Sulla declared a Public Enemy — Flaccus and Fimllria — Fimbria destroys Ilium — Mithridates sues for Peace — Sulla's Answer — Terms of the Treaty offered by Sulla — Mithridates delays and Sulla marches to Asia — A Personal Conference — What Sulla said to Mithridates — Mithridates accepts the Terms

[51] The next day Sulla decorated the tribune, Basillus, and gave rewards for valor to others. He ravaged Boeotia which was continually changing from one side to the other, and then moved to Thessaly and went into winter quarters, and waited for Lucullus and his fleet. As he had no tidings of Lucullus he began to build ships for himself. At this juncture Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, his rivals at home, caused him to be declared an enemy of the Roman people, destroyed his houses in the city and the country, and murdered his friends. This, however, did not weaken him in the least, since he had a zealous and devoted army. Cinna sent Flaccus, whom he had caused to be chosen as his colleague in the consulship, to Asia with two legions to take charge of that province and of the Mithridatic war in place of Sulla, who was now declared a public enemy. As Flaccus was inexperienced in the art of war, a man of senatorial rank named Fimbria, who was skilled in military affairs, accompanied him as a volunteer. As they were sailing from Brundisium many of their ships were destroyed by a tempest, and some that had gone in advance were burned by a new army that had been sent forward by Mithridates. Moreover, Flaccus was a rascal, and, being severe in punishments and greedy of gain, was hated by the whole army. Accordingly, a part of them who had been sent ahead into Thessaly went over to Sulla, but Fimbria kept the rest of them from deserting, because they considered him more humane and a better general than Flaccus. (Y.R. 669)

[52] Once while he was at an inn he had a dispute with the quæstor about their lodgings. Flaccus, who acted as arbiter between them, showed little consideration for Fimbria, and the latter was vexed and threatened to go back to Rome. Accordingly Flaccus appointed a successor to perform the duties which he then had charge of. Fimbria watched his opportunity, and when Flaccus had sailed for Chalcedon he first took the fasces away from Thermus, whom Flaccus had left as his prætor, as though the army had conferred the command upon himself, and when Flaccus returned soon afterward and was angry with him, Fimbria compelled him to fly. Flaccus took refuge in a certain house and in the night-time climbed over the wall and fled first to Chalcedon and afterward to Nicomedia, and closed the gates of the city. Fimbria overcame the place, found him concealed in a well, and killed him, although he was a Roman consul and the commanding officer of this war, and Fimbria himself was only a private citizen who had (B.C. 85) gone with him as an invited

friend. Fimbria cut off his head and flung it into the sea, and left the remainder of his body unburied. Then he appointed himself commander of the army and fought several successful battles with the son of Mithridates. He drove the king himself into Pergamus. The latter escaped from Pergamus to Pitane. Fimbria followed him and began to enclose the place with a ditch. Then the king fled to Mitylene on a ship.

[53] Fimbria traversed the province of Asia, punished the Cappadocian faction, and devastated the territory of the towns that did not open their gates to him. The inhabitants of Ilium, who were besieged by Fimbria, appealed to Sulla for aid. The latter said that he would come, and told them to say to Fimbria meanwhile that they had intrusted themselves to Sulla. Fimbria, when he heard this, congratulated them on being already friends of the Roman people, and ordered them to admit him within their walls because he also was a Roman. He spoke in an ironical way also of the relationship existing between Ilium and Rome. When he was admitted he made an indiscriminate slaughter and burned the whole town. Those who had been in communication with Sulla he tortured in various ways. He spared neither the sacred objects nor the persons who had fled to the temple of Athena, but burned them with the temple itself. He demolished the walls, and the next day made a search to see whether anything of the place was left standing. So much worse was the city now treated by one of its relations than it had been by Agamemnon, that not a house, not a temple, not a statue was left. Some say that the image of Athena, called the Palladium, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, was then found unbroken, the falling walls having formed an arch over it; and this may be true unless Diomedes and Ulysses carried it away from Ilium during the Trojan war. Thus was Ilium destroyed by Fimbria at the close of the 173d Olympiad. Some people think that 1050 years had intervened between this calamity and that which it suffered at the hands of Agamemnon.

[54] When Mithridates heard of his defeat at Orchomenus he reflected on the immense number of men he had sent into Greece from the beginning, and the continual and swift disaster that had overtaken them. Accordingly, he sent word to Archelaus to make peace on the best terms possible. The latter had an interview with Sulla in which he said, "King Mithridates was your father's friend, O Sulla. He became involved in this war through the rapacity of other Roman generals. He will avail himself of your virtuous character to make peace, if you will grant him fair terms." As Sulla had no ships; as his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw; as he had already spent the money which he had taken from the Pythian, Olympian, and Epidauric temples, in return for which he had assigned to them half of the territory of Thebes on account of its frequent defections; and because he was in a hurry to lead his army fresh and unimpaired against the hostile faction at home, he assented to the proposal, and said, "If injustice was done to Mithridates, O Archelaus, he ought to have

sent an embassy to show how he was wronged, instead of which he put himself in the wrong by overrunning such a vast territory belonging to others, killing such a vast number of people, seizing the public and sacred funds of cities, and confiscating the private property of those whom he destroyed. He has been just as perfidious to his own friends as to us, many of whom he has put to death, including the tetrarchs whom he had brought together at a banquet, and their wives and children, although they had committed no hostile act. Toward us he was moved by an inborn enmity rather than by any necessity for war, visiting every possible calamity upon the Italians throughout Asia, torturing and murdering all of our race, together with their wives, children, and servants. Such hatred did this man bear toward Italy, who now pretends friendship for my father! — a friendship which ye did not call to mind until I had destroyed 160,000 of your troops.

[55] “Instead of treating for peace we ought to be absolutely implacable toward him, but for your sake I will undertake to obtain his pardon from Rome if he actually repents. But if he is playing the hypocrite again, I advise you, Archelaus, to look out for yourself. Consider how matters stand at present between you and him. Bear in mind how he has treated his other friends and how we treated Eumenes and Masinissa.” While he was yet speaking, Archelaus rejected the offer with indignation, saying that he would never betray one who had put an army under his command. “I hope,” he said, “to come to an agreement with you if you offer moderate terms.” After a short interval Sulla said, “If Mithridates will deliver to us the entire fleet in your possession; if he will surrender our generals and ambassadors and all prisoners, deserters, and runaway slaves, and send back to their homes the people of Chios and all others whom he has dragged off to Pontus; if he will remove his garrison from all places except those that he held before the outbreak of hostilities; if he will pay the cost of the war incurred on his account, and remain content with his ancestral dominions, — I shall hope to persuade the Romans not to remember the injuries he has done them.” Such were the terms which he offered. Archelaus at once withdrew his garrison from all the places he held and referred the other conditions to the king. In order to make use of his leisure in the meantime, Sulla marched against the Eneti, the Dardani, and the Sinti, tribes on the border of Macedonia, who were continually invading that country, and devastated their territory. In this way he exercised his soldiers and enriched them at the same time. (Y.R. 670)

[56] The ambassadors of Mithridates returned with ratifications of all the terms except those relating to Paphlagonia, and they added that Mithridates could obtain better conditions, “if he should negotiate with your other general, Fimbria.” Sulla was indignant that he should be brought into such comparison and said that he would bring Fimbria to punishment, and would go himself to Asia and see whether Mithridates wanted peace or war. Having spoken thus he marched through Thrace to Cypsella after having sent Lucullus forward to Abydus, for Lucullus had arrived at last, having run the risk of capture by

pirates several times. He had collected a sort of a fleet composed of ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia, and had ravaged much of the enemy's coast, and had skirmished with the ships of Mithridates on the way. Then Sulla advanced from Cypsella and Mithridates from Pergamus, and (B.C. 84) they met in a conference. Each went with a small force to a plain in sight of the two armies. Mithridates began by discoursing of his own and his father's friendship and alliance with the Romans. Then he accused the Roman ambassadors, committeemen, and generals of doing him injuries by putting Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, depriving him of Phrygia, and allowing Nicomedes to wrong him. "And all this," he said, "they did for money, taking it from me and from them by turns; for there is nothing of which most of you are so liable to accusation, O Romans, as the love of lucre. When war had broken out through the acts of your generals all that I did was in self-defence, and was the result of necessity rather than of intention."

[57] When Mithridates had ceased speaking Sulla replied: "Although you called us here," he said, "for a different purpose, namely, to accept our terms of peace, I shall not refuse to speak briefly of those matters. I restored Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia by decree of the Senate when I was governor in Cilicia, and you obeyed the decree. You ought to have opposed it and given your reasons then, or forever after held your peace. Manius gave Phrygia to you for a bribe, which was a crime on the part of both of you. By the very fact of your getting it by bribery you confess that you had no right to it. Manius was tried at Rome for other acts that he had done for money and the Senate annulled them all. For this reason they decided, not that Phrygia, which had been given to you wrongfully, should be made tributary to Rome, but should be free. If we who had taken it by war did not think best to govern it, by what right could you hold it? Nicomedes charges that you sent against him an assassin named Alexander, and then Socrates Chrestus, a rival claimant of the kingdom, and that it was to avenge these wrongs that he invaded your territory. However, if he wronged you, you ought to have sent an embassy to Rome and waited for an answer. But although you took swift vengeance on Nicomedes, why did you attack Ariobarzanes, who had not harmed you? When you drove him out of his kingdom you imposed upon the Romans, who were there, the necessity of putting him back. By preventing them from doing so you brought on the war. You had meditated war a long time, because you hoped to rule the whole world if you could conquer the Romans, and the reasons you tell of were mere pretexts to cover your real intent. The proof of this is that you, although not yet at war with any nation, sought the alliance of the Thracians, Sarmatians, and Scythians, sought aid from the neighboring kings, built a navy, and enlisted pilots and helmsmen.

[58] "The time you chose convicts you of treachery most of all. When you heard that Italy had revolted from us you seized the occasion when we were occupied to fall upon Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, Galatia, and Paphlagonia, and finally upon our Asiatic province. When you had taken them you

committed all sorts of outrages on the cities, appointing slaves and debtors to rule over some of them, and freeing slaves and cancelling debts in others. In the Greek cities you destroyed 1600 men on one false accusation. You brought the tetrarchs of Galatia together at a banquet and slew them. You butchered or drowned all residents of Italian blood in one day, including mothers and babes, not sparing even those who had fled to the temples. What cruelty, what impiety, what boundless hate did you exhibit toward us! After you had confiscated the property of all your victims you crossed over to Europe with great armies, although we had forbidden the invasion of Europe to all the kings of Asia. You overran our province of Macedonia and deprived the Greeks of their freedom. Nor did you begin to repent and tell Archelaus to intercede for you, until I had recovered Macedonia and delivered Greece from your grasp, and destroyed 160,000 of your soldiers, and taken your camps with all their belongings. I am astonished that you should now seek to justify the acts for which you asked pardon through Archelaus. If you feared me at a distance, do you think that I have come into your neighborhood to have a debate with you? The time for that passed by when you took up arms against us, and we vigorously repelled your assaults and repelled them to the end.” While Sulla was still speaking with vehemence the king yielded to his fears and consented to the terms that had been offered through Archelaus. He delivered up the ships and everything else that had been required, and went back to his paternal kingdom of Pontus as his sole possession. And thus the first war between Mithridates and the Romans came to an end.

CHAPTER IX

Sulla demands the Surrender of Fimbria — Suicide of Fimbria — Sulla settles the Affairs of Asia — His Speech to the People — Imposes Five Years' Taxes and the Cost of the War — Piracy in the Mediterranean — Second Mithridatic War — The Aggressions of Murena — Mithridates appeals to Rome — Attacks and defeats Murena — Sulla puts a Stop to the War

[59] Sulla now advanced within two stades of Fimbria and ordered him to deliver up his army since he held the command contrary to law. Fimbria replied jestingly that Sulla himself did not now hold a lawful command. Sulla drew a line of circumvallation around Fimbria, and many of the latter's soldiers deserted openly. Fimbria called the rest of them together and urged them to stand by him. When they refused to fight against their fellow-citizens he rent his garments and besought them man by man. As they still turned away from him, and still more of them deserted, he went around among the tents of the tribunes, bought some of them with money, called these to the assembly again, and got them to swear that they would stand by him. Those who had been suborned exclaimed that all ought to be called up by name to take the oath. He summoned those who were under obligations to him for past favors. The first name called was that of Nonius, who had been his close companion. When even he refused to take the oath Fimbria drew his sword and threatened to kill him, and would have done so had he not been alarmed by the outcry of the others and compelled to desist. Then he hired a slave, with money and the promise of freedom, to go to Sulla as a pretended deserter and assassinate him. As the slave was nearing his task he became frightened, and thus fell under suspicion; was arrested and confessed. Sulla's soldiers who were stationed around Fimbria's camp were filled with anger and contempt for him. They reviled him and nicknamed him Athenio — a man who was once a king of fugitive slaves in Sicily for a few days.

[60] Thereupon Fimbria in despair went to the line of circumvallation and asked for a colloquy with Sulla. The latter sent Rutilius instead. Fimbria was disappointed at the outset that he was not deemed worthy of an interview, although it had been given to the enemy. When he begged pardon for an offence due to his youth, Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him to go away in safety by sea if he would take ship from the province of Asia, of which Sulla was proconsul. Fimbria said that he had another and better route. He went to Pergamus, entered into the temple of Æsculapius, and stabbed himself with his sword. As the wound was not mortal he ordered a slave to drive the weapon in. The latter killed his master and then himself. So perished Fimbria, who next to Mithridates had most sorely afflicted Asia. Sull gave his body to his freedmen for burial, adding that he would not imitate Cinna and Marius, who had deprived many in Rome of their lives and of burial after

death. The army of Fimbria came over to him, and he exchanged pledges with it and joined it with his own. Then he directed Curio to restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia and reported everything to the Senate, ignoring the fact that he had been voted an enemy.

[61] Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had bravely suffered on his account, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. Then he distributed his army among the remaining towns and issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, several massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished, and especially the Ephesians, who, with servile adulation of the king, had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with indignity. After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows: —

[62] “We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus. We did not retain possession of you when we had delivered you from him, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries, but as clients. The proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we deprived them of their authority. Such was our conduct toward you. You, on the other hand, when Attalus Philometor had left his kingdom to us in his will, gave aid to Aristonicus against us for four years. When he was captured most of you, under the impulse of necessity and fear, returned to your duty. Notwithstanding all this, after a period of twenty-four years, during which you had attained to great prosperity and embellishment, public and private, you again became puffed up by ease and luxury and took the opportunity, while we were preoccupied in Italy, some of you to call in Mithridates and others to join him when he came. Most infamous of all, you obeyed the order he gave to kill all the Italians in your communities, including women and children, in one day. You did not even spare those who fled to the temples dedicated to your own gods. You have received some punishment for this crime from Mithridates himself, who broke faith with you and gave you your fill of rapine and slaughter, redistributed your lands, cancelled debts, freed your slaves, appointed tyrants over some of you, and committed robberies everywhere by land and sea; so that you learned immediately by experiment and comparison what kind of defender you chose instead of your former ones. The instigators of these crimes paid some penalty to us also. It is necessary, too, that some penalty

should be inflicted upon you in common, as you have been guilty in common, and something corresponding to your deserts. But may the Romans never even conceive of impious slaughter, indiscriminate confiscation, servile insurrections, or other acts of barbarism. I shall spare even now the Greek race and name so celebrated throughout Asia, and for the sake of that fair repute that is ever dear to the Romans I shall only impose upon you the taxes of five years, to be paid at once, together with the cost of the war expended by me, and whatever else may be spent in settling the affairs of the province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies.”

[63] After he had thus spoken Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbors, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus was the money collected and brought to Sulla. The province of Asia had her fill of misery. She was assailed openly by a vast number of pirates, resembling regular fleets rather than robber bands. Mithridates had first fitted them out at the time when he was ravaging all the coasts, thinking he could not long hold these regions. Their numbers had then greatly increased, and they did not confine them-selves to ships alone, but openly attacked harbors, castles, and cities. They captured lassus, Samos, and Clazomenæ, also Samothrace, where Sulla was staying at the time, and it was said that they robbed the temple at that place of ornaments valued at 1000 talents. Sulla, willing perhaps that those who had offended him should be maltreated, or because he was in haste to put down the hostile faction in Rome, left them and sailed for Greece, and thence passed on to Italy with the greater part of his army. What he did there I have related in my history of the civil wars. (Y.R. 671)

[64] The second Mithridatic war began in this way. Murena, who had been left by Sulla with Fimbria's two legions to settle affairs of the rest of Asia, sought trifling pretexts for war, being ambitious of a triumph. Mithridates, after his return to Pontus, went to war with the Colchians and the tribes around the Cimmerian Bosphorus who had revolted from him. The Colchians asked him to give them his son, Mithridates, as their ruler, and when he did so they at once returned to their allegiance. The king (B.C. 83) suspected that this was brought about by his son through his own ambition to be king. Accordingly he sent for him and first bound him with golden fetters, and soon afterward put him to death, although he had served him well in Asia in the battles with Fimbria. Against the tribes of the Bosphorus he built a fleet and fitted out a large army. The magnitude of his preparations gave rise to the belief that they were made not against those tribes, but against the Romans, for he had not yet restored the whole of Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but still retained a part of it. He also had suspicions of Archelaus. He thought that the

latter had yielded more than was necessary to Sulla in his negotiations in Greece. When Archelaus heard of this he became alarmed and fled to Murena, and by working on him persuaded him to anticipate Mithridates in beginning hostilities. Murena marched suddenly through Cappadocia and attacked Comana, a very large country town belonging to Mithridates, with a rich and renowned temple, and killed some of the king's cavalry. When the king's ambassadors appealed to the treaty he replied that he saw no treaty; for Sulla had not written it out, but had gone away after the terms had been fulfilled by acts. When Murena had delivered his answer he began robbing forthwith, not sparing the money of the temples, and he went into winter quarters in Cappadocia. (Y.R. 672)

[65] Mithridates sent an embassy to the Senate and to Sulla to complain of the acts of Murena. The latter, meantime, had passed over the river Halys, which was then swollen by rains and very difficult to cross. He captured 400 villages belonging to Mithridates. The king offered no opposition, but waited for the return of his embassy. Murena returned to Phrygia and Galatia loaded down with plunder. There he met Calidius, who had been sent from Rome on account of the complaints of Mithridates. Calidius did not bring a decree of the Senate, but he declared in the hearing of all that the Senate ordered him not to molest the king, as he had not broken the treaty. After he had thus spoken he was seen talking to Murena alone. Murena abated nothing of his violence, but again invaded the territory of Mithridates. The latter, thinking that open war had been ordered by the Romans, directed his (B.C. 82) general, Gordius, to retaliate on their villages. Gordius straightway seized and carried off a large number of animals and other property and men, both private citizens and soldiers, and took position against Murena himself, with a river flowing between them. Neither of them began the fight until Mithridates came up with a larger army, when a severe engagement immediately took place on the banks of the river. Mithridates prevailed, crossed the river, and got the better of Murena decidedly. The latter retreated to a strong hill where the king attacked him. After losing many men Murena fled over the mountains to Phrygia by a pathless route, severely harassed by the missiles of the enemy.

[66] The news of this brilliant and decisive victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to Mithridates. The latter drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadæ) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country. Sulla thought that it was not

right to make war against Mithridates when he had not violated the treaty. Accordingly, Aulus Gabinius was sent to tell Murena that the former order, that he should not fight Mithridates, was to be taken seriously, and to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes with each other. At a conference between them Mithridates betrothed his little daughter, four years old, to Ariobarzanes, and improved the occasion to stipulate that he should not only retain that part of Cappadocia which he then held, but have another part in addition. Then he gave a banquet to all, with prizes of gold for those who (Y.R. 673) should excel in drinking, eating, jesting, singing, and so (B.C. 81) forth, as was customary, in which Gabinius was the only one who did not engage. Thus the second war between Mithridates and the Romans, lasting about three years, came to an end.

CHAPTER X

New Troubles brewing — Mithridates forms an Alliance with Sertorius and prepares for War — Makes a Speech to his Troops — Invades Bithynia

(Y.R. 674)

[67] As Mithridates was now at leisure he subdued the (B.C. 80) tribes of the Bosporus and appointed Machares, one of his sons, king over them. Then he fell upon the Achæans beyond Colchis (who are supposed to be descended from those who lost their way when returning from the Trojan war), but lost two divisions of his army, partly by open war, partly by the severity of the climate, and partly by stratagem. When he returned home he sent ambassadors to Rome to sign the agreements. At the same time Ariobarzanes, either of his own notion or at the prompting of others, sent thither to complain that Cappadocia had not been delivered up to him, but that a greater part of it was yet retained by Mithridates. Sulla commanded Mithridates to give up Cappadocia. He did so, and then sent another embassy to sign the agreements. But now Sulla had just (Y.R. 676) died, and as the Senate was otherwise occupied the prætors (B.C. 78) did not admit them. So Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law, Tigranes, to make an incursion into Cappadocia as though it were on his own account. This artifice did not deceive the Romans. The Armenian king threw, as it were, a drag net around Cappadocia and made a haul of about 300,000 people, whom he carried off to his own country and settled them, with others, in a certain place where he had first assumed the diadem of Armenia and which he had called after himself, Tigranocerta, or the city of Tigranes.

[68] While these things were taking place in Asia Sertorius, the governor of Spain, incited that province and all the neighboring country to rebel against the Romans, and (Y.R. 679) selected from his associates a senate in imitation of that (B.C. 75) of Rome. Two members of his faction, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, proposed to Mithridates to ally himself with Sertorius, holding out the hope that he would acquire a large part of the province of Asia and of the neighboring nations. Mithridates fell in with this suggestion and sent ambassadors to Sertorius. The latter introduced them to his senate and felicitated himself that his fame had extended to Pontus, and that he could now besiege the Roman power in both the Orient and the Occident. So he made a treaty with Mithridates to give him Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, and sent Marcus Varius to him as a general and the two Luciuses, Magius and Fannius, as counsellors. With their assistance Mithridates began his third and last war against the Romans, in the course of which he lost his entire kingdom, and Sertorius lost his life in Spain. Two generals were sent against Mithridates from Rome; the first, Lucullus, the same who had served as prefect of the fleet under Sulla; the second, Pompey,

by whom the whole of his dominions, and the adjoining territory as far as the river Euphrates, under the pretext and impetus of the Mithridatic war, were brought under Roman sway.

[69] Mithridates had been in collision with the Romans so often that he knew that this war, so inexcusably and hastily begun, would be an implacable one. He made every preparation with the thought that all was at stake. The remainder of the summer and the whole of the winter he spent in cutting timber, building ships, and making arms. He distributed 2,000,000 medimni of corn along the coast. Besides his former forces he had for allies the Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Taurians, Achæans, Heniochi, Leucosyrians, and those who occupy the territory about the river Thermodon, called the country of the Amazons. These additions to his former strength were from Asia. From Europe he drew of the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidæ and the Jazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Hæmus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnæ, the bravest nation of all. Altogether Mithridates recruited a fighting force of about 140,000 foot and 16,000 horse. A great crowd of road-makers, baggage-carriers, and sutlers followed. (Y.R. 680)

[70] At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial (B.C. 74) of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea. Then he hastened against Paphlagonia with his two generals, Taxiles and Hermocrates, in command of his army. When he arrived there he made a speech to his soldiers, eulogistic of his ancestors and still more so of himself, showing how his kingdom had grown to greatness from small beginnings, and how his army had never been defeated by the Romans when he was present. He accused the Romans of avarice and lust of power "to such an extent," he said, "that they had enslaved Italy and Rome itself." He accused them of bad faith respecting the last and still existing treaty, saying that they were not willing to sign it because they were watching for an opportunity to violate it again. After thus setting forth the cause of the war he dwelt upon the composition of his army and his apparatus, upon the preoccupation of the Romans, who were waging a difficult war with Sertorius in Spain, and were torn with civil dissensions throughout Italy, "for which reason," he said, "they have allowed the sea to be overrun by pirates a long time, and have not a single ally, nor any subjects who still obey them willingly. Do you not see," he added, "some of their noblest citizens (pointing to Varius and the two Luciuses) at war with their own country and allied with us?"

[71] When he had finished speaking and exciting his army, he invaded Bithynia. Nicomedes had lately died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Cotta, its governor, was a man altogether unwarlike. He fled to Chalcedon with what force he had. Thus Bithynia again passed under the rule of Mithridates. The Romans from all directions flocked to Cotta at Chalcedon. When Mithridates advanced to that place Cotta did not go out to meet him

because he was inexperienced in military affairs, but his naval prefect, Nudus, with a part of the army occupied a very strong position on the plain. He was driven out of it, however, and fled to the gates of Chalcedon over many walls which greatly obstructed his movement. There was a struggle at the gates among those trying to gain entrance simultaneously, for which reason no missile cast by the pursuers missed its mark. The guards at the gates, fearing for the city, let down the gate from the machine. Nudus and some of the other officers were drawn up by ropes. The remainder perished between their friends and their foes, holding out their hands in entreaty to each. Mithridates made good use of his success. He moved his ships up to the harbor the same day, broke the brazen chain that closed the entrance, burned four of the enemy's ships, and towed the remaining sixty away. Nudus offered no resistance, nor Cotta, for they remained shut up inside the walls. The Roman loss was about 3000, including Lucius Manlius, a man of senatorial rank. Mithridates lost twenty of his Bastarnæ, who were the first to break into the harbor.

CHAPTER XI

Lucullus takes the Command against him and cuts off his Supplies at Cyzicus — Mithridates besieges Cyzicus — Valiant Defence of the City — Famine in the Besieging Army — Flight of Mithridates — Lucullus pursues — Mithridates suffers Shipwreck

[72] Lucius Lucullus, who had been chosen consul and general for this war, led one legion of soldiers from Rome, joined with it the two of Fimbria, and added two others, making in all 30,000 foot and 1600 horse, with which he pitched his camp near that of Mithridates at Cyzicus. When he learned from deserters that the king's army contained about 300,000 men and that all his supplies were furnished by foragers or came by sea, he said to those around him that he would presently reduce the enemy without fighting, and he told them to remember his promise. Seeing a mountain well suited for a camp, where he could readily obtain supplies, and could cut off those of the enemy, he moved forward to occupy it in order to gain a victory by that means without danger. There was only one narrow pass leading to it, and Mithridates held it by a strong guard. He had been advised to do so by Taxiles and his other officers. Lucius Magius, who had brought about the alliance between Sertorius and Mithridates, now that Sertorius was dead, opened secret communications with Lucullus, and having secured pledges from him persuaded Mithridates to allow the Romans to pass through and encamp where they pleased. "The two legions of Fimbria," he said, "want to desert, and will come over to you directly. What is the use of a battle and bloodshed when you can conquer the enemy without fighting?" Mithridates assented to this advice heedlessly and without suspicion. He allowed the Romans to go through the pass unmolested and to fortify the great hill on his front. When they had possessed themselves of it they were able to draw supplies from their rear without difficulty. Mithridates, on the other hand, was cut off by a lake, by mountains, and by rivers, from all provisions on the landward side, except an occasional supply secured with difficulty; he had no easy way out and he could not overcome Lucullus on account of the difficulty of the ground, which he had disregarded when he himself had the advantage. Moreover, winter was now approaching and would soon interrupt his supplies by sea. As Lucullus looked over the situation he reminded his friends of his promise, and showed them that his prediction was practically accomplished.

[73] Although Mithridates might perhaps even now have been able to break through the enemy's lines by force of numbers, he neglected to do so, but pressed the siege of Cyzicus with the apparatus he had prepared, thinking that he should find a remedy in this way both for the badness of his position and for his want of supplies. As he had plenty of soldiers he pushed the siege in every possible way. He blockaded the harbor with a double sea wall and drew

a line of circumvallation around the rest of the city. He raised mounds, built machines, towers, and rams protected by tortoises. He constructed a siege engine 100 cubits high, from which rose another tower furnished with catapults discharging stones and various kinds of missiles. Two quinqueremes joined together carried another tower against the port, from which a bridge could be projected by a mechanical device when brought near the wall. When all was in readiness he first sent against the city on ships 3000 inhabitants of Cyzicus whom he had taken prisoners. These raised their hands toward the wall in supplication and besought their fellow-citizens to spare them in their dangerous position, but Pisistratus, the Cyzicean general, proclaimed from the walls that as they were in the enemy's hands they must meet their fate bravely.

[74] When this attempt had failed Mithridates brought up the machine erected on the ships and suddenly projected the bridge upon the wall and four of his men ran across. The Cyziceans were at first dumbfounded by the novelty of the device and gave way somewhat, but as the rest of the enemy were slow in following, they plucked up courage and thrust the four over the wall. Then they poured burning pitch on the ships and compelled them to back out stern foremost with the machine. In this way the Cyziceans beat off the invaders by sea. Three times on the same day all the machines on the landward side were massed against the toiling citizens, who flew this way and that way to meet the constantly renewed assault. They broke the rams with stones, or turned them aside with nooses, or deadened their blows with baskets of wool. They extinguished the enemy's fire-bearing missiles with water and vinegar, and broke the force of others by means of garments suspended or linen cloth stretched before them. In short, they left nothing untried that was within the compass of human zeal. Although they toiled most perseveringly, yet a portion of the wall, that had been weakened by fire, gave way toward evening; but on account of the heat nobody was in a hurry to dash in. The Cyziceans built another wall around it that night, and about this time a tremendous wind came and smashed the rest of the king's machines.

[75] It is said that the city of Cyzicus was given by Zeus to Proserpina by way of dowry, and that of all the gods the inhabitants have most veneration for her. Her festival now came around, on which they are accustomed to sacrifice a black heifer to her, and as they had none they made one of paste. Just then a black heifer swam to them from the sea, dived under the chain at the mouth of the harbor, walked into the city, found her own way to the temple, and took her place by the altar. The Cyziceans sacrificed her with joyful hopes. Thereupon the friends of Mithridates advised him to sail away from the place since it was sacred, but he would not do so. He ascended Mount Dindymus, which overhung the city, and built a mound extending from it to the city walls, on which he constructed towers, and, at the same time, undermined the wall with tunnels. As his horses were not useful here, and were weak for want of food and had sore hoofs, he sent them by a roundabout way to Bithynia. Lucullus fell upon them as they were crossing the river Rhyndacus, killed a

large number, and captured 15,000 men, 6000 horses, and a large amount of baggage. While these things were transpiring at Cyzicus Eumachus, one of Mithridates' generals, overran Phrygia and killed a great many Romans, with their wives and children, subjugated the Pisidians and the Isaurians and also Cilicia. Finally Deïotarus, one of the tetrarchs of Galatia, drove the marauder away and slew many of his men. Such was the course of events in and around Phrygia.

[76] When winter came Mithridates was deprived of his supplies by sea, if he had any, so that his whole army suffered from hunger, and many of them died. There were some who ate the entrails according to a barbarian custom. Others were made sick by subsisting on herbs. Moreover the corpses that were thrown out in the neighborhood unburied brought on a plague in addition to that caused by famine. Nevertheless Mithridates continued his efforts, hoping still to capture Cyzicus by means of the mounds extending from Mount Dindymus. But when the Cyziceans undermined them and burned the machines on them, and made frequent sallies upon his forces, knowing that they were weakened by want of food, Mithridates began to think of flight. He fled by night, going himself with his fleet to Parus, and his army by land to Lampsacus. Many lost their lives in crossing the river Æsepus, which was then greatly swollen, and where Lucullus attacked them. Thus the Cyziceans escaped the vast siege preparations of the king by means of their own bravery and of the famine that Lucullus brought upon the enemy. They instituted games (Y.R. 681) in his honor, which they celebrate to this day, called the (B.C. 73) Lucullan games. Mithridates sent ships for those who had taken refuge in Lampsacus, where they were besieged by Lucullus, and carried them away, together with the Lampsaceans themselves. Leaving 10,000 picked men and fifty ships under Varius (the general sent to him by Sertorius), and Alexander the Paphlagonian, and Dionysius the eunuch, he sailed with the bulk of his force for Nicomedia. A storm came up in which many of both divisions perished.

[77] When Lucullus had accomplished this result on land by starving his enemies, he collected a fleet from the Asiatic province and distributed it to the generals serving under him. Trirarius sailed to Apamea, captured it, and slew a great many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the temples. Barba took Prusias, situated at the base of a mountain, and occupied Nicæa, which had been abandoned by the Mithridatic garrison. At the harbor of the Achæans Lucullus captured thirteen of the enemy's ships. He overtook Varius and Alexander and Dionysius on a barren island near Lemnos (where the altar of Philoctetes is shown with the brazen serpent, the bows, and the breastplate bound with fillets, to remind us of the sufferings of that hero), and dashed at them in a contemptuous manner. They stoutly held their ground. He checked his oarsmen and sent his ships toward them by twos in order to entice them out to sea. As they declined the challenge, but continued to defend themselves on land, he sent a part of his fleet around to another side of the island,

disembarked a force of infantry, and drove the enemy to their ships. Still they did not venture out to sea, but hugged the shore, because they were afraid of the army of Lucullus. Thus they were exposed to missiles on both sides, landward and seaward, and received a great many wounds, and after heavy slaughter took to flight. Varius, Alexander, and Dionysius the eunuch were captured in a cave where they had concealed themselves. Dionysius drank poison which he had with him and immediately expired. Lucullus gave orders that Varius be put to death, since he did not want to have his triumph graced by a Roman senator, but he kept Alexander for that purpose. Lucullus sent letters wreathed with L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS In the Museum of the Hermitage (Duruy) laurel to Rome, as is the custom of victors, and then pressed forward to Bithynia.

[78] As Mithridates was sailing to Pontus a second tempest overtook him and he lost about 10,000 men and sixty ships, and the remainder were scattered wherever the wind blew them. His own ship sprang a leak and he went aboard a small piratical craft although his friends tried to dissuade him. The pirates landed him safely at Sinope. From that place he was towed to Amisus, whence he sent appeals to his son-in-law, Tigranes the Armenian, and his son, Machares, the ruler of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, that they should hasten to his assistance. He ordered Diocles to take a large quantity of gold and other presents to the neighboring Scythians, but Diodes took the gold and the (Y.R. 682) presents and deserted to Lucullus. Lucullus moved to (B.C. 72) the front with the prestige of victory, subduing everything in his path and subsisting on the country. Presently he came to a rich district, exempt from the ravages of war, where a slave was sold for four drachmas, an ox for one, and goats, sheep, clothing, and other things in proportion. Lucullus laid siege to Amisus and also to Eupatoria, which Mithridates had built alongside of Amisus and named after himself and where he had fixed the royal residence. With another army he besieged Themiscyra, which is named after one of the Amazons and is situated on the river Thermodon. The besiegers of this place brought up towers, built mounds, and dug tunnels so large that great subterranean battles could be fought in them. The inhabitants cut openings into these tunnels from above and thrust bears and other wild animals and swarms of bees into them against the workers. Those who were besieging Amisus suffered in other ways. The inhabitants repelled them bravely, made frequent sallies, and often challenged them to single combat. Mithridates sent them plenty of supplies and arms and soldiers from Cabira, where he wintered and collected a new army. Here he brought together about 40,000 foot and 4000 horse.

CHAPTER XII

Second Campaign of Lucullus against Mithridates — Crosses a Mountain Range — A Panic in the Camp of Mithridates — Mithridates takes Refuge with Tigranes — Lucullus regulates the Pontic Cities — Demands the Surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes — Marches against Tigranes — Besieges Tigranocerta Battle of Tigranocerta — Total Defeat of Tigranes Capture of Tigranocerta

(Y.R. 683)

[79] When spring came Lucullus marched over the mountains against Mithridates, who had stationed advanced posts to hinder his approach, and to start signal fires whenever anything important should happen. He appointed a member of the royal family, named Phœnix, commander of this advance guard. When Lucullus drew near, Phœnix gave the fire-signal to Mithridates and then deserted to Lucullus with his forces. Lucullus now passed over the mountains without difficulty and came down to Cabira, but was beaten by Mithridates in a cavalry engagement and retreated again to the mountain. Pomponius, his master of horse, was wounded and taken prisoner and brought to the presence of Mithridates. The king asked him what favor he (Pomponius) could render him for sparing his life. Pomponius replied, "A great one if you make peace with Lucullus, but if you continue his enemy I will not even consider your question." The barbarians wanted to put him to death, but the king said that he would not do violence to bravery overtaken by misfortune. He drew out his forces for battle several days in succession, but Lucullus would not come down and fight; so he looked about for some way to come at him by ascending the mountain. At this juncture a Scythian, named Olcaba, who had deserted to Lucullus sometime before and had saved the lives of many in the recent cavalry fight, and for that reason was deemed worthy to share Lucullus' table, his confidence, and his secrets, came to his tent while he was taking his noonday rest and tried to force his way in. He was wearing a short dagger in his belt as was his custom. When he was prevented from entering he became angry and said that there was a pressing necessity that the general should be aroused. The servants replied that there was nothing more useful to Lucullus than his safety. Thereupon the Scythian mounted his horse and (B.C. 71) went immediately to Mithridates, either because he had plotted against Lucullus and now thought that he was suspected, or because he considered himself insulted and was angry on that account. He exposed to Mithridates another Scythian, named Sobdacus, who was about to desert to Lucullus. Sobdacus was accordingly arrested.

[80] Lucullus hesitated about going down directly to the plain since the enemy was so much superior in horse, nor could he discover any way around, but he found a hunter in a cave who was familiar with the mountain paths.

With him for a guide he made a circuitous descent by rugged paths over Mithridates' head. He avoided the plain on account of the cavalry, and came down and chose a place for his camp where he had a mountain stream on his front. As he was short of supplies he sent to Cappadocia for corn, and in the meantime had frequent skirmishes with the enemy. Once when the royal forces were put to flight Mithridates came running to them from his camp and, with reproachful words, rallied them to such good purpose that the Romans became terrified in turn and fled up the mountain side with such swiftness that they did not know for a long time that the hostile force had desisted from the pursuit, but each one thought that the fleeing comrade behind him was an enemy, so great was the panic that had overtaken them. Mithridates sent bulletins everywhere announcing this victory. He then sent a detachment composed of the bravest of his horse to intercept the convoy that was bringing supplies from Cappadocia to Lucullus, hoping to bring upon him the same scarcity of provisions from which he had himself suffered at Cyzicus.

[81] It was his great object to cut off Lucullus' supplies, which were drawn from Cappadocia alone, but when his cavalry came upon the advance guard of the convoy in a narrow defile, they did not wait till their enemies had reached the open country. Consequently their horses were useless in the narrow space, where the Romans hastily put themselves in line of battle across the road. Aided, as foot-soldiers would naturally be, by the difficulties of the ground, they killed some of the king's troops, drove others over precipices, and scattered the rest in flight. A few of them arrived at their camp by night, and said that they were the only survivors, so that rumor magnified the calamity which was indeed sufficiently great. Mithridates heard of this affair before Lucullus did, and he expected that Lucullus would take advantage of so great a slaughter of his horsemen to attack him forthwith. Accordingly he fell into a panic and contemplated flight, and at once communicated his purpose to his friends in his tent. They did not wait for the signal to be given, but while it was still night each one sent his own baggage out of the camp, which made a great crush of pack animals around the gates. When the soldiers perceived the commotion, and saw what the baggage-carriers were doing, they imagined every sort of absurdity. Filled with terror, mingled with anger that the signal had not been given to them also, they demolished and ran over their own fortification and scattered in every direction over the plain, helter-skelter, without orders from the commanding general or any other officer. When Mithridates heard the disorderly rush he dashed out of his tent among them and attempted to say something, but nobody would listen to him. He was caught in the crowd and knocked from his horse, but remounted and was borne to the mountains with a few followers.

[82] When Lucullus heard of the success of his provision train and observed the enemy's flight, he sent out a large force of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. Those who were still collecting baggage in the camp he surrounded with his infantry, whom he ordered for the time to abstain from plunder, but to

kill indiscriminately. But the soldiers, seeing vessels of gold and of silver in abundance and much costly clothing, disregarded the order. Those who overtook Mithridates himself cut open the pack saddle of a mule that was loaded with gold, which fell out, and while they were busy with it they allowed him to escape to Comona. From thence he fled to Tigranes with 2000 horse-men. Tigranes did not admit him to his presence, but ordered that royal entertainment be provided for him on his estates. Mithridates, in utter despair of his kingdom, sent the eunuch Bacchus to his palace to put his sisters, wives, and concubines to death as he could. These, with wonderful devotion, destroyed themselves with daggers, (Y.R. 684) poison, and ropes. When the garrison commanders of (B.C. 70) Mithridates saw these things they went over to Lucullus in crowds, all but a few. Lucullus marched among the others and regulated them. He also sent his fleet among the cities on the Pontic coast and captured Amastris, Heraclea, and some others.

[83] Sinope continued to resist him vigorously, and the inhabitants fought him on the water not without success, but when they were besieged they burned their heavier ships, embarked on the lighter ones, and went away. Lucullus at once made it a free city, being moved thereto by the following dream. It is said that Autolycus, the companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, was driven by a tempest into Sinope and made himself master of the place, and that his consecrated statue gave oracles to the Sinopeans. As they were hastening their flight they could not embark it on shipboard, but wrapped it up with linen cloths and ropes. Nobody told Lucullus of this beforehand and he knew nothing about it, but he dreamed that he saw Autolycus calling him, and the following day, when some men passed him carrying the image wrapped up, he ordered them to take off the covering and then he saw what he thought he had seen in the night. This was the kind of dream he had. After Sinope Lucullus restored to their homes the citizens of Amisus, who had fled by sea in like manner, because he learned that they had been settled there by Athens when she held the empire of the sea; that they had had a democratic form of government at first, and afterward had been subject for a long time to the kings of Persia; that their democracy had been restored to them by decree of Alexander; and that they had finally been compelled to serve the kings of Pontus. Lucullus sympathized with them, and in emulation of the favor shown to the Attic race by Alexander he gave the city its freedom and recalled the citizens with all haste. Thus did Lucullus desolate and repeople both Sinope and Amisus. He entered into friendly relations with Machares, the son of Mithridates and ruler of the Bosphorus, who sent him a crown of gold. He demanded the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes. Then he went back to the province of Asia. When the instalment of tribute imposed by Sulla became due he levied upon one-fourth of the harvest, and imposed a house-tax and a slave-tax. He offered a triumphal sacrifice to the gods for the successful termination of the war. (Y.R. 685)

[84] After the sacrifices had been performed he marched (B.C. 69) with two legions and 500 horse against Tigranes, who had refused to surrender Mithridates to him. He crossed the Euphrates, but he required the barbarians, through whose territory he passed, to furnish only necessary supplies since they did not want to fight, or to expose themselves to suffering by taking sides in the quarrel between Lucullus and Tigranes. No one told Tigranes that Lucullus was advancing, for the first man who brought this news he hanged, considering him a disturber of the good order of the cities. When he learned that it was true, he sent Mithrobarzanes forward with 2000 horse to hinder Lucullus' march. He intrusted to Mancæus the defence of Tigranocerta, which city, as I have already said, the king had built in this region in honor of himself, and to which he had summoned the principal inhabitants of the country under penalty of confiscation of all of their goods that they did not transfer to it. He surrounded it with walls fifty cubits high and wide enough to contain stables for horses. In the suburbs he built a palace and laid out large parks, enclosures for wild animals, and fish-ponds. He also erected a strong tower near by. All these he put in charge of Mancæus, and then he went through the country to collect an army. Lucullus, at his first encounter with Mithrobarzanes, defeated him and put him to flight. Sextilius shut up Mancæus in Tigranocerta, plundered the palace outside the walls, drew a ditch around the city and tower, moved machines against them, and undermined the wall.

[85] While Sextilius was doing this Tigranes brought together some 250,000 foot and 50,000 horse. He sent about 6000 of the latter to Tigranocerta, who broke through the Roman line to the tower, and seized and brought away the king's concubines. With the rest of his army Tigranes marched against Lucullus. Mithridates, who was now for the first time admitted to his presence, advised him not to come to close quarters with the Romans, but to circle around them with his horse only, to devastate the country, and reduce them by famine if possible, in the same way that he had been served by Lucullus at Cyzicus, where he lost his army without fighting. Tigranes derided such generalship and advanced and made preparations for battle. When he saw how small the Roman force was, he said jestingly, "If they are here as ambassadors they are too many; if as enemies, altogether too few." Lucullus saw a hill favorably situated in the rear of Tigranes. He pushed his horse forward from his own front to worry the enemy and draw them upon himself, retiring as they came up, so that the barbarians should break their own ranks in the pursuit. Then he sent his own infantry around to the hill and took possession of it unobserved. When he saw the enemy pursuing as though they had won the fight, and scattered in all directions, with their entire baggage-train lying at the foot of the hill, he exclaimed, "Soldiers, we are victorious," and dashed first upon their baggage-carriers. These immediately fled in confusion and ran against their own infantry, and the infantry against the cavalry. Presently the rout was complete. Those who had been drawn a long

distance in pursuit of the Roman horse, the latter turned upon and destroyed. The baggage-train came into collision with others tumultuously. They were all packed together in such a crowd that nobody could see clearly from what quarter their discomfiture proceeded. There was a great slaughter. Nobody stopped to plunder, for Lucullus had forbidden it with threats of punishment, so that they passed by bracelets and necklaces on the road, and continued killing for a distance of 120 stades until nightfall. Then they betook themselves to plunder with the permission of Lucullus.

[86] When Mancæus beheld this defeat from Tigranocerta he disarmed all of his Greek mercenaries because he suspected them. They, in fear of arrest, walked abroad or rested only in a body, and with clubs in their hands. Mancæus set upon them with his armed barbarians. They wound their clothing around their left arms, to serve as shields, and fought their assailants courageously, killed some, and shared their arms with each other. When they were sufficiently provided with weapons they seized some of the towers, called to the Romans outside, and admitted them when they came up. In this way was Tigranocerta taken, and the immense wealth, appertaining to a newly built and nobly peopled city, plundered.

CHAPTER XIII

Tigranes collects a New Army — Indecisive Movements — Mithridates defeats the Romans under Fabius and overwhelms Triarius — Intrigue against Lucullus at Rome

(Y.R. 686)

[87] Now Tigranes and Mithridates traversed the country (B.C. 68) collecting a new army, the command of which was committed to Mithridates, because Tigranes thought that his disasters must have taught him some lessons. They also sent messengers to Parthia to solicit aid from that quarter. Lucullus sent opposing legates asking that the Parthians should either help him or remain neutral. Their king made secret agreements with both, but was in no haste to help either of them. Mithridates manufactured arms in every town. The soldiers he recruited were almost wholly Armenians. From these he selected the bravest to the number of about 70,000 foot and half that number of horse and dismissed the rest. He divided them into companies and cohorts as nearly as possible according to the Italian system, and turned them over to Pontic officers to be trained. When Lucullus moved toward them Mithridates, with all the foot-soldiers and a part of the horse, held his forces together on a hill. Tigranes, with the rest of the horse, attacked the Roman foragers and was beaten, for which reason the Romans foraged more freely afterward even in the vicinity of Mithridates himself, and encamped near him. Again a great dust arose indicating the approach of Tigranes. The two kings had resolved to surround Lucullus. The latter perceived their movement and sent forward the best of his horse to engage Tigranes at as great a distance as possible, and prevent him from deploying from his line of march into order of battle. He also challenged Mithridates to fight. He began to surround him with a ditch, but could not draw him out. Finally, winter came on and interrupted the work on both sides.

[88] Tigranes now withdrew into the interior of Armenia and Mithridates hastened to what was left of his own kingdom of Pontus, taking with him 4000 of his own troops and as many more that he had received from Tigranes. Lucullus slowly followed him, but was obliged to turn back frequently for want of provisions. Mithridates made haste and attacked Fabius, who had been left in command by Lucullus, put him to flight, and killed 500 of his men. Fabius freed the slaves who had been in his camp and fought again an entire day, but the battle was going against him until Mithridates was struck by a stone on the knee and wounded by a dart under the eye, and was hastily carried out of the fight. For many days thereafter his forces were alarmed for his safety, and the Romans were quiet on account of the great number of wounds they had received. Mithridates was cured by the Agari, a Scythian tribe, who make use of the poison of serpents as remedies. Some of this tribe

always accompanied the king as physicians. Triarius, the other general of Lucullus, now came with his own army to the assistance of Fabius and received from the latter his forces and authority. He and Mithridates not long afterward joined battle, during which a tempest of wind, the like of which had not been known in the memory of man, tore down the tents of both, swept away their beasts of burden, and even dashed some of their men over precipices. Both sides then retreated. (Y.R. 687)

[89] News having been received that Lucullus was coming, Triarius hastened to anticipate his action and made a night attack upon the outposts of Mithridates. The fight continued for a long time doubtful, until the king made a powerful charge on that division of the enemy that was opposed to him and decided the battle. He broke through their ranks and drove their infantry into a muddy trench, where they were unable to stand and were slaughtered. He pursued their horse over the plain and made the most spirited use of the stroke of good luck until a certain Roman centurion, who was riding with him in the guise of an attendant, gave him a severe wound with a sword in the thigh, as he could not expect to pierce his back through his corselet. Those who were near immediately cut the centurion in pieces. Mithridates was carried to the rear and his friends recalled the army, by a hasty signal, from their (B.C. 67) splendid victory. Confusion befell them by reason of the unexpectedness of the signal, and fear lest some disaster had happened elsewhere. When they learned what it was they gathered around the person of the king on the plain in consternation, until Timotheus, his physician, had stanchd the blood and lifted the king up so that he could be seen. In like manner in India, when Alexander was cured, he showed himself on a ship to the Macedonians, who were alarmed about him. As soon as Mithridates came to himself he reproved those who had recalled the army from the fight, and led his men again the same day against the camp of the Romans. But they had already fled from it in terror. In stripping the dead there were found 24 tribunes and 150 centurions. So great a number of officers had seldom fallen in any single Roman defeat.

[90] Mithridates withdrew into the country which the Romans now call Lesser Armenia, taking all the provisions he could and spoiling what he could not carry, so as to prevent Lucullus from getting any on his march. At this juncture a certain Roman of senatorial rank, named Attidius, a fugitive from justice, who had been with Mithridates a long time and had enjoyed his friendship, was detected in a conspiracy against him. The king condemned him to death, but not to torture, because he had once been a Roman senator. His fellow-conspirators were subjected to dreadful tortures. The freedmen who were cognizant of the designs of Attidius he dismissed unharmed, because they were under obligations to their patron. When Lucullus was already encamped near Mithridates, the proconsul of Asia sent heralds to proclaim that Rome had accused Lucullus of unnecessarily prolonging the war, and had ordered that the soldiers under him be dismissed, and that the property of those who did not obey this order should be confiscated. When

this information was received the army disbanded at once, all but a few, who remained with Lucullus because they were very poor and did not fear the penalty.

CHAPTER XIV

Pompey invested with the Command — The Pirates in the Mediterranean — Distress and Anxiety at Rome — Pompey assigned to Command against the Pirates — His Arrangements for attacking them — Proceeds to Cilicia — Captures and destroys their Strongholds

[91] So it turned out that the Mithridatic war under Lucullus came to no fixed and definite conclusion. The Romans, torn by revolts in Italy and threatened with famine by pirates on the sea, considered it inopportune to undertake another war of this magnitude until their present troubles were ended. When Mithridates perceived this he again invaded Cappadocia and fortified his own kingdom. The Romans overlooked these transactions while they were clearing the sea. When this was accomplished, and while Pompey, the destroyer of the pirates, was still in Asia, the Mithridatic war was at once resumed and the command of it given to Pompey. Since the campaign at sea was a part of the operations under his command, which was begun before his Mithridatic war, and has not found proper mention elsewhere in my history, it seems well to introduce it here and to run over the events as they occurred. (Y.R. 666)

[92] When Mithridates first went to war with the Romans (B.C. 88) and subdued the province of Asia (Sulla being then in difficulties respecting Greece), he thought that he should not hold the province long, and accordingly plundered it in all sorts of ways, as I have mentioned above, and sent out pirates on the sea. In the beginning they prowled around with a few small boats worrying the inhabitants like robbers. As the war lengthened they became more numerous and navigated larger ships. Relishing their large gains, they did not desist when Mithridates was defeated, made peace, and retired. Having lost both livelihood and country by reason of the war and fallen into extreme destitution, they harvested the sea instead of the land, at first with pinnaces and hemiolii, then with two-bank and three-bank ships, sailing in squadrons under pirate chiefs, who were like generals of an army. They fell upon unfortified towns. They undermined or battered down the walls of (Y.R. 669) others, or captured them by regular siege and plundered 85 (B.C. 85) them. They carried off the wealthier citizens to their haven of refuge and held them for ransom. They scorned the name of robbers and called their takings the prize of warfare. They had artisans chained to their tasks and were continually bringing in materials of timber, brass, and iron. Being elated by their gains and determined not to change their mode of life yet, they likened themselves to kings, rulers, and great armies, and thought that if they should all come together in the same place they would be invincible. They built ships and made all kinds of arms. Their chief seat was at a place called the Crag in Cilicia, which they had chosen as their common anchorage and encampment. They had castles and towers and desert islands and retreats everywhere. They

chose for their principal rendezvous the coast of Cilicia where it was rough and harborless and rose in high mountain peaks, for which reason they were all called by the common name of Cilicians. Perhaps this evil had its beginning among the men of the Crags of Cilicia, but thither also men of Syrian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Pontic origin and those of almost all the Eastern nations had congregated, who, on account of the long continuance of the Mithridatic war, preferred to do wrong rather than to suffer it, and for this purpose chose the sea instead of the land.

[93] Thus, in a very short time, they increased in number to tens of thousands. They dominated now not only the Eastern waters, but the whole Mediterranean to the Pillars of Hercules. They vanquished some of the Roman prætors in naval engagements, and among others the prætor of Sicily on the Sicilian coast itself. No sea could be navigated in safety, and land remained untilled for want of commercial intercourse. The city of Rome felt this evil most keenly, her subjects being distressed and herself suffering grievously from hunger by reason of her very greatness. It appeared to them to be a great and difficult task to destroy so large a force of seafaring men scattered everywhither on land and sea, and so nimble of flight, sallying out from no particular country or any known places, having no habitation or anything of their own, but only what they might chance to light upon. Thus both the greatness and the unexampled nature of this war, which was subject to no laws and had nothing tangible or visible about it, caused perplexity and fear on all sides. Murena had attacked them, but accomplished nothing worth mention, nor had Servilius Isauricus, who succeeded him. And now the pirates contemptuously assailed the coasts of Italy, around Brundisium and Etruria, and seized and carried off some women of noble families who were travelling, and also two prætors with their very insignia of office. (Y.R. 687)

[94] When the Romans could no longer endure the damage (B.C. 67) and disgrace they made Gnæus Pompey, who was then their man of greatest reputation, commander by law for three years, with absolute power over the whole sea within the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for a distance of 400 stades from the coast. They sent letters to all kings, rulers, peoples, and cities, that they should aid Pompey in all ways. They gave him power to raise troops and to collect money from the provinces, and they furnished a large army from their own enrolment, and all the ships they had, and money to the amount of 6000 Attic talents, — so great and difficult did they consider the task of overcoming such great forces, dispersed over so wide a sea, hiding easily in so many nooks, retreating quickly and darting out again unexpectedly. Never did any man before Pompey set forth with so great authority conferred upon him by the Romans. Presently he had an army of 120,000 foot and 4000 horse, and 270 ships, including hemiolii. He had twenty-five assistants of senatorial rank, whom they call lieutenant-generals, among whom he divided the sea, giving ships, cavalry, and infantry to each, and investing them with the insignia of prætors, in order that each one might

have absolute authority over the part intrusted to him, while he, Pompey, like a king of kings, should course among them to see that they remained where they were stationed, lest, while he was pursuing the pirates in one place, he should be drawn to something else before his work was finished, and so that there might be forces to encounter them everywhere and to prevent them from forming junctions with each other.

[95] Pompey disposed of the whole in the following manner. He put Tiberius Nero and Manlius Torquatus in command of Spain and the Straits of Hercules. He assigned Marcus Pomponius to the Gallic and Ligurian waters. Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and the neighboring islands were committed to Lentulus Marcellinus and Publius Atilius, and the coast of Italy itself to Lucius Gellius and Gnæus Lentulus. Sicily and the Adriatic as far as Acarnania were assigned to Plotius Varus and Terentius Varro; the Peloponnesus, Attica, Eubœa, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Bœotia to Lucius Sisenna; the Greek islands, the whole Ægean sea, and the Hellespont in addition, to Lucius Lollius; Bithynia, Thrace, the Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine to Publius Piso; Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, and Phœnicia to Metellus Nepos. Thus were the commands of the prætors arranged for the purpose of attacking, defending, and guarding their respective assignments, so that each might catch the pirates put to flight by others, and not be drawn a long distance from their own stations by the pursuit, nor carried round and round as in a race, and the time for doing the work protracted. Pompey himself made a tour of the whole. He first inspected the western stations, accomplishing the task in forty days, and passing through Rome on his return. Thence he went to Brundisium and, proceeding from this place, he occupied an equal time in visiting the eastern stations. He astonished all by the rapidity of his movement, the magnitude of his preparations, and his formidable reputation, so that the pirates, who had expected to attack him first, or at least to show that the task he had undertaken against them was no easy one, became straightway alarmed, abandoned their assaults upon the towns they were besieging, and fled to their accustomed citadels and inlets. Thus the sea was cleared by Pompey forthwith and without a fight, and the pirates were everywhere subdued by the prætors at their several stations.

[96] Pompey himself hastened to Cilicia with forces of various kinds and many engines, as he expected that there would be need of every kind of fighting and every kind of siege against the rock-bound citadels; but he needed nothing. The terror of his name and the greatness of his preparations had produced a panic among the robbers. They hoped that if they did not resist they might receive lenient (Y.R. 688) treatment. First, those who held Cragus and Anticragus, their largest citadels, surrendered themselves, and after them the mountaineers of Cilicia, and, finally, all, one after another. They gave up at the same time a great quantity of arms, some completed, others in the workshops; also their ships, some still on the stocks, others already afloat; also brass and iron collected for building them, and sailcloth, rope, and

various kinds of materials; and finally a multitude of captives either held for ransom or chained to their tasks. Pompey burned the materials, carried away the ships, and sent the captives back to their respective countries. Many of them there found their own cenotaphs, for they were supposed to be dead. Those pirates who had evidently fallen into this way of life not from wickedness, but from poverty consequent upon the war, Pompey settled in Mallus, Adama, and Epiphanea, or any other uninhabited or thinly peopled town in Craggy Cilicia. Some of them he sent to Dyme in Achaia. Thus the war against the pirates, which it was supposed would prove very difficult, was brought to an end by Pompey in a few days. He took seventy-one ships by capture and 306 by surrender from the pirates, and i 20 of their towns, castles, and other places of rendezvous. About 10,000 of the pirates were slain in battles.

CHAPTER XV

*Extraordinary Powers given to Pompey — He marches against Mithridates —
The King retreats by Night — Pompey overtakes and defeats him —
Mithridates again flees to Armenia, and thence to the Scythians — Pompey
advances to Colchis — Fights a Battle with the Barbarians — Marches
against Tigranes — Tigranes comes to him as a Suppliant — Pompey pardons
him, and settles the Affairs of Armenia*

[97] For this victory, so swiftly and unexpectedly gained, the Romans extolled Pompey beyond measure; and while he was still in Cilicia they chose him commander of the war against Mithridates, giving him the same unlimited powers as before, to make war and peace as he liked, and to proclaim nations friends or enemies according to his own judgment. They gave him command of all the forces (Y.R. 687) beyond the borders of Italy. All these powers had never been given to any one general before. This was perhaps the reason why they gave him the title of Pompey the Great, for the Mithridatic war had been successfully prosecuted by other generals before him. He accordingly collected his army and marched to the territory of Mithridates. The latter had an army selected from his own forces, of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, stationed on his frontier; but since Lucullus had lately devastated that region there was a scant supply of provisions, and for this reason many of his men deserted. The deserters whom he caught he crucified, or put out their eyes, or burned them alive. But while the fear of punishment lessened the number of deserters, the scarcity of provisions weakened him.

[98] Mithridates sent envoys to Pompey asking on what terms he could obtain peace. Pompey replied, "By delivering up our deserters and surrendering at discretion." When Mithridates was made acquainted with these terms he communicated them to the deserters, and when he observed their consternation he swore that on account of the cupidity of the Romans he would never make peace with them, nor would he give up anybody to them, nor would he ever do anything that was not for the common advantage of all. So spake Mithridates. Then Pompey placed a cavalry force in ambush, and sent forward others to harass the king's outposts openly, and ordered them to provoke the enemy and then retreat, as though vanquished. This was done until those in ambush took their enemy in the rear and put them to flight. The Romans might have broken into the enemy's camp along with the fugitives had not the king, apprehending this danger, led forward his infantry. Then the Romans retired. This was the result of the first trial of arms and cavalry engagement between Pompey and Mithridates. (Y.R. 688)

[99] The king, being short of provisions, retreated reluctantly and allowed Pompey to enter his territory, expecting that he also would suffer from scarcity when encamped in the devastated region. But Pompey had arranged

to have his supplies sent after him. He passed around to the eastward of Mithridates, established a series of fortified posts (B.C. 66) and camps extending a distance of 150 stades, and drew a line of circumvallation around him which made foraging still difficult for him. The king did not oppose this work, being either afraid or mentally paralyzed, as often happens on the approach of calamity. Being again pressed for supplies he slaughtered his pack animals, keeping only his horses. When he had scarcely fifty days' provisions left he fled by night, in profound silence, by bad roads. Pompey overtook him with difficulty in the daytime and assailed his rear guard. The king's friends then urged him to prepare for battle, but he would not fight. He merely drove back the assailants with his horse and retired into the thick woods in the evening. The following day he took up a strong position defended by rocks, to which there was access by only one road, which he held with an advance guard of four cohorts. The Romans put an opposing force on guard there to prevent Mithridates from escaping.

[100] At daybreak both commanders put their forces under arms. The outposts began skirmishing along the defile, and some of the king's horsemen, without their horses and without orders, went to the assistance of their advance guard. A larger number of the Roman cavalry came up against them, and the horseless Mithridateans rushed back to their camp to mount their horses and thus to make themselves a more equal match for the advancing Romans. When those who were still arming on the higher ground looked down and saw their own men running toward them with haste and outcries, but did not know the reason, they thought that they had been put to flight. They threw down their arms and fled as though their own camp had already been captured on the other side. As there was no road out of the place they fell foul of each other in the confusion, until finally they leaped down the precipices. Thus the army of Mithridates perished through the rashness of those who caused a panic by going to the assistance of the advance guard without orders. The remainder of Pompey's task was easy, in the way of killing and capturing men not yet armed and shut up in a rocky defile. About 10,000 were slain and the camp with all its apparatus was taken.

[101] Mithridates made his escape through the cliffs with his attendants only, and fled. He fell in with a troop of mercenary horse and about 3000 foot who accompanied him directly to the castle of Simorex, where he had accumulated a large sum of money. Here he gave rewards and a year's pay to those who had fled with him. Taking 6000 talents he hastened to the head waters of the Euphrates, intending to proceed thence to Colchis. As his march was uninterrupted, he crossed the Euphrates on the fourth day. Three days later he put in order and armed the forces that had accompanied or joined him, and entered Chotene in Armenia. There the Choteneans and Iberians tried with darts and slings to prevent him from coming in, but he advanced and proceeded to the river Apsarus. Some people think that the Iberians of Asia were the ancestors of the Iberians of Europe; others think that the former

emigrated from the latter; still others think they merely have the same name, as their customs and languages are not similar. Mithridates wintered at Dioscurias in Colchis, which city, the Colchians think, preserves the remembrance of the sojourn there of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, with the Argonautic expedition. Mithridates here made no small plans, nor yet plans suitable for a fugitive, but conceived the idea of making the circuit of the whole Pontic coast, passing from Pontus to the Scythians around the sea of Azov and thus arriving at the Bosphorus. He intended to take away the kingdom of Machares, his ungrateful son, and confront the Romans once more; wage war against them from the side of Europe while they were in Asia, and to put between them as a dividing line the strait which is believed to have been called the Bosphorus because Io swam across it when she was changed into a cow and fled from the jealousy of Hera. (Y.R. 689)

[102] Such was the chimerical undertaking that Mithridates now set about. He imagined, nevertheless, that he should accomplish it. He pushed on through strange and warlike Scythian tribes, partly by permission, partly by force, for although a fugitive and in misfortune he was still respected and feared. He passed through the country of the Heniochi, who received him willingly. The Achæans, who resisted him, he put to flight. These, it is said, when returning from the siege of Troy, were driven by a storm (B.C. 65) into the Euxine sea and underwent great sufferings there at the hands of the barbarians because they were Greeks; and when they sent to their home for ships and their request was disregarded, they conceived such a hatred for the Grecian race that whenever they captured any Greeks they immolated them, Scythian fashion. At first in their anger they served all in this way, afterwards only the handsomest ones, and finally a few chosen by lot. So much for the Achæans of Scythia. Mithridates finally reached the Azov country, of which there were many princes, all of whom received him, escorted him, and exchanged presents with him, on account of the fame of his deeds, his empire, and his power, which were still not to be despised. He formed alliances with them in contemplation of other and more novel exploits, such as marching through Thrace to Macedonia, through Macedonia to Pannonia, and passing over the Alps into Italy. With the more powerful of these princes he cemented the alliance by giving his daughters in marriage. When his son, Machares, learned that he had made such a journey in so short a time among savage tribes, and through the so-called Scythian Gates, which had never been passed by any one before, he sent envoys to him to defend himself, saying that he was under the necessity of conciliating the Romans. But, knowing his father's inexorable temper, he fled to the Pontic Chersonesus, burning the ships to prevent his father from pursuing him. When the latter procured other ships and sent them after him, he anticipated his fate by killing himself. Mithridates put to death all of his own friends whom he had left here in places of authority when he went away, but those of his son he dismissed unharmed, as they had acted under the obligations of private friendship. This was the state of things

with Mithridates. (Y.R. 688)

[103] Pompey pursued Mithridates in his flight as far as Colchis, but he thought that his foe would never get around to Pontus or to the sea of Azov, or undertake anything great even if he should escape. He advanced to Colchis in order to gain knowledge of the country visited by the Argonauts, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules, and especially he desired to see the place where they say that Prometheus was fastened to Mount Caucasus. Many streams issue from (B.C. 66) Caucasus bearing gold-dust so fine as to be invisible. The inhabitants put sheepskins with shaggy fleece into the stream and thus collect the floating particles. Perhaps the golden fleece of Ætes was of this kind. All the neighboring tribes accompanied Pompey on his exploring expedition. Only Orœses, king of the Albanians, and Artoces king of the Iberians, placed 70,000 men in ambush for him at the river Cyrtus, which empties into the Caspian sea by twelve navigable mouths, receiving the waters of several large streams, the greatest of which is the Araxes. Pompey, gaining knowledge of the ambush, bridged the river and drove the barbarians into a dense forest. These people are terrible forest fighters, hiding in the woods and darting out unexpectedly. Pompey surrounded this forest with his army, set it on fire, and pursued the fugitives when they ran out, until they all surrendered and brought him hostages and presents. Pompey was afterward awarded one of his triumphs at Rome for these exploits. Among the hostages and prisoners many women were found, who had suffered wounds no less than the men. These were supposed to be Amazons, but whether the Amazons are a neighboring nation, who were called to their aid at that time, or whether certain warlike women are called Amazons by the barbarians there, is not known.

[104] On his return from that quarter Pompey marched against Armenia, making it a cause of war against Tigranes that he had assisted Mithridates. He was now not far from the royal residence, Artaxata. Tigranes was resolved to fight no longer. He had had three sons by the daughter of Mithridates, two of whom he had himself killed, — one in battle, where the son was fighting against the father, and the other in the hunting-field because he had neglected to assist his father who had been thrown, but had put the diadem on his own head while the father was lying on the ground. The third one, whose name was Tigranes, had seemed to be much distressed by his father's hunting accident, and had received a crown from him, but, nevertheless, he also deserted him after a short interval, waged war against him, was defeated, and fled to Phraates, king of the Parthians, who had lately succeeded his father Sintricus, in the government of that country. As Pompey drew near, this young Tigranes, after communicating his intentions to Phraates and receiving his approval (for Phraates also desired Pompey's friendship), took refuge with Pompey as a suppliant; and this although he was a grandson of Mithridates. Pompey's reputation among the barbarians for justice and good faith was great. Tigranes the father, trusting to it, came to Pompey unheralded to submit all his affairs to the latter's decision and to make complaint against his son.

Pompey ordered tribunes and prefects of horse to meet him on the road, as an act of courtesy, but those who accompanied Tigranes feared to advance without the sanction of a herald and fled to the rear. Tigranes came forward, however, and prostrated himself before Pompey as his superior, in barbarian fashion. There are those who relate that he was led up by lictors when sent for by Pompey. However that may be, he came and made explanations of the past, and gave to Pompey for himself 6000 talents, and for the army fifty drachmas to each soldier, 1000 to each centurion, and 10,000 to each tribune.

[105] Pompey pardoned him for the past, reconciled him with his son, and decided that the latter should rule Sophene and Gordyene (which are now called Lesser Armenia), and the father the rest of Armenia, and that at his death the son should succeed him in that also. He required that Tigranes should at once give up the territory that he had gained by war. Accordingly he gave up the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the sea; for he held that and a part of Cilicia, which he had taken from Antiochus, surnamed Pius. Those Armenians who deserted Tigranes on the road, when he was going to Pompey, because they were afraid, persuaded his son, who was still with Pompey, to make an attempt upon his father. Pompey seized him and put him in chains. As he still tried to stir up the Parthians against Pompey, he was led in the latter's triumph and afterward put to death. And now Pompey, thinking that the whole war was at an end, founded a city on the place where he had overcome Mithridates in battle, which is called Nicopolis (the city of victory) from that affair, and is situated in Lesser Armenia. To Ariobarzanes he gave back the kingdom of Cappadocia and (Y.R. 689) added to it Sophene and Gordyene, which he had partitioned (B.C. 65) to the son of Tigranes, and which are now administered as parts of Cappadocia. He gave him also the city of Castabala and some others in Cilicia. Ariobarzanes intrusted his whole kingdom to his son while he was still living. Many changes took place until the time of Cæsar Augustus, under whom this kingdom, like many others, became a Roman province.

CHAPTER XVI

Other Wars of Pompey — Brings Syria under Roman Rule — Mithridates in the Crimea — Prepares for Another War — Revolt against Mithridates — He plans an Invasion of Italy — His Son Pharnaces forms a Plot against him — Mutiny in the Army — Mithridates takes Poison, but without Effect — Is killed at his Own Request — Character and Career of Mithridates — He is buried at Sinope

(Y.R. 690)

[106] Pompey then passed over Mount Taurus and made (B.C. 64) war against Antiochus, the king of Commagene, until the latter entered into friendly relations with him. He also fought against Darius the Mede, and put him to flight, either because he had helped Antiochus, or Tigranes before him. He made war against the Arabs of Nabathæi, whose king was Aretas, and against the Jews (whose king, Aristobulus, had revolted), until he had captured their holiest city, Jerusalem. He advanced against, and brought under Roman rule without fighting, those parts of Cilicia that were not yet subject to it, and the remainder of Syria which lies along the Euphrates, and the countries called Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, also Idumea and Ituræa, and the other parts of Syria by whatever name called; not that he had any complaint against Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, who was present and asked for his paternal kingdom, but because he thought that since he (Pompey) had dispossessed Tigranes, the conqueror of Antiochus, it belonged to the Romans by the law of war. While he was settling these affairs ambassadors came to him from Phraates and Tigranes, who had gone to war with each other. Those of Tigranes asked the aid of Pompey as an ally, while those of the Parthian sought to secure for him the friendship of (Y.R. 691) the Roman people. As Pompey did not think it best to (B.C. 63) fight the Parthians without a decree of the Senate, he sent mediators to compose their differences. (Y.R. 689)

[107] While Pompey was about this business Mithridates (B.C. 65) had completed his circuit of the Euxine and occupied Panticapæum, a European market-town at the outlet of that sea. There at the Bosphorus he put to death Xiphæres, one of his sons, on account of the following fault of his mother. Mithridates had a castle where, in a secret underground treasury, a great deal of money lay concealed in numerous iron-bound brazen vessels. Stratonice, one of the king's concubines or wives, had been put in charge of this castle, and while he was still making his journey around the Euxine she delivered it up to Pompey and revealed to him the secret treasures, on the sole condition that he should spare her son, Xiphæres, if he should capture him. Pompey took the money and promised her that he would spare Xiphæres, and allowed her to take away her own things. When Mithridates learned these facts he killed Xiphæres at the straits, while his mother was looking on from the opposite

shore, and cast his body out unburied, thus wreaking his spite on the son in order to grieve the mother who had offended him. And now he sent ambassadors to Pompey, who was still in Syria and who did not know that the king was at that place. They promised that the king would pay tribute to the Romans if they would let him have his paternal kingdom. When Pompey required that Mithridates should come himself and make his petition as Tigranes had done, he said that as long as he was Mithridates he would never agree to that, but that he would send some of his sons and his friends to do so. Even while he was saying these things he was levying an army of freemen and slaves promiscuously, manufacturing arms, projectiles, and machines, helping himself to timber, and killing plough-oxen for the sake of their sinews. He levied tribute on all, even those of the slenderest means. His ministers made these exactions with harshness to many, without his knowledge, for he had fallen sick with ulcers on his face and allowed himself to be seen only by three eunuchs, who cured him. (Y.R. 690)

[108] When he had recovered from his illness and his army (B.C. 64) was collected (it consisted of sixty picked cohorts of 6000 men each and a great multitude of other troops, besides ships and strongholds that had been captured by his generals while he was sick) he sent a part of it across the strait to Phanagoria, another trading-place at the mouth of the sea, in order to possess himself of the passage on either side while Pompey was still in Syria. Castor of Phanagoria, who had once been maltreated by Trypho, the king's eunuch, fell upon the latter as he was entering the town, killed him, and summoned the citizens to revolt. Although the citadel was already held by Artaphernes and other sons of Mithridates, the inhabitants piled wood around it and set it on fire, in consequence of which Artaphernes, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres, sons, and Eupatra, a daughter, of Mithridates, in fear of the fire, surrendered themselves and were led into captivity. Of these Artaphernes alone was about forty years of age; the others were handsome children. Cleopatra, another daughter, resisted. Her father, in admiration of her courageous spirit, sent a number of row-boats and rescued her. All the neighboring castles that had been lately occupied by Mithridates now revolted from him in emulation of the Phanagoreans, namely, Chersonesus, Theodosia, Nymphæum, and others around the Euxine which were well situated for purposes of war. Mithridates, observing these frequent defections, and having suspicions of the army itself, lest it should fail him because the service was compulsory and the taxes very heavy, and because soldiers always lack confidence in unlucky commanders, sent some of his daughters in charge of eunuchs to be married to the Scythian princes, asking them at the same time to send him reënforcements as quickly as possible. Five hundred soldiers accompanied them from his own army. Soon after they left the presence of Mithridates they killed the eunuchs who were leading them (for they always hated these persons, who were all-powerful with Mithridates) and conducted the young women to Pompey.

[109] Although bereft of so many children and castles and of his whole kingdom, and in no way fit for war, and although he could not expect any aid from the Scythians, still no inferior position, none corresponding to his present misfortunes, even then found a place in his mind. He proposed to turn his course to the Gauls, whose friendship he had cultivated a long time for this purpose, and with them to invade Italy, hoping that many of the Italians themselves would join him on account of their hatred of the Romans; for he had heard that such had been Hannibal's policy after the Romans had waged war against him in Spain, and that he had become in this way an object of the greatest terror to them. He knew that almost all of Italy had lately revolted from the Romans by reason of their hatred and had waged war against them for a very long time, and had sustained Spartacus, the gladiator, against them, although he was a man of no repute. Filled with these ideas he was for hastening to the Gauls, but his soldiers, though the very bold enterprise might be attractive, were deterred chiefly by its magnitude, and by the long distance of the expedition in foreign territory, against men whom they could not overcome even in their own country. They thought also that Mithridates, in utter despair, wanted to end his life in a valiant and kingly way rather than in idleness. So they tolerated him and remained silent, for there was nothing mean or contemptible about him even in his misfortunes. (Y.R. 691)

[110] While affairs were in this plight Pharnaces, the son whom he was most fond of and whom he had often designated as his successor, either alarmed about the expedition and the kingdom (for he still had hopes of pardon from the Romans, but reckoned that he should lose everything completely if his father should invade Italy), or spurred by other motives, formed a conspiracy against his father. His fellow-conspirators were captured and put to the torture, but Menophanes persuaded the king that it would not be seemly, just as he was starting on his expedition, to put to death the son who had been until then the dearest to him. People were liable to such turns, he said, in time of war, and when they came to an end things quieted down again. In this way Mithridates was persuaded to pardon his son, but the latter, still fearing his father's anger, and knowing that the army shrank from the expedition, went by night to the leading Roman deserters who were encamped very near the king, and by representing to (B.C. 63) them in its true light, and as they well knew it, the danger of their advancing against Italy, and by making them many promises if they would refuse to go, induced them to desert from his father. After Pharnaces had persuaded them he sent emissaries the same night to other camps near by and won them over. Early in the morning the first deserters raised a shout, and those next to them repeated it, and so on. Even the naval force joined in the cry, not all of them having been advised beforehand perhaps, but eager for a change, despising failure, and always ready to attach themselves to a new hope. Others, who were ignorant of the conspiracy, thought that all had been corrupted, and that if they remained alone they would be scorned by the majority, and so from fear and necessity

rather than inclination joined in the shouting. Mithridates, being awakened by the noise, sent messengers out to inquire what the shouters wanted. The latter made no concealment, but said, "We want your son to be king; we want a young man instead of an old one who is ruled by eunuchs, the slayer of so many of his sons, his generals, and his friends."

[111] When Mithridates heard this he went out to reason with them. A part of his own guard then ran to join the deserters, but the latter refused to admit them unless they would do some irreparable deed as a proof of their fidelity, pointing at the same time to Mithridates. So they hastened to kill his horse, for he himself had fled, and at the same time saluted Pharnaces as king, as though the rebels were already victorious, and one of them brought a broad papyrus leaf from a temple and crowned him with it in place of a diadem. The king saw these things from a high portico, and he sent messenger after messenger to Pharnaces asking permission to fly in safety. When none of his messengers returned, fearing lest he should be delivered up to the Romans, he praised the body-guards and friends who had been faithful to him and sent them to the new king, but the army killed some of them under a misapprehension as they were approaching. Mithridates then took out some poison that he always carried next to his sword, and mixed it. There two of his daughters, who were still girls growing up together, named Mithridatis and Nyssa, who had been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and of Cyprus, asked him to let them have some of the poison first, and insisted strenuously and prevented him from drinking it until they had taken some and swallowed it. The drug took effect on them at once; but upon Mithridates, although he walked around rapidly to hasten its action, it had no effect, because he had accustomed himself to other drugs by continually trying them as a means of protection against poisoners. These are still called the Mithridatic drugs. Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, "I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me, and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been an autocrat so many years, and the ruler of so great a kingdom, but who is now unable to die by poison because, like a fool, he has fortified himself against the poison of others. Although I have kept watch and ward against all the poisons that one takes with his food, I have not provided against that domestic poison, always the most dangerous to kings, the treachery of army, children, and friends." Bituitus, thus appealed to, rendered the king the service that he desired.

[112] So died Mithridates, who was the sixteenth in descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and the eighth from that Mithridates who left the Macedonians and acquired the kingdom of Pontus. He lived sixty-eight or sixty-nine years, and of these he reigned fifty-seven, for the kingdom came to him when he was an orphan. He subdued the neighboring barbarians and many of the Scythians, and waged a formidable war against the Romans for forty years, during which he frequently conquered Bithynia

and Cappadocia, besides making incursions into the Roman province of Asia and into Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Macedonia. He invaded Greece, where he performed many remarkable exploits, and ruled the sea from Cilicia to the Adriatic until Sulla confined him again to his paternal kingdom after destroying 160,000 of his soldiers. Notwithstanding these great losses he renewed the war without difficulty. He fought with the greatest generals of his time. He was vanquished by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey, although several times he got the better of them also. Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius he took prisoners and carried them around with him. The last he killed because he was the cause of the war. The others he surrendered to Sulla. He defeated Fimbria, Murena, the consul Cotta, Fabius, and Triarius. He was always high-spirited and indomitable even in misfortunes. Until finally overthrown he left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried. He made alliances with the Samnites and the Gauls, and he sent legates to Sertorius in Spain. He was often wounded by enemies and by conspirators, but he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man. None of the conspiracies ever escaped his detection, not even the last one, but he voluntarily overlooked it and perished in consequence of it — so ungrateful is the wickedness that has been once pardoned. He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all — the slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons, and three daughters. He had a large frame, as his armor, which he sent to Nemea and to Delphi, shows, and was so strong that he rode horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride 1000 stades in one day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with sixteen horses at once. He cultivated Greek learning, and thus became acquainted with the religious cult of Greece, and was fond of music. He was abstemious and patient of labor for the most part, and yielded only to pleasures with women.

[113] Such was the end of Mithridates, who bore the surnames of Eupator and Dionysus. When the Romans heard of his death they held a festival because they were delivered from a troublesome enemy. Pharnaces sent his father's corpse to Pompey at Sinope in a trireme, together with the persons who captured Manius, and many hostages, both Greek and barbarian, and asked that he should be allowed to rule either his paternal kingdom, or Bosporus alone, which his brother, Machares, had received from Mithridates. Pompey provided for the expenses of the funeral of Mithridates and directed his servants to give his remains a royal interment, and to place them in the tombs of the kings in Sinope, because he admired his great achievements and considered him the first of the kings of his time. Pharnaces, for delivering Italy from much trouble, was inscribed as a friend and ally of the Romans, and was given Bosporus as his kingdom, except Phanagoria, whose inhabitants were made free and independent because they were the first to resist Mithridates when he was recovering his strength, collecting ships, creating a new army and military posts, and because they led others to revolt and were the cause of his final collapse.

CHAPTER XVII

*Pompey's Exploits in the East — Cities founded by him — Pompey's Triumph
— Captives led in his Procession — Inscription on his Tablet — New
Countries added to the Roman Sway — The Armaments of Mithridates — The
Career of Pharnaces — Later History of Pontus*

[114] Pompey, having cleaned out the robber dens, and prostrated the greatest king then living, in one and the same war, and having fought successful battles, besides those of the Pontic war, with Colchians, Albanians, Iberians, Armenians, Medes, Arabs, Jews, and other Eastern nations, extended the Roman sway as far as Egypt. But he did not advance into Egypt, although the king of that country invited him there to suppress a sedition, and sent gifts to himself and money and clothing for his whole army. He either feared the greatness of this still prosperous kingdom, or wished to guard against the envy of his enemies, or the warning voice of oracles, or for other reasons which I will publish in my Egyptian history. He let some of the subjugated nations go free and made them allies. Others he placed at once under Roman rule, and others he distributed to kings — to Tigranes, Armenia; to Pharnaces, Bosphorus; to Ariobarzanes, Cappadocia and the other provinces before mentioned. To Antiochus of Commagene he turned over Seleucia and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered. He made Deiotarus and others tetrarchs of the Gallogræcians, who are now the Galatians bordering on Cappadocia. He made Attalus prince of Paphlagonia and Aristarchus prince of Colchis. He also appointed Archelaus to the priesthood of the goddess worshipped at Comana, which is a royal prerogative. Castor of Phanagoria was inscribed as a friend of the Roman people. Much territory and money were bestowed upon others.

[115] He founded cities also, — in Lesser Armenia Nicopolis, named for his victory; in Pontus Eupatoria, which Mithridates Eupator had built and named after himself, but destroyed because it had received the Romans. Pompey rebuilt it and named it Magnopolis. In Cappadocia he rebuilt Mazaca, which had been completely ruined by the war. He restored other towns in many places, that had been destroyed or damaged, in Pontus, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, and Cilicia, in which he had settled the greater part of the pirates, and where the city formerly called Soli is now known as Pompeiopolis. The city of Talaurei Mithridates used as a storehouse of furniture. Here were found 2000 drinking-cups made of onyx welded with gold, and many cups, wine-coolers, and drinking-horns, also ornamental couches and chairs, bridles for horses, and trappings for their breasts and shoulders, all ornamented in like manner with precious stones and gold. The quantity of this store was so great that the inventory of it occupied thirty days. Some of these things had been inherited from Darius, the son of Hystaspes; others came from the kingdom of the

Ptolemies, having been deposited by Cleopatra at the island of Cos and given by the inhabitants to Mithridates; still others had been made or collected by Mithridates himself, as he was a lover of the beautiful in furniture as well as in other things. (Y.R. 692)

[116] At the end of the winter Pompey distributed rewards to the army; 1500 Attic drachmas to each soldier and in like proportion to the officers, the whole, it was said, (B.C. 62) amounting to 16,000 talents. Then he marched to Ephesus, embarked for Italy, and hastened to Rome, having dismissed his soldiers at Brundisium to their homes, by which act his popularity was greatly increased among the Romans. As he approached the city he was met by successive processions, first of youths, farthest from the city, then bands of men of different ages came out as far as they severally could walk; last of all came the Senate, which was lost in wonder at his exploits, for no one had ever before vanquished so powerful an enemy, and at the same time brought so many great nations under subjection and extended the Roman rule to the Euphrates. He was awarded a triumph exceeding in brilliancy any that had gone before, being now only thirty-five years of age. It occupied two successive days, and many nations were represented in the procession from Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, all the peoples of Syria, besides Albanians, Heniochi, Achæans, Scythians, and Eastern Iberians. Seven hundred complete ships were brought into the harbor. In the triumphal procession were two-horse carriages and litters laden with gold or with other ornaments of various kinds, also the couch of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the throne and sceptre of Mithridates Eupator himself, and his image, eight cubits high, made of solid gold, and 75,100,000 drachmas of silver coin. The number of wagons carrying arms was infinite, and the number of the beaks of ships. After these came the multitude of captives and pirates, none of them bound, but all arrayed in their native costumes.

[117] Before Pompey himself were led the satraps, sons, and generals of the kings against whom he had fought, who were present (some having been captured and others given as hostages) to the number of 324. Among them were Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, and five sons of Mithridates, namely, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Darius, and Xerxes, also his daughters, Orsabaris and Eupatra. Olthaces, chief of the Colchians, was also led in the procession, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, the tyrants of the Cilicians, and the female rulers of the Scythians, three chiefs of the Iberians, two of the Albanians, and Menander the Laodicean, who had been chief of cavalry to Mithridates. There were carried in the procession images of those who were not present, of Tigranes and of Mithridates, representing them as fighting, as vanquished, and as fleeing. Even the besieging of Mithridates and his silent flight by night were represented. Finally it was shown how he died, and the daughters who perished with him were pictured also, and there were figures of the sons and daughters who died before him, and images of the barbarian gods decked out in the fashion of their countries. A tablet was borne also with this

inscription: "Ships with brazen beaks captured, 800; cities founded in Cappadocia, 8; in Cilicia and Cœle-Syria, 20; in Palestine the one which is now Seleucis. Kings conquered: Tigranes the Armenian, Artoces the Iberian, Orœzes the Albanian, Darius the Mede, Aretas the Nabatæan, Antiochus of Commagene." These were the facts recorded on the inscription. Pompey himself was borne in a chariot studded with gems, wearing, it was said, a cloak of Alexander the Great, if any one can believe that. This was supposed to have been found among the possessions of Mithridates that the inhabitants of Cos had received from Cleopatra. His chariot was followed by the officers who had shared the campaigns with him, some on horseback and others on foot. When he arrived at the Capitol he did not put any of the prisoners to death as had been the custom at other triumphs, but sent them all home at the public expense, except the kings. Of these Aristobulus alone was shortly put to death and Tigranes somewhat later. Such was the character of Pompey's triumph.

[118] Thus the Romans, having conquered King Mithridates at the end of forty-two years, reduced to subjection Bithynia, Cappadocia, and other neighboring peoples dwelling near the Euxine sea. In this same war that part of Cilicia which was not yet subject to them, together with the Syrian countries, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and the territory lying between them and the river Euphrates, although they did not belong to Mithridates, were gained by the impetus of the victory over him and were required to pay tribute, some immediately and others later. Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and the part of Mysia adjoining Phrygia, and in addition Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all the rest of Asia Minor formerly belonging to Pergamus, together with old Greece and Macedonia, that Mithridates had drawn away from them, were completely recovered. Many of these peoples, who did not pay them tribute before, were now subjected to it. For these reasons I think they especially considered this a great war and called the victory which ended it the Great Victory and gave the title of Great to Pompey who gained it for them (by which peculiar appellation he is called to this day); on account of the great number of nations recovered or added to their dominion, the length of time (forty years) that the war had lasted, and the courage and endurance that Mithridates had shown himself capable of in all emergencies.

[119] Many times he had over 400 ships of his own, 50,000 cavalry, and 250,000 infantry, with engines and arms in proportion. For allies he had the king of Armenia and the princes of the Scythian tribes around the Euxine and the sea of Azov and beyond, as far as the Thracian Bosphorus. He held communications with the leaders of the Roman civil wars, which were then fiercely raging, and with those who were inciting insurrection in Spain. He established friendly relations with the Gauls for the purpose of invading Italy. From Cilicia to the Pillars of Hercules he filled the sea with pirates, who stopped all commerce and navigation between cities and caused severe famine for a long time. In short, he left nothing within the power of man undone or

untried to start the greatest possible movement, extending from the Orient to the Occident, to vex, so to speak, the whole world, which was warred upon, tangled in alliances, harassed by pirates, or vexed by the neighborhood of the warfare. Such and so diversified was this one war, but in the end it brought the greatest gains to the Romans, for it pushed the boundaries of their dominion from the setting of the sun to the river Euphrates. It has been impossible to distinguish all these exploits by nations, since they were performed at the same time and were complicated with each other. Those which could be separated I have arranged each by itself.

[120] Pharnaces besieged the Phanagoreans and the towns neighboring to the Bosphorus until the former were compelled by hunger to come out and fight, when he overcame them in battle; yet he did them no other harm, but made friends with them, took hostages, and withdrew. Not long (Y.R. 707) (B.C. 47) afterward he took Sinope and had a mind to take Amisus also, for which reason he made war against Calvinus, the Roman commander, at the time when Pompey and Cæsar were contending against each other, until Asander, an enemy of his own, drew him away from Asia, while the Romans were still preoccupied. Afterward he fought with Cæsar himself (when the latter had overthrown Pompey and returned from Egypt), near Mount Scotius, where his father had defeated the Romans under Triarius. He was beaten and fled to Sinope with 1000 cavalry. Cæsar was too busy to follow him, but sent Domitius against him. He surrendered Sinope to Domitius, who agreed to let him go away with his cavalry. He killed his horses, though his men were extremely dissatisfied at this, then took ship and fled to the Bosphorus. Here he collected a force of Scythians and Sarmatians and captured Theodosia and Panticapæum. His enemy, Asander, attacked him again, and his men were defeated for want of horses, and because they were not accustomed to fighting on foot. Pharnaces alone fought valiantly until he died of his wounds, being then fifty years of age and having been king of Bosphorus fifteen years.

[121] Thus Pharnaces was cut off from his kingdom and Cæsar bestowed it upon Mithridates of Pergamus, who had rendered him very important help in Egypt. But the people of Bosphorus now had rulers of their own and a prætor was sent by the Senate yearly to govern Pontus and Bithynia. Although Cæsar was offended with the other rulers who held their possessions as gifts from Pompey, since they had aided Pompey against him, nevertheless he confirmed their titles, except the priesthood of Comana which he took from Archelaus and gave to Lycomedes. Not long after, all these countries, and those which Gaius Cæsar or Mark Antony had given to others, were made Roman provinces by Augustus Cæsar, after he had taken Egypt, as the Romans needed only the slightest pretext in each case. Thus, since their dominion had been advanced in consequence of the Mithridatic war, from Spain and the Pillars of Hercules to the Euxine sea, and the sands which border Egypt, and the river Euphrates, it was fitting that this victory should be called the great one, and that Pompey, who commanded the army, should be styled the Great.

As they held Africa also as far as Cyrene (for Apion, the king of that country, a bastard of the house of the Lagidæ, left Cyrene itself to the Romans in his will), Egypt alone was lacking to their grasp of the whole Mediterranean.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES EUPATOR (Duruy)

THE CIVIL WARS



Translated by Horace White

The most important remnants of Appian's *Roman History* are the five books concerning *The Civil Wars*, books 13 to 17. These five books stand out as they are the only comprehensive source extant on an extremely significant historical period, during which Roman politics were thrown into turmoil by intense factional strife. The work's ethnographic structure is of particular note. Appian most likely used this structure to facilitate his readers' orientation through the sequence of events, which occur in different places and are united only by their relationship to Rome.

Appian's sources remain uncertain, as he only mentions the source of his information under special circumstances. He may have relied primarily on one author for each book, whom he did not follow uncritically, since he also used additional sources for precision and correction. Critics have noted that Appian used his sources rather creatively to support his views of the importance of Alexandria and the virtues of the Romans. As a conservative supporter of the imperial system, he is often critical of and unsympathetic toward republican institutions and popular movements. Writing in a Greek that was no longer Classical, Appian nevertheless preserved much information of value by his transmission of earlier sources. His account of the civil wars, dealing with the period from Tiberius Gracchus (133 BC) to Lucius Sulla (c. 78 BC), is now considered a major historical work.



Bust of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (c. 16 – c. 133 BC), who was a Roman Popularis politician of the 2nd century BC. As a plebeian tribune, he caused political turmoil in the Republic with his reforms of agrarian legislation that sought to transfer wealth from the wealthy, patricians and otherwise, to the poor.

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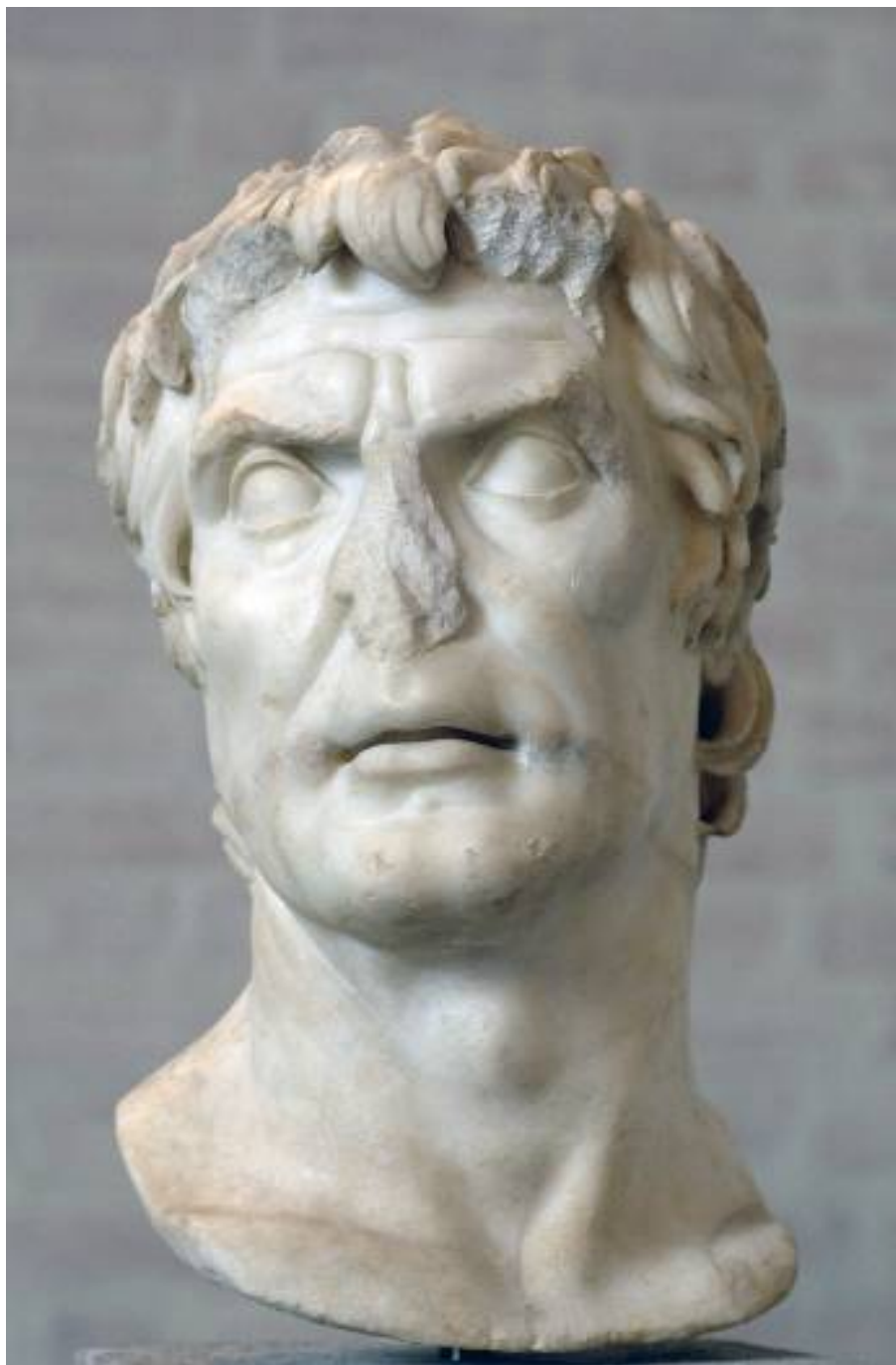
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Bust of Lucius Cornelius Sulla (c. 138 – 78 BC), who was an extremely notable Roman general and statesman, having the distinction of holding the office of consul twice, as well as reviving the dictatorship. Sulla was awarded a grass crown, the most prestigious and rarest Roman military honour, during the Social War.

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

THE plebeians and Senate of Rome [in the olden time] were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not bring them to blows, however; these were dissensions merely and contests within the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for (Y.R. 260) each other. Once when the plebeians were going to a war (B.C. 494) they fell into such a controversy, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from this time on was called the Sacred Mount. Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the tribune of the plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that the political power should not be exclusively in their hands. Whence arose still greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other after this event, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. In the midst of contests of this kind Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished contrary (Y.R. 262) to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war (B.C. 492) against his country.

[2] This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly (Y.R. 621) and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus (B.C. 133) while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and many others besides, who were assembled with him at the Capitol, were slain around the temple. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and occasionally in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some one serving as tribune, or prætor, or consul, or a candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against the country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There were chiefs of factions in different places aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops intrusted to them by the people, others levying forces against each other on their own account, without public authority. Whichever of them first got possession of the city, the others made war nominally against their adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like a foreign enemy. Ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Men were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and some were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

(Y.R. 672) [3] No unseemly deed was wanting until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the absolute master of the state for an indefinite period. Such officials were formerly called dictators — an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated (B.C. 82) with power and was the first man, so far as I know, holding (Y.R. 675) supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily (B.C. 79) and to declare that he would render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call for an accounting, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state. Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the evils which Sulla had wrought.

[4] After his death the troubles broke out afresh and (Y.R. 705) continued until Gaius Cæsar, who had held the command (B.C. 49) in Gaul by election for some years, was ordered by the Senate to lay down his command. He charged that it was not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So he sent a proposal that both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey should dismiss his forces also and live as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with him-self. Both requests being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey in the Roman territory, entered it, put him to flight, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant (Y.R. 706) victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to (B.C. 48) Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by the Egyptians Cæsar set to work on the affairs of Egypt and remained there until he had settled the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate this most popular man, who was also the one most experienced in the art (Y.R. 710) of government. The people mourned for him greatly.

(B.C. 44) They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. They buried him in the middle of the forum and built a temple on the place of his funeral pile, and offered sacrifice to him as a god.

(Y.R. 711) [5] And now civil discord broke out again worse than (B.C. 43) ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments, and proscriptions of both

senators and the so-called knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chief of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much does animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Cæsar from his relationship to the other Cæsar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius (Y.R. 718) who was the superior in understanding and skill, first (B.C. 36) deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and (Y.R. 723) afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from (B.C. 31) Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In consequence of these (Y.R. 727) exploits he was at once elevated to the rank of a deity while (B.C. 27) still living, and was the first to be thus distinguished by the Romans, and was called by them Augustus. He assumed to himself an authority like Cæsar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Cæsar's, not needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government being strengthened by time and mastery, and himself successful in all things and revered by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

[6] Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into solidarity and monarchy. To show how these things came about I have written and compiled piled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. It is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Cæsar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, until the end of these conflicts, and the greatest achievement, the battle of Actium, fought by Octavius Cæsar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

CHAPTER I

*The Roman Public Domain — The Licinian Law — The Agrarian Law of
Tiberius Gracchus — Struggle over its Enactment — Public Harangue of
Gracchus — The Tribune Octavius vetoes the Bill — Gracchus deposes him —
The Bill passed*

[7] The Romans, as they subdued the Italian nations successively in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them in place of garrisons. Of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers, or leased or sold it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a share of the yearly crops a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, and adding to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors, partly by purchase and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for this purpose slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. The ownership of slaves itself brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because they were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful ones became enormously rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

[8] For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. Not perceiving any remedy, as it was not easy, nor exactly just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was once (Y.R. 387) passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that (B.C. 367) nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of this land, or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on.

Those who held possession of lands under the law were required to take an oath to obey the law, and penalties were fixed for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater part disregarded it altogether.

(Y.R. 621) [9] At length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustrious man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and blood relations to the Romans, were declining little by little in pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes (B.C. 133) and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

[10] This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor — that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of

colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they attached themselves to turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law, some trying to prevent its enactment by all means, and others supporting it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the day of the comitia.

[11] What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth, but an increase of efficient population. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to divide among the common people what belonged to them in common; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans had acquired most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world, but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these, hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since they were receiving an ample compensation for labor expended in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the scribe to read the proposed law.

[12] Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed), ordered the scribe to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the scribe with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again vetoed he

stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. There, as he had only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the magistracy of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office. And so he did, for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from this veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved.

[13] Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should be put in the lead with his whole family. Gracchus became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After, this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling bitterly, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had opened such a fountain of discord in Italy.

CHAPTER II

New Election of Tribunes — Riot on the Capitoline Hill — Death of Gracchus

[14] At the advent of summer the notices for the election of tribunes were given, and as the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich were earnestly promoting the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be reelected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the comitia, but as they were occupied with their harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he had incurred for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to turn over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again for all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he clothed himself in black, while still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he were about to perish at the hands of his enemies.

[15] The poor were moved with deep sorrow, and rightly so, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free state under equal laws, but were reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who had incurred such danger and suffering in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed in case of a fight. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who saw it, and a resort to violence in consequence. Some of the partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded themselves, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the

temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumors. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

[16] Under these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides. It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril. Although this resource had been found most useful in former times few people remembered it, either then or later. After reaching the decision that they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save the country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who looked on, or in order to conceal from the gods what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded to the reputation of a foremost citizen, for they saw the Senate following with him. The latter wrested clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or with fragments of broken benches or other apparatus that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice. In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself was caught near the temple, and was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber.

[17] So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of the Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who subjugated Carthage. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design, which, however, he pursued in too violent a manner. This shocking affair, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that everything had turned out for them exactly as they wished. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia.

CHAPTER III

Litigation under the Law of Gracchus — Scipio Æmilianus employed in it — His Mysterious Death — Gaius Gracchus elected Tribune — He gives the Judicial Power to Knights — Demands Roman Citizenship for Italian Allies — Sails to Africa with Fulvius Flaccus — Rioting in Rome after his Return — Death of Gracchus and Flaccus (Y.R. 622)

[18] After Gracchus was slain Appius Claudius died, and Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field had been bought adjoining an old one, or wherever a division of land had been made with allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the measuring had not been carefully done when the land was first taken from the enemy. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarkation (B.C. 132) between them had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy of ascertainment. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settled down in other people's.

(Y.R. 625) [19] The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances (B.C. 129) and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very valiant services in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and held that these causes ought not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be turned over to others. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took hold of the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they

relapsed into idleness. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw him, in whose favor they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against them. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed for that purpose.

[20] When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which he intended to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who was married to Scipio, and was unloved and unloving because she was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves, who were subjected to torture, testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death. So died Scipio, and although he had been of immense service to the Roman power he was not honored with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as an incident of the sedition of Gracchus.

[21] Those who were in possession of the lands even after these events postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some thought that the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, ought to be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favor, they should no longer quarrel about the (Y.R. 629) land. The Italians were glad to accept this, because they (B.C. 125) preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the Senate was angry at the proposal to make their subjects (Y.R. 630) equal citizens with themselves. For this reason the attempt (B.C. 124) was abandoned, and the people, who had been so long in the hope of acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been silent for some time on the subject of the fate of his brother, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he announced (Y.R. 631) himself as a candidate for the office of tribune.

(B.C. 123) As soon as he was elected to this distinguished position he began to lay plots against the Senate, and proposed that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense, which had not been

customary before. Thus he got the leadership of the people quickly by one measure of policy, in which he had the coöperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose from the whole number then in office.

(Y.R. 632) [22] Thus Gaius Gracchus became tribune a second time. Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manoeuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the one who subdued Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain against them were still present, going around uttering hateful accusations against them. The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all. This saying of Gracchus has been even more confirmed by experience in the course of events. This power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights like rulers over them and put senators on the same level with subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being in the hands of the knights, and the honor only remaining (B.C. 122) with the Senate. The knights went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and having once tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done. They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by concert of action and partly by force and violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

[23] Gracchus made long roads throughout Italy and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies. He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to their blood relations. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in

the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

[24] Having lost the favor of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. A colony had been voted to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a respite from demagogism. They marked out a town for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with curses to sheep-pasturage forever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favor with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate (Y.R. 633) summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal (B.C. 121) the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

[25] Now the people were assembled, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Disturbed by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, seized him by the hand, either because he had heard something or suspected something, or was moved to speak to him for some other reason, and asked him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the man a piercing look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the very sharp glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favor to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew

his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate. Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed. Nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. Gracchus and Flaccus were nonplussed and, having lost the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened home, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum throughout the night as though some calamity were impending. Opimius, one of the consuls, who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to be stationed at the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

[26] When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. They ran through the city offering freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in peace. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, tell what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent an armed force against the Gracchans. Gracchus fled across the river by the Sublician bridge, with one slave, to a grove where he presented his throat to the slave, as he was on the point of being arrested. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them. The people plundered their houses. Opimius arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled. He allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration was performed in behalf of the city for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

CHAPTER IV

Failure of the Agrarian Law — The Killing of Nonius — Division of Gallic Land — The Sedition of Saturninus — Banishment of Metellus — Murder of Memmius — Punishment of Saturninus — Reign of Terror

[27] So the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. Presently the rich bought the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Borius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed. This distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not serve to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus (most excellent and useful if it could have been carried out) was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the piebeians lost everything. Whence resulted a still further decline in the numbers of both citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, the laws themselves fell into abeyance by reason of the slackness of the judicial proceedings.

[28] About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also the source of new seditions or because he thought it not altogether desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Cæcelius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his colleague (Y.R. 653) would not agree to it. Accordingly Saturninus, a (B.C. 101) little later, in order to have revenge on Metellus, became a candidate for the tribuneship again, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of prætor and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Saturninus and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. As they feared lest he should punish them as tribune, they made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into a certain inn, and stabbed him. As this murder had a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and declared Saturninus elected tribune. In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call

Saturninus to account because he was a tribune.

(Y.R. 654) [29] Metellus was banished by them at the instigation of Gaius Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was the secret enemy of Metellus. Thus they all helped each other. Saturninus brought forward a law to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe lately driven out (B.C. 100) by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that if the people should enact it the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Saturninus appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to summon from the country districts those in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it.

[30] Sedition broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Saturninus and driven away from the rostra. The city folks exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Saturninus persisted nevertheless, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Saturninus; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law. When this was done Marius, in his capacity as consul, forthwith proposed to the Senate that they consider concerning taking the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of fixed opinion and firm in whatever he might believe or commit himself to, he gave his own opinion publicly, but deceitfully, saying that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had praised them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saying that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick — to swear that they would obey the law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this thing, which had been enacted by violence and in spite of thunder, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not a law.

[31] After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost and no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quæstors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his

own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Saturninus proceeded against him at once on the next day. He sent an officer for him and dragged him out of the senate-house. As the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Saturninus hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They proposed a decree of banishment against him and directed the consuls to interdict fire and water and shelter to him, and appointed a day for the ratification of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Saturninus got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation that it was a part of the law.

[32] In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Saturninus was made tribune a third time and he had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus. The multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent. The aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Saturninus were fearful of the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on. They fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all. The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Saturninus, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quæstor, seized the Capitol. The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Saturninus, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext. They tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quæstor, a tribune, and a prætor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

[33] Very many others were swept out of existence in this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on that first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the tribunician office, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now

committed such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Saturninus was destroyed the Senate and people clamored for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this spectacle the son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. The people did not wait (Y.R. 655) for the argument, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every (B.C. 99) year some new deed of abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates. Such was the third civil strife (that of Saturninus) which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such results it brought to the Romans.

CHAPTER V

Origin of the Social War — Measures of Livius Drusus — Murder of Drusus — Continued Seditions — Revolt of the Italians — The Social War — Leaders on Either Side — Various Battles — The Consul Rutilius killed

[34] While they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew to great proportions rapidly, and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by playing the demagogue, but by employing whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in a Roman sedition and resulted in another one much worse.

(Y.R. 629) It began in this way. Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship (B.C. 125) first openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the hegemony instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in the course of which his consulship expired, but he obtained the tribuneship after that and managed to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose coöperation he brought forward other measures in favor of the Italians. When they were both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should suffer such calamities while working for their political advantage.

(Y.R. 663) [35] After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most (B.C. 91) illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They desired this especially because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavored to bring to an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice on both of them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number should be added to their enrolment from the knights, to be chosen according to merit, and that the law courts should be made up from all of these hereafter. He provided in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint. This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their

enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which ones seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all were they angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned.

[36] Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. The Italians, in whose interest chiefly Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians, and when they were summoned to the city, as it was thought, by the consuls, ostensibly for the purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually, as is believed, for the purpose of killing him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's knife was found thrust into his hip.

[37] Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship. They hoped to bring all the leaders under malicious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when their enemies were out of the way they should be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court, made a brilliant defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the one who had conquered Greece, was basely

ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos.

[38] As this wickedness prevailed more and more against the best citizens, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the killing of Drusus and of the reason alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer bearable that those who were laboring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with all their might. They sent envoys to each other secretly, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith. The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being preoccupied by the judicial proceedings and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men around to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the proconsul in those parts. (It appears that there were proconsuls at that time governing the various parts of Italy; Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward when he held the supreme power, but it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they put him to death, supposing that the plot was discovered. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods.

(Y.R. 664) [39] When the revolt broke out all the neighboring peoples showed their preparedness at the same time, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeiians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and (B.C. 90) the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Lirernus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and sea-coast. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had coöperated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their preparations for war. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who were still in alliance with them.

[40] The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus Julius Cæsar and Publius

Rutilius Lupus, for in this great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home or very near by. When the war was found to be complicated and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnæus Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, Quintus Cæpio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Cæsar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Cæsar himself, Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually, knowing that it was a great conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompædius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Judacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Cato. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and suffered many disasters. The most memorable events of each class I shall here summarize.

[41] Vettius Cato defeated Sextus Julius, killed 2000 of his men, and marched against Æsernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who were in command here, escaped in the disguise of slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presenteius defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

[42] Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but as their officers refused the proposal the latter were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. In conjunction with Stabias he captured Minturnæ, and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. Then he plundered the entire country around Nuceria. The towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerræ. Sextus Cæsar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and certain Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced toward Acerræ. Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Cæsar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to

their own king, so that Cæsar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. Papius attacked him rashly, and had already made a breach in his fortified camp when Cæsar debouched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Cæsar withdrew from Acerræ. Canusia and Venusia and many other towns in Apulia sided with Judacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army.

[43] The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the river Liris at no great distance from each other. Vettius Cato pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines around the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he pushed away those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp of Cato, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Cato was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

CHAPTER VI

Defeat and Death of Q. Cæpio — Defeat of Sextus Cæsar — Sulla defeats the Marsians — Death of Judacilius — The Etruscans and Umbrians admitted to Citizenship — Victories won by Sulla — Fighting in Apulia — End of the Social War — Uprising against Usury — A Prætor murdered

[44] There was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Cæsar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate appointed G. Marius and Q. Cæpio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Pompædius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Cæpio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Cæpio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader. Cæpio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where an ambush had been laid, Pompædius ran up to the top of a hill as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Cæpio and most of his force in pieces. The Senate joined the rest of Cæpio's army to that of Marius.

[45] While Sextus Cæsar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and defeated him in it. He retreated on a litter, as he was sick, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors. He escaped to Teanum with difficulty and there he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reënforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerræ, which was still besieged by Papius, but when their camps were pitched opposite each other neither of them dared to attack the other.

[46] Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans. The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but did not dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this

single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

[47] Judacilius and T. Lafrenius and P. Ventidius united their forces near Mount Falerinus and defeated Gnæus Pompeius and pursued him to the city of Firmum. Then they went different ways. Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement. Having learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius around to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were having a doubtful fight when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

[48] Asculum was the native town of Judacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Judacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all of his enemies, who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and had a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Judacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country. Sextus Cæsar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy at some place while they were changing camping-places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of a disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Bæbius his successor.

[49] While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighboring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by enemies for want of guards, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumæ to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favor the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the thirty-five

existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

(Y.R. 665) [50] The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnæus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter, living on acorns; and half of them perished. The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompeian mountains Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him, Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his (B.C. 89) own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reënforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and challenged any Roman to single combat. A Mauritanian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-stricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled, in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting bravely.

[51] Then Sulla moved against the Hirpini and attacked the town of Æculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but by necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Æsernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved against Bovianum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three towers. While the inhabitants were

looking at Sulla from one of these he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the others they could, and to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took (B.C. 90) the city. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to solicit the consulship.

[52] Gnæus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman prætor, advanced against and burned Salapia. He received the surrender of Cannæ and laid siege to Canusium. He had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief. After great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannæ. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was flying toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Pœdiculi, and within two days received their surrender.

(Y.R. 666) [53] Cæcilius Metellus, his successor in the prætorship (B.C. 88) attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Pompædus, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life. The survivors joined Metellus separately. Such was the course of events throughout Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far and until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except the Lucanians and the Samnites. These also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. They were each enrolled in tribes of their own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

(Y.R. 665) [54] About the same time dissensions arose in the city between debtors and creditors, since the latter exacted the money due them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending itself as having a tendency (B.C. 89) to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off the payment by causing war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to visit the legal penalty on the interest-takers. The prætor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the conflict of law and custom before the judges. The lenders, exasperated that the old law should be revived, killed the prætor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and

Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him. He dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a certain tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as prætor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day, in the midst of the forum, by the side of the sacrificial offerings. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free person, and freedom to any slave, and impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

CHAPTER VII

The Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla — The Command against Mithridates — Sulla marches against the City — Captures it — Flight of the Marians — Changes introduced by Sulla — Rome under Martial Law — Narrow Escape of Marius — He passes over to Africa — Killing of Quintus Pompeius

[55] Hitherto the murders and seditions had been merely intestine squabbles. Afterward the chiefs of factions assailed each other with great armies, according to the usage of war, and the country lay as a prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise. When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, but was still in Rome. Marius thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and he desired the command of it. So he prevailed upon the tribune, Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him obtain it. He also led the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections, to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes — not putting forward anything concerning his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants in his every (Y.R. 666) attempt. Sulpicius straightway brought forward a law for (B.C. 88) this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually. The consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation of many days' duration, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

[56] Sulpicius would not wait for the vacation's end. He ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, and not to spare the consuls themselves upon occasion. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacation as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius, to put an end to it at once, in order to proceed to the enactment of laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who were making opposition. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. Presently Sulla returned and annulled the vacation, but hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, in order to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the

vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla.

[57] When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war. He called the army together in a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this kind of a war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they spoke boldly what Sulla had in his mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith, but all of his superior officers, except one quæstor, left him and hastened to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from her tyrants," he replied. He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet him and praised him for what he had done, for Pompeius was delighted, and coöperated with him in every way. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could consider of the business in hand. Sulla and Pompeius understood their game perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys were returning they followed them.

[58] Sulla took possession of the Cœlian gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Sublician bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, being in appearance and in fact an enemy. The inhabitants round about tried to fight him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders near the Æsquiline forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first that was regularly fought in Rome with trumpet and signal under the rules of war, and not at all in the similitude of a faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them. Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks. Out of regard for their general and fear of ignominy if they should abandon their standard, they rallied at once. Sulla

ordered up fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the so-called Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their labors. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had coöperated with them.

[59] Sulla advanced to the so-called Via Sacra and there, in sight of everybody, punished certain soldiers who had plundered persons on the road. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops: They summoned the people to an assembly at daybreak and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had done what they had done as a matter of necessity. They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago. Also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures — namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes — there would no longer be any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical. They enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

[60] Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the civil dissensions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. Now Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times, and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnæus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Lætorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, fled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, had been voted enemies of the Roman people, and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them

before the consuls, and their goods had been confiscated. Detectives were in pursuit of these men. They caught Sulpicius and killed him.

[61] Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnæ without a companion or a servant. While he was resting in a secluded house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. It is said that as the Gaul was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and that Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" The Gaul turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." As the magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, so now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. It was said that while he was a boy seven young eaglets alighted on his breast, and that the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times.

[62] Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnæ sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves. Hearing a noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves. Hearing a somewhat louder noise, he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, he cut the rope, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing there by the governor, Sextius, because he was an enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, along the shore of Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Lætorius, and others, including the son of Marius himself, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal, prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up. They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity.

[63] In Rome Sulla, who had been the first one to seize the city by force of arms, and was now able perhaps to wield supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed his functions as consul. The faction under banishment, especially the rich ones, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of their male relatives from exile. They spared neither pains nor expense to this

end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls when they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. Sulla's army furnished ample protection for himself even after he should cease to be consul, since he had been voted commander of the war against Mithridates. The people commiserated the fears of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, for his personal safety, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnæus Pompeius. When the latter learned this fact he was greatly displeased. Nevertheless he received Quintus in the camp, and, after transacting the necessary business with him the following day, withdrew for a short time as a private person, but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnæus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the killing of a consul contrary to law. Notwithstanding his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.

CHAPTER VIII

Attempted Revolution of Cinna — Cinna expelled from the City — Raises an Army and returns — Return of Marius — They besiege Rome, and cut off its Supplies — The City surrenders — Massacre of Citizens — Heads exposed in the Forum — Death of Marcus Antonius the Orator — Sulla's Friends killed and his Property confiscated — Death of Merula and Catulus — Death of Marius

[64] When the murder of Pompeius became known in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them (Y.R. 667) with him even by night. He did not remain long in the (B.C. 87) city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia. The friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favor of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna coöperated with the new ones. It was supposed that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers. While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd, and separated them. He struck terror into them, pushed on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away. His companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates.

[65] Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, ran through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Præneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans, certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger. The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of

consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter (flamen Dialis). It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, the officers of which, and the senators who were present, he courted. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favor of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls? If you do not confirm what you bestow, you will be robbed whenever you give your decision."

[66] He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. With tears in their eyes they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever he would. At their instance the officers came forward and took the military oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. When he had been confirmed in this way he traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, because it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom a stable form of government was irksome, came and joined him. While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent around to the towns that were still faithful and also to the neighboring Gauls. They also summoned Gnæus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to come in haste to the aid of his country.

[67] Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of these transactions he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Filthy and longhaired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, and also seeming, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the voting. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and joined Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After their armies were joined they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their forces in three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite

the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured Ostia and plundered it. Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

[68] The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to call Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They ordered Cæcilius Metellus, who was carrying on the remainder of the Social War against the Samnites, to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. Metellus would not agree to what the Samnites demanded, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the hill called the Janiculum, had once received a favor from Marius which the latter now reminded him of, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunderstorm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

[69] After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river above, he hastened to attack the neighboring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery. Having cut off their supplies by land in this manner, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the so-called Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp. Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban Mount, where they observed the enemy's movements. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk hastily their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds around the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed. Anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, it changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. The latter asked them whether they had come to see him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of freemen flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine and others because they had been previously favorable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

[70] Now Cinna began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting at the distance of a stone's throw, where he encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account

of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favorable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone around and entered the city by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against Cinna's will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood beside the curule chair silent, but showed by the asperity of his countenance how much murder he would commit. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that all the things that Cinna had subscribed to were the doings of Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for the banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

[71] Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightway they began to plunder without restraint the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore his robes of office, attended by lictors as a consul. Here he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him a horse, but he disdained even to arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there. This shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent intestine massacres. Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. After the knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to hideous sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a monstrous spectacle.

[72] Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, two brothers, Atilius Serranus, Publius

Lentulus, Gaius Numatorius, and Marcus Bæbius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the orator, fled to a certain country place, where he was concealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. The innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality. The slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, and went back. The seller ran and told Marius. When Marius heard this he sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but he was restrained by his friends. A tribune was despatched to the house, who sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a delightful speaker, entertained with a long discourse. He moved their pity by recounting many and various things, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and, finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while he was still addressing them, and sent his head to Marius.

[73] Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way. They found a dead body and placed it on a funeral pile, and when the searchers came they set fire to it and said that they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. Quintus Ancharius watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a more propitious place for him. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and prætors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain. The bodies of such men as these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was also much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's consulship. All of Sulla's friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether no sort of calamity was wanting, either general or particular.

[74] In addition to the foregoing and under the similitude of legal authority, and after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was charged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and was bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under

arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his own veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met on the street. Some of them attacked their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all. Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters.

(Y.R. 668) [75] The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the (B.C. 86) second time, and Marius for the seventh time; to whom, notwithstanding his banishment and proscription, the augury of the seven young eaglets was yet fulfilled. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life Cinna chose Carbo as his successor.

CHAPTER IX

Sulla ends the Mithridatic War — Prepares to return to Rome — Death of Cinna — Negotiations with Sulla — Sulla in Italy — Terror in the City — Marshalling the Forces against Sulla — Omens and Prodigies — Battle at Canusiu (Y.R. 669)

[76] Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, having quickly finished all his business with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits.

(B.C. 85) He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took their leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They hastily repaired the ships, and recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and, with fear and trembling, made rapid preparations in every way.

[77] Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority concerning himself. He recounted what he had done in Africa in the Jugurthine war while he was still quæstor, what he had done as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as prætor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations that had been under Mithridates and that he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received the helpless ones and supported them in their affliction. In return for which he said that he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, for them and for the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he made no complaint against them. When the contents of the letters became known fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that if he wanted any security he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not

come back to the city directly to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia, as they expected to meet Sulla there.

(Y.R. 670) [78] The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The (B.C. 84) next one encountered a storm and those who reached land went home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was angry and called them to an assembly in order to coerce them. They, angry also and ready to defend themselves, assembled. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamor rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their swords and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia. As he was solicitous about the present state of things, he did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. When they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavorable he postponed it to another day. When that day came lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained the sole consul.

[79] Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes. Still he would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that, as he had a devoted army, he could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was contemplating the exercise of supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the sacerdotal office, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever other honors he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters. As soon as they learned from the Brundusians that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, they went back to Sulla without transacting their business.

(Y.R. 671) He started with five legions of Italian troops and (B.C. 83) 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men. He led them from the Piræus to Patræ, and then sailed from Patræ to Brundisium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favor he afterward gave them exemption from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Then he put his army in motion and went forward.

[80] He was met on the road by Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish up the Social War, but who did not return to

the. city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting the turn of events in Liguria, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus, came Pompey, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum on the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's most useful right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honor, though still very young; and they say he rose at the entrance of none other than this youth. After the war was finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. He took his start to greatness from this beginning, and was sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them. He was now a suppliant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

[81] Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and a sufficient number of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus, who were both proconsuls, marched in advance, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who had formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

[82] Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more fearful than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, obtained an additional one from Italy, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They had 200 cohorts of 500 men each at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. The sympathies of the people

were much in favor of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt of the consuls, and who were believed to share their fears, coöperated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely prevention, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and complete extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everything. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives around the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

[83] It seems, too, that divine Providence foretold to them the results of this war. Sights terrible and unexpected were observed by many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule gave birth to a colt. A pregnant woman was delivered of a viper instead of a baby. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans gave altogether too much attention to such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, burned down, and nobody could discover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to a succession of slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and a change in the form of government.

[84] This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundisium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. Considering the magnitude of the work accomplished, its length was not great, compared with such wars in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell the eager participants in a short space of time. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, both regular engagements under the generals and by detachments, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in this book. First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men, while Sulla's loss was seventy, but many of his men were wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua.

CHAPTER X

*Desertions to Sulla — Sertorius goes to Spain — Success of Sulla's Generals
— Continued Victories of Sulla — Murders in Rome — Young Marius
besieged in Præneste — More Desertions to Sulla — The Consul Carbo flees
to Africa — Sulla's Victory at the City Gates — Surrender of Præneste —
Suicide of Young Marius*

[85] While Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but because they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the armistice and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side came to the conference, hence what passed between them is not known. It seems that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation and that there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for an answer. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did and straightway they all went over en masse, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left nonplussed in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. That Scipio was not aware of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

[86] When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive of the result (since the greater part of Italy still adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came back and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been), Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory. Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla. It was a great mystery; nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some

time previously chosen prætor for Spain, after the taking of Suessa fled to his provincet and as the former prætors refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of Italy, which still adhered to them, and also from the neighboring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides.

(Y.R. 672) [87] The consuls for the following year were Papirius Carbo again and Marius, the nephew of the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the banks of the river Æsis, there was a severe engagement lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Præneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum. Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at Præneste was in this wise. Sulla captured the town of (B.C. 82) Setia. Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. When he arrived at the so-called sacred lake (Sacriportus) he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but lowered their standards together and went over to Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Præneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The Præestians gave shelter to those who arrived first, but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter around the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners. All the Samnites among them he killed, because they were always ill-affected toward the Romans.

[88] About the same time Metellus gained a victory over the other army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near Senæ and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut Marius up in Præneste, drew a line of circumvallation around the town a considerable distance from it and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city prætor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scævola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scævola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it

was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, they were accustomed to yield to the ones which were immediately weighing upon them.

[89] When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of the opposite faction having fled. Their property was at once confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the prætors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level, wheat-growing country of Uritanus. Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict.

[90] In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reinforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, and although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Præneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger. Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile, defeated them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill. Marcius made his escape, leaving his fires burning. His army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and stirred up an angry mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in squads, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general. Marcius, having made a mess of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the

siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a citadel in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Præneste.

[91] About the same time Carbo and Norbanus went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vineyards thereabout. They made their plans for battle in hot temper and not with good judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavorable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo's lieutenants as were then present, to a feast. When they had all assembled except Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus killed them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of any of his friends there present, since he found himself in adversity, took ship as a private individual and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself in the market-place.

[92] Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Præneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus en masse and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo's forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, although he was still consul, in order to make a stand there instead of in Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000. Naturally, after

this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army dissolved in fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt, they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

[93] Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their march, and then hastened in person with his whole army and encamped alongside the Colline gate around the temple of Venus about noon. The enemy were already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious. His left wing was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis. It fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were killed. The generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were killed and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Præneste to be displayed around the walls.

[94] When the Prænestians saw them and knew that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the consul, saying that one ought to be a rower before he manages the helm. When Lucretius took Præneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Præneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three parts, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Prænestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he massacred to the last man. He allowed their wives and children to go unharmed. He plundered the town, which was extremely rich at that time. In this way was Præneste served. Norba, another town, still

resisted with all its might until Æmilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants were maddened by this treason. Some killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, others strangled themselves with ropes. Still others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was left in it. In this way did these stout-hearted men perish.

CHAPTER XI

Proscription and Massacre by Sulla — Confiscation and Murder in the Provinces — Sulla Triumphant — Is made Dictator for Life — The Sullan Constitution — Lucretius Ofella slain by Sulla's Order — Distress and Exhaustion of Italy

[95] After accomplishing these deeds throughout Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities and established garrisons at the suspected places. Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the public if they would obey him. He would not spare one of his enemies, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by every means in his power on all prætors, quæstors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first one to punish by proscription, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards wards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were picked up, carried to Sulla, and thrown down at his feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed.

[96] There was much killing, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants. Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges — for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing heavy fines and contributions on them. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons,

sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him during his life and even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all of Sulla's affairs were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he was deceased. While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, who had been thrice consul, he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, killed him and sent his head to Sulla.

[97] When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and managed everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, a fortunate commander," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a history which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for he was also called Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same signification as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his question concerning the future, assured his prosperous career as follows: —

"Believe me, Roman, the Cyprian goddess cares for the race of Æneas and has given it great power. Render yearly gifts to all the immortals, and do not forget them. Convey gifts to Delphi. There is also a place where men go up under snowy Taurus, a wide-reaching city of the Carians, whose inhabitants have named it for Aphrodite. Give the goddess an axe and you shall gain sovereign power."

Whichever decree the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have made the inscription by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla sent a golden crown and an axe to Venus with this inscription: —

"The dictator Sulla dedicates this to thee, Venus, because in a dream he saw thee in panoply setting the army in order of battle and fighting with the weapons of Mars."

[98] Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, *de facto*, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed some pretence of being elected it was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and when one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people could decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the *Interrex*,

which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Præneste. So Sulla went out of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex. They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote to Flaccus to bring before the people the proposition that he (Sulla) considered it advisable, under present circumstances, that the city should be governed by a dictator according to a custom that had been abandoned 400 years. He told them not to appoint the dictator for any definite time, but until the city and Italy and the whole government, so shaken by factions and wars, should be put upon a firm foundation. That this proposal referred to Sulla himself was not at all doubtful. Sulla made no concealment of it. At the conclusion of the letter he declared openly that, in his judgment, he could be serviceable to the city in that capacity.

[99] Such was Sulla's letter. The Romans were unwilling, but they had no more opportunities for elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the absence of everything else, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But in Sulla's time it first became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny; yet they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils.

(Y.R. 673) [100] Nevertheless, as the form of the republic remained (B.C. 81) he allowed them to appoint consuls. Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him, as was customary with dictators, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and he enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of prætor until after he had held that of quæstor, or to be consul before he had been prætor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed.

He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who formerly contended for this office, shunned it thereafter. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate, where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes for each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10,000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them *Cornelii* after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10,000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land among the communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine.

[101] So terrible was he and so uncontrollable in anger that he slew in the middle of the forum Q. Lucretius Ofella, the one who had besieged and captured Præneste and the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him. He did this because, in spite of the new law, Lucretius persisted, though Sulla opposed and forbade, in being a candidate for the consulship while he was still in the equestrian order and before he had been quæstor and prætor, presuming on the greatness of his services, according to the former custom, and captivating the populace. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, "Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I caused the death of Lucretius because he disobeyed me." And then he told the following story: "A husbandman was bitten by fleas while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to clear them out of his shirt. When they bit him, again he burned his shirt, so that he might not be so often interrupted in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time fire be brought in requisition." With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government "the royalty disavowed" because only the name of king was concealed. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it "the tyranny confessed."

[102] Into such evils were the Romans and all the Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were all the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey. Some that had surrendered themselves under treaty arrangements were

deprived of their territory and their harbors. Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria. He did this because the government of Alexandria was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he (Sulla) expected to reap a large reward from the rich kingdom. As Alexander behaved himself in a very offensive manner toward them, relying upon Sulla, the Alexandrians, on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium and put him to death; so little fear had they of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as yet of external dangers.

CHAPTER XII

Sulla's Abdication — Character of Sulla — His Death, and Funera (Y.R. 674)

[103] The following year Sulla, although he was dictator (B.C. 80) undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors now make a showing of consuls to the country and even exhibit themselves in that capacity, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power. The next year the people, in order to pay court to Sulla, chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher for their suffrages, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody was troubling him. This act seems wonderful to me — that Sulla should have been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies ninety senators, fifteen consulars, and 2600 of the so-called knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and many of their bodies cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose (Y.R. 675) towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands (B.C. 79) money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now returned to private life.

[104] So great was this man's boldness and good fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his body-guard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reproached by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him, and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his intelligence or by chance, "This young man will prevent any other holder of such power from laying it down." This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, for Gaius Cæsar never laid down his power. Sulla seems to me to have been the same masterful and able man in all respects, whether striving to reach supreme power from private life, or changing back to private life from

supreme power, or later when passing his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumæ in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might try to do. He was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Corneliî ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in coöperation with him. But I think that he was satiated with war, with power, with city affairs, and that he took to rural life finally because he loved it.

(Y.R. 676) [105] Directly after his retirement the Romans, although (B.C. 78) delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to fan the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Æmilius Lepidus were chosen consuls, the former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were brewing. While he was living in the country Sulla had a dream in which he thought he saw his Genius already calling him. Early in the morning he told the dream to his friends and in haste began writing his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and had been the most fortunate of men even to the very last, and realized in all respects the title he bore; that is, if one can be considered fortunate who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's corpse was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendor. Musicians and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His fellow-soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came. The crowd of other people that came together was unprecedented. The standards and the fasces that he had used while living and ruling were borne in the procession.

[106] When the remains reached the city they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the splendid things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each in proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of the Roman knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under

him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who by turns played the most mournful dirges. Loud cries were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most beneficial to his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The corpse was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches were usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the litter and carried it to the Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army coursed around the funeral pile. And this was the last of Sulla.

CHAPTER XIII

New Dissensions in Rome — The War with Sertorius — Pompey sent against him — Sertorius defeats Pompey — Wars Elsewhere — Sertorius puts Pompey to flight at Pallantia — Sertorius assassinated by Perpenna — Perpenna takes the Command — Is defeated and slain by Pompey

[107] Directly after their return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with them. Lepidus, in order to curry favor with the Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of war. To Lepidus the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot and he did not come back to the comitia because he would be released in the following year from his oath about making war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms and Catulus did the same on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterward to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved, the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

[108] There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been chosen governor of Spain while he was coöperating with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his prætorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former prætors, who, in order to favor Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus, who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision (Y.R. 677) of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, he (B.C. 77) obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed that he intended to march against Italy itself, and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself.

[109] Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not in the face of such

difficulties as Hannibal experienced, but he opened another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic. The name of the latter has been changed from the Eridanus to the Po.

(Y.R. 678) Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces (B.C. 76) a whole legion of his army, that had been sent out foraging, with its animals and servants. He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter.

(Y.R. 679) [110] When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metellus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees mountains, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers were not in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who received a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh, and this put an end to that battle. Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not visible Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting; nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her and, as though he were inspired by her, he would begin to harass the enemy. Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night. Sertorius fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that number himself. Metellus at the same time destroyed (B.C. 75) about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reinforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of besieging it with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his bold enterprise. In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters.

(Y.R. 680) [111] The following year, which was in the 176th Olympiad (B.C. 74) two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy Apion, of the house of the Lagidæ. There were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another one around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many

conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees mountains to the Ebro and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus.

[112] Sertorius was so exasperated by this that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and fell into disrepute in consequence. The soldiers blamed him particularly because wherever he went he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, removing the latter in favor of the former. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account, was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they were not altogether alienated from Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius. The forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Pallantia and underrunning the walls with wooden supports, Sertorius suddenly appeared on the scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire to the timbers and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.

(Y.R. 681) [113] In the following year the Roman generals plucked (B.C. 73) up rather more courage and advanced in an audacious manner against the towns that adhered to Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but again . . . until the following year, when they advanced again even more audaciously. Sertorius was now (Y.R. 682) evidently misled by a god, for he relaxed his labors, fell (B.C. 72) into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, and to carousing and drinking, for which reason he was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, and extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody, so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come hither as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped detection in

some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a banquet, plied him and his guards with wine, and assassinated him after the feast.

[114] The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when the one who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory. Reflecting on their present situation they despised Perpenna as though he had been a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; most of all were the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself. When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced to submission in this way they obeyed him as prætor (for he held the next rank to Sertorius) yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own nephew.

[115] As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain, — for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna, — these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great battle was fought between them. They resolved to decide the contest by one engagement — Pompey because he despised the generalship of Perpenna; Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he could now engage with nearly his whole strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffected army. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy's. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged toward Pompey's headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he could give Pompey a great deal of information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey's presence, but the latter sent orders to kill him before bringing him into his presence, fearing lest the news that Perpenna wanted to

communicate should be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so successfully.

CHAPTER XIV

The War with Spartacus — He defeats the Romans in Several Engagements — Crassus appointed to the Command — He defeats and kills Spartacus — End of the War — Rivalry of Pompey and Crassus — Their Reconciliatio (Y.R. 681)

[116] *At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, persuaded about (B.C. 73) seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away. They armed themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighboring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named CENOMANUS and CRIXUS. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. VARINIUS GLABER was first sent against him and afterward Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. When they attacked Spartacus they were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did a Roman prætor escape being captured by a gladiator. After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected apparatus.*

(Y.R. 682) [117] Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavored to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his march while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the manes of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here was another great battle and then, too, a great defeat for the Romans. Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the (B.C. 72) mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these

articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and continued in robbery for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

(Y.R. 683) [118] This war, so formidable to the Romans (although (B.C. 71) ridiculous and contemptible in the beginning, considered as the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new prætors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the prætorship and marched against Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, he demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy. Presently he overcame 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

[119] Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their morale inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting from somewhere a reënforcement of horse, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labor difficult. He crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. When the Romans in the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reënforcement.

[120] On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundisium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus

had just arrived in Brundisium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.

[121] Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honors between himself and Pompey. Crassus did not dismiss his army, for Pompey did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been prætor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither prætor nor quæstor, and was only thirty-four years old. He promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be restored.

(Y.R. 684) When they were chosen consuls they did not even (B.C. 70) then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph. Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first. The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other. At first both of them repelled these solicitations. When certain persons, who seemed to be divinely inspired, predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentation and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave the assembly until the consuls had given orders in writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the killing of Tiberius Gracchus. GAIUS MARIUS Visconti's Rom. Icon. (Dury)

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

The Conspiracy of Catiline — Discovered by Cicero — The Conspirators arrested, and put to Death — Battle of Pistoria and Death of Catiline

Y.R.

AFTER the reign of Sulla, and the later operations of

B.C.

Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Cæsar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Cæsar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of exercising royal power. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Cæsar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show. Pompey had (Y.R. 690) lately cleared the sea of pirates, who were then more numerous (B.C. 64) than ever before, and afterward had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Cæsar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, daring in every way, ambitious of everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honors. While yet ædile and prætor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures.

[2] At this time Lucius Catiline was a person of importance, of great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman. It was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to CICERO In the Museum at Madrid (Bernoulli (Y.R. 691) facts were not yet publicly known, was nevertheless fearful (B.C. 63) lest suspicion should increase with time. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Fæsulæ and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Manlius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Manlius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Fæsulæ, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, expecting to be admitted because of their rank; enter into conversation with him in the vestibule on some subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero of timidity and of stirring up war and disturbing the city without cause, and that

on the night following Bestia's speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and plundered, and the leading citizens killed.

[4] Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for the appointed time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were in the city making complaint against their magistrates, were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state — it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who captured the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate. They confessed to their understanding with Lentulus and testified in his presence that Cornelius Lentulus had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Corneli should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

[5] When they had so testified the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the conspirators under arrest at the houses of the prætors, and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate concerning them. In the meantime there was a great tumult around the senate-house, the affair being as yet little understood, and those who did understand it being alarmed. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reënforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the prætors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senate-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the one who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and circumspection to each. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came Nero's turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

[6] Gaius Cæsar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Cæsar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility in advance of argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Cæsar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions

concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out. Thus the city breathed freely once more after the great fear that had weighed upon it that day.

(Y.R. 692) [7] Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, of whom (B.C. 62) one-fourth part were already armed, and was moving toward Gaul in order to complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him beyond the Alps and easily defeated the madly conceived adventure of the man, which was still more madly put to the test without preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all perished at close quarters with their enemies. Such was the end of the uprising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his Country. Some think that this appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero. Although they are in fact kings, it is not given to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial of the greatest services.

CHAPTER II

Cæsar in Spain — The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus — Cæsar's Agrarian Law — Tumult in the City — Cato ejected from the Forum — The Affair of Vettius — Cæsar conciliates the Knights — Is appointed Governor of Gaul — Gives his Daughter in Marriage to Pompe (Y.R. 693)

[8] *Cæsar, who had been chosen prætor for Spain, was (B.C. 61) detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use (Y.R. 694) to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the (B.C. 60) independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making preparations outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulship were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Cæsar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to stand for the consulship while absent, through the intercession of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech making. Thereupon Cæsar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.*

[9] In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired great glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Many senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition, and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king in a state of extreme weakness for Pompey. Crassus coöperated with Lucullus in this matter. Pompey was indignant and made friends with Cæsar and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. Thus these three most powerful men coöperated together for their mutual advantage. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated in a book entitled Tricaranus (the three-headed monster). The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Cæsar's colleague to hold him in check.

(Y.R. 695) [10] Strife sprang up between them immediately and they proceeded

to arm themselves secretly against each other. Cæsar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of harmony with Bibulus, as though he were taking care lest harm should come to the republic from their disagreement. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard. While Bibulus was unprepared and suspecting nothing, Cæsar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The best part of this land around Capua, which was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favor of a multitude of men. Twenty-thousand, who had three children each, came forward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he (B.C. 59) pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws. Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers.

[11] The Senate (since no one called it together and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the consent of the other) assembled at the house of Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Cæsar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Cæsar's laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Cæsar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified, but bared his neck to Cæsar's partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Cæsar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighboring temple of Jupiter Stator. Cato was indignant at these proceedings, and, being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and dragged out by Cæsar's partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Cæsar roundly until he was ejected by the Cæsarians, and Cæsar secured the enactment of his laws.

[12] The plebeians swore to observe these laws forever, and Cæsar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Cæsar proposed and the people enacted the death penalty to the recusants. Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including the tribunes, for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Cæsar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus.

Although this affair was open to suspicion on both sides, Cæsar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed the examination of the assailant. Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Cæsar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party who were afraid of exposure. Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, like a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term.

[13] As Cæsar now had the sole administration of public affairs, he did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius. He brought forward new laws to win the favor of the multitude, and caused all of Pompey's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The so-called knights, who held the middle place in rank between the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of the farming of the provincial revenues which they contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate was consuming time on this question. As Cæsar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from a third part of their contracts. For this unexpected favor, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Cæsar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Cæsar's support through one political act. He gave spectacles and combats of wild beasts beyond his means, borrowing money on all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

[14] As Cæsar saw that he would be away from home a long time, and believed that envy would be in proportion to benefits conferred, he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Cæpio, because he feared that even a friend might become envious of his great success. He promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Cæsar married, although Cato cried out that the government was debauched by marriages. For tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher, although the latter had been suspected of an amour with the wife of Cæsar himself during a religious ceremony of women, but whom Cæsar did not bring to trial because Clodius was very popular with the masses; but he divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero made the argument for the prosecution. When Cæsar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Cæsar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order

to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Cæsar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

CHAPTER III

Clodius prosecutes Cicero for putting Citizens to Death without Trial — Cicero banished and recalled — Cæsar's Conference at Lucca — Bloodshed in the Forum — The Triumvirs divide the Government — Death of Cæsar's Daughter — Shocking State of Roman Political Life — Pompey and Milo — Assassination of Clodius — Disorders consequent thereon — Pompey made Sole Consul — His Law against Briber (Y.R. 696)

[15] *Such were the acts of Cæsar's consulship. He then (B.C. 58) laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial. Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on coarse raiment and, defiled with squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate recommended him to the attention of cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas. Clodius was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man in Rome.*

[16] Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself, the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clodius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he would no longer speak against the existing status (the triumvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him. Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey (Y.R. 697) was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months (B.C. 57) after his banishment, and the Senate rebuilt his house and his villas at the public expense. He was received magnificently at the city gates. It is said that a whole day was consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the case with Demosthenes when he returned.

(Y.R. 698) [17] In the meantime Cæsar, who had performed the (B.C. 56) many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which have been described in my Celtic history, had returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the river Po to give

his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this place he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals, and they went thither by turns to meet him. So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Cæsar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls again and that Cæsar's governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more. Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering straightway, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own house. Even Pompey's clothing was carried home stained with blood, so great was the danger incurred by both candidates.

(Y.R. 699) [18] Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (B.C. 55) and Cæsar's governorship was extended for five years according to the agreement. The provinces were allotted with an army to each consul in the following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa, but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and gainful. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavorable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together with his son of the same name, and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power.

(Y.R. 700) [19] About this time the daughter of Cæsar, who was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection, Cæsar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other, especially as the commonwealth had been for a long time disorderly and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by

means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went to the elections to be bought. A case was found where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to obtain the (B.C. 54) consulship. The consuls holding office yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser ones strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether. The disorder was such that at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator.

(Y.R. 701) [20] Many citizens began to talk to each other about this (B.C. 53) saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the one-man power, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered. This expectation of a dictatorship Pompey discountenanced in words, but in fact he did everything secretly to promote it, and willingly overlooked the prevailing disorder and the interregnum consequent upon it. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favorable time in view of the present interregnum; but (Y.R. 702) Pompey kept postponing the comitia until Milo became (B.C. 52) disgusted, believing that Pompey was false to him, and withdrew to his native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome.

[21] Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillæ. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighboring inn. Milo followed with his servants and finished him, — whether he was still alive, or already dead, is not known, — for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the killing, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honor upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such

deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pile for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighborhood caught fire and were consumed with the corpse of Clodius.

[22] Such was the hardihood of Milo that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the murder than by indignation at the honor bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Cælius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Cælius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since one would not set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes with his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Cælius and Milo escaped disguised as slaves, but there was a heavy slaughter of the others. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As the government was without order these ruffians, who were for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, but pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning, stoning, and every sort of outrage.

[23] The Senate assembled in consternation and looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator at once, for they considered this necessary as a cure for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and the one-man power in the city, by virtue of being sole consul. In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, it was decreed that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy — a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus. Pompey proposed the prosecution of offenders and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption. He thought that the seat of the public disorder was there, and that

by beginning there he should effect a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an accounting from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Cæsar also had been consul; wherefore Cæsar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Cæsar, and urged him to straighten out the present crookedness rather than stir up the past to the annoyance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Cæsar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Cæsar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had reached back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away.

CHAPTER IV

Prosecutions for Bribery — Cæsar authorized to stand for the Consulship while absent — Enmity of Marcellus — Attempts to deprive Cæsar of his Command — Curio insists that Pompey shall lay down his Command also — Increasing Hostility to Cæsar in the Senate — Pompey's Neglect of Preparations for War — The Consuls invest Pompey with the Defence of Italy

[24] After making this answer he passed his law, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors might act without fear Pompey stationed soldiers around them and superintended them in person. The first ones convicted were absentees: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary to the Sibylline books; Hypsæus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for bribery and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should wait for the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All of them were banished. Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state's evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participation in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation.

[25] Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms that made the one-man power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Cæsar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonwealth, and had not made himself troublesome or offensive to any of them during his term of office. The banished ones went to Cæsar in crowds and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Cæsar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the consulship a second time while absent, and this was enacted while Pompey was still consul and without opposition from him. Cæsar suspected that the Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and exposed (Y.R. 703) to

his enemies. So he tried to retain his power (B.C. 51) until he should be elected consul, and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Cæsar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give it to me."

[26] Cæsar built the town of Novum Comum at the foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included a provision that those who had exercised the yearly chief magistracy should be Roman citizens. One of these men, who had held this office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Cæsar — a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention that the blows should be the marks of the foreigner, and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Cæsar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Cæsar's provinces before his time had expired, but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, merely on account of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that Cæsar's command must come to an end immediately on its expiration. For this (Y.R. 704) reason the bitterest enemies of Cæsar were chosen consuls (B.C. 50) for the ensuing year: Æmilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Cæsar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Cæsar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt. With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure.

[27] Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him so that he might have that as an excuse for opposing Pompey. Things turned out as he had anticipated, so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Cæsar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, praised the motion of Claudius, but added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces and army just like Cæsar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and decidedly against appointing successors to Cæsar unless Pompey also should lay down his command; for since they were both suspicious of each other, he contended

that there could be no lasting peace to the commonwealth unless both were reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Cæsar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home like an athlete, scattering flowers, as though he had won the prize in some great and difficult contest, for nothing was considered more perilous than to have a difference with Pompey.

[28] Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Cæsar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward, which he had not solicited, but had been called to serve the public weal. He added that the powers which he had accepted unwillingly he would gladly yield to those who wished to take them back, and would not wait the time fixed for their expiration. The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Cæsar, as though the latter was not willing to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. As a friend and marriage connection of Cæsar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power and now he would come back to his honors and his sacrificings and take his rest. He said these things in order that successors to Cæsar might be sent at once, while he (Pompey) should merely stand on his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Cæsar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Cæsar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Cæsar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them. In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Cæsar.

[29] Pompey was angry with him and threatened him and at once withdrew indignantly to his country-seat. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Cæsar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to

deprive Pompey of his power until after Cæsar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more towering designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Cæsar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it, leaving the whole business still unfinished. He had the power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigor after it had been reduced to extreme feebleness by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Cæsar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled the legion that he had lately lent to Cæsar on account of the disaster to Cæsar's two generals, Titurius and Cotta. Cæsar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua.

[30] The persons who had been sent by Pompey to Cæsar to bring these legions spread many reports derogatory to Cæsar and repeated them to Pompey. They said that Cæsar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Cæsar and labored zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Cæsar also; for he gave with an lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest. In the Senate the opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: "Shall successors be sent to Cæsar?" and again, "Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?" The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was decreed that successors to Cæsar should be sent. Then Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord. Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, "Enjoy your victory and have Cæsar for a master."

[31] Suddenly a false rumor came that Cæsar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at Capua be turned against Cæsar as a public enemy. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumor was false he exclaimed, "If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul." After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the suburbs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to

Pompey, and said, "I and my colleague command you to march against Cæsar in behalf of your country, and we give you for this purpose the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy." Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, "unless we can do better," thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside of the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render any further assistance to Cæsar, he hastily departed to join the latter.

CHAPTER V

Cæsar offers to lay down his Arms at the Same Time with Pompey — The Senate declares Cæsar a Public Enemy — Cæsar addresses his Soldiers — War openly declared — Cæsar crosses the Rubicon — Seizes Ariminum — Panic and Prodigies in Italy — Pompey departs to the Army at Capua

[32] Cæsar had lately recrossed the straits from Britain and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and 300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was contiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he looked over the present situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Cæsar thought it best still to try and come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be chosen consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Cæsar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades in three days and delivered to the newly elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first (Y.R. 705) of the calends of January. The letter embraced a calm (B.C. 49) recital of all that Cæsar had done from the beginning of his career and a proposal that he would lay down his command at the same time with Pompey, but that if Pompey should retain his command he would not lay down his own, but would come quickly and avenge his country's wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be appointed as Cæsar's successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 of the new levies.

[33] Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with the latter in opinion, the Senate became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey's army the protector of Rome, and that of Cæsar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the Senate lest they should suffer some harm, although they were tribunes. Then Antony sprang from his chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, saying that while they (the tribunes) were expressing the opinion which they deemed conducive to the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or other outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey's army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made

their way to Cæsar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Cæsar showed them in this condition to his army, whom he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to speak out for them, had been thus driven with ignominy from the city.

[34] The war had now been begun on both sides and already openly declared. The Senate, thinking that Cæsar's army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighboring provinces. They voted him for the war all the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which they collected with the greatest possible haste. Cæsar had sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advantageous positions in Italy.

[35] Accordingly, he sent forward some centurions with a few of his bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Cæsar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving some friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his course brought him to the river Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that might result from his crossing it with arms. Recovering himself he said to those who were present, "My friends, stopping here will be the beginning of sorrows for me; crossing over will be such for all mankind." Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the common phrase, "Let the die be cast." Then he resumed his hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards at the commanding positions, and, either by force or by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Cæsar had arrived with an army of boundless strength.

[36] When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed at Cæsar's unexpectedly

swift advance, for which it was still unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Cæsar's proposals, which it considered just at last, after fear had turned it from party rage to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule gave birth to a colt. There were many other prodigies which betokened an overturn and change in the form of government for all time. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamored that both Cæsar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Cæsar in order to come to an arrangement.

[37] As the consuls opposed all accommodation Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the ground with his foot and raise armies in that way. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not consider it such a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves shall recover their homes." After saying this and after threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and the city immediately to take command of the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other senators remained undecided a long time and passed the night together in the senate-house. At daybreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey.

CHAPTER VI

Cæsar captures Corfinium and L. Domitius — The Consuls cross over to Dyrrachium — Pompey escapes from Cæsar at Brundisium — Cæsar takes the Money from the Public Treasury — Cæsar marches to Spain — Captures the Pompeian Forces there

[38] At Corfinium Cæsar came up with and besieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul but who did not have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was trying to escape, and brought him to Cæsar. The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his money with him. He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence, but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. While these transactions were taking place so swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Luceria and thence to Brundisium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed. Pompey gave some of the legions he already had in Italy to the consuls to be moved from Brundisium to Epirus.

[39] The consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium, which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the Dyrrachians claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after performing the funeral rites he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name. At a later period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbors, with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships liburnicæ, because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the

Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans, who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port; but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called Dyrrachium.

[40] A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the remainder to Brundisium, where he awaited the return of the ships that had carried the others over. Here Cæsar advanced against him, and he defended himself by walls and dug trenches in the city until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed away after nightfall, with a favorable wind. Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Cæsar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundisium, another at Hydrus, and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which he did. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business." Cato answered that in order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra to Pompey.

[41] Cæsar hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he broke the bolts of the public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering, threatened him with death. He took away money hitherto untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the Gauls. Cæsar said that he had subjugated the Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Æmilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Mark Antony, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato, and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and intrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius

Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea, and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction.

[42] Having prevailed so far as to make Italy inaccessible to Pompey, Cæsar went to Spain, where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive engagement with them near the town of Ilerda. He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris. Suddenly a freshet of melting snow carried away his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side. These were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Cæsar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the place, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Cæsar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions that had been sent forward to capture his camp. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Cæsar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favor of his enemies. Whence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file.

[43] To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Cæsar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Cæsar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Cæsar. Soon afterward Cæsar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Cæsar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Cæsar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey. Arrived at this stream, Cæsar called a meeting of all those who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: "My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favors tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain. So much for the operations of Cæsar.

CHAPTER VII

Campaign of Curio in Africa — He is defeated and killed — Mutiny in Cæsar's Army at Placentia — Cæsar chosen Dictator

[44] Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces in Africa, and Juba, king of the Mauritanian Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Cæsar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Imperator by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honor conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden time the generals accepted this honor only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would establish his quarters near the camp of the latter, poisoned the water in the neighborhood. Their expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighborhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Cæsar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded.

[45] Meantime, while Juba was advancing a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbors, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were now dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain, where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning of the trouble, had

retreated with a small force to the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, together with all his men, not one returning to Utica after Pollio. Such was the result of the battle at the river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba.

[46] As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night. The soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with Curio were totally destroyed, together with the cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his great exploit to Pompey, returned home.

[47] About this time [Gaius] Antonius was defeated in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant, Octavius, and another army of Cæsar mutinied at Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minæ that Cæsar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundisium. When Cæsar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: " You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who have fled from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labors, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall now execute the law of our country by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began." Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Cæsar's feet in supplication. Cæsar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Cæsar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him.

[48] After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia Cæsar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling people chose him dictator without any decree of the

Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls. He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain, Aulus Albinus to Sicily, Sextus Peducæus to Sardinia, and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the suffering people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of vendible goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money. When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundisium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of them should conquer would wield sovereign power. Cæsar departed on his journey and travelled with all possible speed.

CHAPTER VIII

Pompey's Forces — Pompey's Speech to his Army — Cæsar at Brundisium — He addresses his Soldiers — Cæsar sails for Epirus — Captures Oricum and Apollonia — Marches toward Dyrrachium — Encamps before it

[49] In the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Cæsar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the goodwill of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Cæsar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Bœotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelin-throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from Galatia in the east, together with Commageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were employed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burthen. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all.

[50] When all was in readiness Pompey called the senators, the knights, and the whole army to an assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too, our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hasted from Ardea and recovered it. All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion,

and whom you have decreed a public enemy. He now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own government. If he does these things while the war is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with a god's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, coöperate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead of his equals.

[51] "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier and as general. If I have had any experience in war, if it has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need and that I may become a man of destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us, and the kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Cæsar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

[52] When Pompey had thus spoken the whole army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them wherever he would. Pompey thought that as the weather was bad and the sea boisterous Cæsar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch of the sea, and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia. So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of what was about to take place. Cæsar, as I have already said, hastened to Brundisium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundisium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and addressed them as follows: —

[53] "Fellow-soldiers, — you who are joined with me in the greatest of undertakings, — neither the winter weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind us here our servants, our pack-

animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may take us on board and carry us over at once without the enemy's knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we realize that nothing is ours unless we conquer. Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants, their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is the unexpected. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honors of the coming conflict and to prepare a safe pathway yonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey's sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. Although I am certain that you agree with me I await your response."

[54] The whole army cried out with enthusiasm that he should lead on. Cæsar at once led, from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to cast anchor. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, against his will, and held him in Brundisium, to his great disappointment, until the first day of the new (Y.R. 706) year. In the meantime two more legions arrived and (B.C. 48) Cæsar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Cæsar sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army. He then marched by night against the town of Oricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if his army had been anticipated he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townsmen to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Cæsar and remained with him in a position of honor. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Cæsar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Cæsar hastened to Apollonia, the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city.

[55] Cæsar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labors of a whole summer." After speaking thus he led his

soldiers directly toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along the road, in order to obstruct Cæsar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it of the greatest importance (as it was) to defend his own arsenal. If either of them saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as when hostile armies are ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for a moment's rest.

[56] In the midst of such vicissitudes on either side Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Cæsar pitched his camp so that the river Alor ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other. The armies did not come to a general engagement, however, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Cæsar waited for the forces left at Brundisium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not come he decided to cross over secretly to that army, because no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to procure a fast-sailing vessel and a first rate pilot as for a messenger sent by Cæsar.

CHAPTER IX

Cæsar attempts to cross the Adriatic in a Small Boat — Sends for Reënforcements — Antony arrives with the remainder of the Army — Skirmishes at Dyrrachium — Cæsar attempts to surround Pompey — Battle of Dyrrachium — Cæsar defeated

[57] Then he rose from supper pretending to be fatigued and told his friends to remain at the table. He put on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a chariot, and drove away to the ship, pretending to be the one sent by Cæsar. He gave the rest of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighborhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing. When they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot at the instigation of the servants put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress he became fatigued and gave it up. Then Cæsar threw off his disguise and called out to him, “ Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Cæsar and Cæsar’s fortunes.” Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves cast the ship high on the bank. As the dawn was near and they feared lest the enemy should discover them in the daylight, Cæsar, after accusing his evil genius for its invidiousness, allowed the ship to return, and it sailed up the river with a strong wind.

[58] Some of Cæsar’s friends were astonished at this act of bravery; others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Cæsar saw that he could not conceal a second attempt he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundusium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, “that every one who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Cæsar did not want ships but men.” Thus did Cæsar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence. Pompey, in order to anticipate Cæsar’s reënforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Cæsar’s men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital opportunity.

[59] When Postumius arrived at Brundusium Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by

forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed by the Illyrians and Cæsar was obliged to endure the outrage on account of his preoccupation. Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed for Apollonia with a favorable wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Cæsar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harborless and rocky coast. With difficulty they captured two of Cæsar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphæum.

[60] Now Cæsar had his whole army together and so had Pompey his. They encamped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Cæsar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scæva, while performing many deeds of valor, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save one of your equals, save your friend, send somebody to lead me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he cut off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scæva, lost an eye. Cæsar honored them both with many military gifts. A certain man of Dyrrachium having offered to betray the town to him, Cæsar went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis. . . . The same winter Pompey's father-in-law (Scipio) advanced with another army from Syria. Cæsar's general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole legion except 800 men.

[61] As Cæsar could obtain no supplies by sea, on account of Pompey's naval superiority, his army began to suffer from hunger and was compelled to make bread from herbs. When deserters brought loaves of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all pleased, but said, "What kind of wild beasts are we fighting with?" Then Cæsar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the

redoubts that Cæsar had vacated and remained quiet. Cæsar was greatly vexed at this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey's positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise. The circuit was 1200 stades. So, great was the work that Cæsar undertook. Pompey built a line of countervallation. Thus they parried each other's efforts. Nevertheless, they fought one great battle in which Pompey defeated Cæsar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honor by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within.

[62] While this remarkable defeat was in progress Cæsar brought up other troops from another quarter, but these also fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Cæsar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard bearers, with his standard reversed, dared to thrust the end of it at Cæsar himself, but the attendants of the latter cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, misled by a god, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he considered the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Cæsar said, "The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy's favor if they had had a commander who knew how to make use of a victory."

CHAPTER X

Cæsar encourages his Men — Marches to Thessaly — Pompey encamps at Pharsalus — Cæsar short of Supplies — Pompey prefers Delay but is overruled by his Council — Prodigies before the Battle — The Armies at Pharsalus — Allies and Mercenaries

[63] Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities magnifying his victory, and he expected that Cæsar's army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers because apprehensive of punishment for their bad conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their fault, and as Cæsar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with themselves and by a surprising change demanded that they should be decimated according to the law of their country. When Cæsar did not agree to this they were still more mortified, and acknowledged that he had been shamefully treated by them. They cried out that he should at least put the standard bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had turned in flight first. Cæsar would not consent to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, beseeching and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Cæsar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.

[64] Wherefore Cæsar's friends urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host, that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachium where Pompey had abundance of supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to some place where he would be subject to the same scarcity as themselves. After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi to which he came refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and allowed his army to plunder it. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, stuffed themselves immoderately and drank wine to excess. The Germans among them were especially ridiculous under the influence of drink. It seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not

disdainfully neglected a close pursuit. After seven days of rapid marching Cæsar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, and that one of them, like a physician, was seated in a chair and had dealt out poison to them.

[65] After Cæsar had withdrawn Pompey called a council of war, at which Afranius advised that they should make use of their naval force in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Cæsar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Cæsar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Cæsar's army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, and that there was not much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Cæsar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished. Pompey sided with these advisers partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Cæsar's near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades.

[66] Pompey's supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbors, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Cæsar, on the other hand, had only what he could find with difficulty and seize by hard labor. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valor rather than perish with hunger in inaction. Pompey perceived this and he considered it dangerous to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the amazing luck of Cæsar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no ships for rapid flight. So he decided on the most prudent calculation to protract the war and wear out the enemy by hunger from day to day.

[67] Pompey was surrounded by a great number of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very distinguished knights, and by many kings and princes.

Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one — all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Cæsar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey answered along this very line of argument by saying that Cæsar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, and that they had the more reason to remain quiet because Cæsar was pushed by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank — and for this reason called him derisively king of kings and Agamemnon, because that general also ruled over kings while war lasted — he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and gave in to them, being deceived now by the god that had misled him on other occasions during the whole of this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things, and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him to it.

[68] That same night three of Cæsar's legions started out to forage; for Cæsar himself approved Pompey's dilatory proceedings and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Æneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Cæsar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Cæsar interpreted it as meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the fame and power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees settled on the altar, the type of weakness. Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep.

[69] When his friends aroused him he said that he had just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Cæsar's vow, and they went about their work in a reckless and contemptuous way as though it were already accomplished. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared magnificent banquets for them. Some of them began already to contend with each other for Cæsar's office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey,

being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these squabbles with concealed indignation. He remained altogether silent in hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; such dejection had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point when he had decided what was the best course but was about to cast the die involving the safety of so many men and also involving his own reputation, until now invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. After merely saying to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of fright, and they inferred that if Pompey had been victorious he would not have laid down the supreme power.

[70] Cæsar's army (for since many writers differ I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, in whom they place most confidence, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as foreigners and as contributing to them little real assistance) consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000. Of the whole number some say Pompey's forces were to those of Cæsar as one-and-a-half to one, others say that he had two parts out of three. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces Cæsar had cavalry from both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Ætolians. Such were Cæsar's allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedæmonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Bœotians with them. The Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made on both sides that no harm should be done to them by the soldiers, since they were the priests of the Thesmophoræ. Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership.

[71] Besides the Greeks almost all the nations that one meets in making the circuit of the eastern sea sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and their neighbors the Arabs, Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deïotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia

in the East, and Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles commanded
THESSALY & SOUTHERN MACEDONIA

the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphrates. Those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artabazes. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the work. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country, Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force. They remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land with men who boasted that they were inured to every kind of toil and who were ferocious fighters. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him at a time when it would inure most to Cæsar's advantage. Under this spell also Pompey's army was most nonsensically puffed up, and rendered insubordinate to its own commander, and hurried into action without previous experience in war. But this was the ordering of divine Providence to bring in the imperial power which now embraces everything.

CHAPTER XI

Speeches of the Commanders — Preparations for Battle — Battle of Pharsalus — Total defeat of the Pompeians Flight of Pompey — Losses on both sides

[72] Then each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: “You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task rather than the led, for while I was still desirous of wearing Cæsar out by hunger you urged on this engagement. Since, therefore, you are the arbiters of the battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanquished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and honorable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who has seized the government by robbery. Go forward then, as you have determined to do, with good hope, keeping in vision the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there.” Such was Pompey’s speech.

[73] Cæsar addressed his men as follows: “My friends, we have already overcome our most formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we met at the Pillars of Hercules, the same that we drove out of Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honors, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories, and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country’s sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. You know that I dismissed them unharmed, hoping that we should obtain justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have had any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you.

74 “Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about them, pay no attention

to them, do not fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, and Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not assign them any place in his line of battle. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to occupy theirs.”

[75] Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Cæsar detailed 2000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring and groaned in spirit, that although they had with them famine, the most appropriate cure for such wild beasts, he must now meet these creatures in a hand-to-hand contest. But there was no drawing back now, his affairs being on the razor's edge. Wherefore, leaving 4000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Cæsar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front, divided into three lines with a moderate space between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was great clamor and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behavior. The rest, as Cæsar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Cæsar's camp, which was without defences.

[76] The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp. On Cæsar's side the commanders were P. Sulla, Antony, and Cn. Domitius. Cæsar took a convenient place in the tenth legion, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Cæsar perceived this movement he placed 3000 of his bravest foot-soldiers in ambush and ordered them, when they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart forward, and thrust their

spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they could not endure injury to their faces. Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Cæsar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible."

[77] When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Roman armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valor of these men (the elite of both parties), especially because they saw Romans embattled against Romans. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and exposed the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy had put themselves in a position where the one who should be vanquished could no longer hold even the humblest place, and how so great a number of the nobility were incurring the same risk on their account. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had coöperated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers. Even these circumstances were not wanting in this battle; because many unexpected things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin the fight. It is said that both of them shed tears.

[78] While they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he gave the signal first and Cæsar reëchoed it. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. The latter advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stolidity and absolute silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to flank the tenth legion. Cæsar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting

up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders. The latter could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. Thereupon Cæsar's men, who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports.

[79] When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to bring their spears to a rest and ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Cæsar criticises it in his letters. He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Cæsar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field killing and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honorably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a game, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumfounded were they that they did not dare attack Cæsar's tents, although they were guarded only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor.

[80] As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "we are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they could carry away in their flight. Now the rest of Pompey's legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Then, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, Cæsar, with the greatest prudence, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still without fear. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand without fear" began to be passed as a sort of watchword among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Cæsar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.

[81] When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he became dazed and retired

slowly to his camp, and when he reached his tent he sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by a god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Cæsar's proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Cæsar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey's

JULIUS CÆSAR AS IMPERATOR
In the Palace of the Conservators, Rome

camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy's camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy's camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" Having spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Cæsar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense.

[82] The losses of Italians on each side — for there was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either because of their multitude or because they were despised — were as follows: in Cæsar's army, thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey's side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Domitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Cæsar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Cæsar's officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000. Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Cæsar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crastinus, whom Cæsar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, "We shall conquer, O Cæsar, and you will thank me either living or dead." The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Cæsar bestowed military honors on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.

CHAPTER XII

Pompey sails for Egypt — Is assassinated there — Retreat of the Pompeians to Africa

[83] From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to the sea where he embarked in a small boat, and meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Corcyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus. Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba. The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and abounding in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship. For these reasons he sailed to Egypt.

[84] Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled from Egypt and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Mount Casius in Egypt, lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, judging that the king was there, which was the fact. So he sent messengers to tell of his arrival and to speak of his father's friendship. The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achillas, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favor with Cæsar. His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius, who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honor to Pompey, and the king was plainly seen in the midst of them wearing a purple robe.

[85] Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed — the

marshalling of the army, the meanness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles, "Whoever resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he were free when he went." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious. Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman soldier who had served under him or guessing that he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?" The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he immediately gave him the first stab and the others followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country.

[86] The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Cæsar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription: —

"What a pitiful tomb is here for one who had temples in abundance."

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his partisans at a later period near Mount Casius had been degraded and removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places. Such was the end of Pompey, who had carried on the greatest wars and had made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before, but had remained unvanquished and most fortunate from his youth till now. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise royal power, but on account of his jealousy of Cæsar he had seemed to rule in the interest of the people.

[87] Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and the other notables who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, proceeded to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Cæsar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Cæsar, collected a new army of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which

Pompey himself over-looked and ran away from in his insanity. Cato had been chosen commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined the appointment since there were consulars present who outranked him, he having held only the prætorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Cæsar, one in Africa and the other in Spain.

CHAPTER XIII

Cæsar pursues Pompey — Passes through Asia Minor — The Alexandrian War — The War against Pharnaces — Another Mutiny in Cæsar's Army — Cæsar disbands them at their Request — Takes them back at their Entreaty

[88] Cæsar remained two days at Pharsalus after the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thessalian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward, having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in mid-stream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Cæsar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Cæsar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Cæsar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Cæsar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And yet he who thus disgracefully surrendered to Cæsar, through fear alone, when the latter was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Cæsar was uplifted.

[89] Being thus unexpectedly saved, Cæsar passed the Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, the Æolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the great peninsula called by the common name of Lower Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey had gone to Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those whom he had on board the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime. After they had proceeded a long way from the land he ordered his pilot to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there. He was received by the king's guardians, the king himself being still at Mount Casius. At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no

designs against them.

[90] When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime against Pompey. (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Cæsar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighboring shores. In one of these Cæsar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in (Y.R. 707) which he won a decisive victory. He consumed nine (B.C. 47) months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and enjoying himself with her in other ways. The details of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Cæsar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war.

[91] After Cæsar had performed these exploits in Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had Already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Cæsar's lieutenant, Domitius, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Cæsar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Cæsar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Cæsar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, "Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?" Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, "O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man." Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

[92] After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on the Bosporus. As Cæsar had no time to waste on small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have

shown in my Asiatic history. Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the sedition had been quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in the army because the promises made to them after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should be dismissed to their homes. Cæsar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but all cash down. Sallustius Crispus, who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape. He would have been killed if he had not fled. When Cæsar learned of this he stationed the legion, with which Antony had been guarding the city, around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed himself on the platform.

[93] The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from the service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still greater astonishment, and while the silence was most profound, he added, "And I will give you all that I have promised when I have my triumph with others." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind to them, shame immediately took possession of all, and reflection, together with jealousy at the thought of their abandoning their commander in the midst of such great wars and of others joining in the triumph instead of themselves, and of their losing the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and becoming enemies of Cæsar himself as well as of the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Cæsar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a short and austere word. Then he began to speak, addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellow-soldiers," which implied that they were already discharged from the army and were private individuals.

[94] They could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service. But Cæsar

turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater eagerness and urged him to stay and punish them for their misdeeds. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honor, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and colonizing the takers among the losers, and making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase what may be needful." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Cæsar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Cæsar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa.

CHAPTER XIV

Cæsar sails for Africa — The Forces arrayed against him — Battle of Thapsus — Cato at Utica — He commits Suicide — Juba and Petreius kill each other

[95] He crossed from Rhegium to Messina and went to Lilybæum. Here, learning that Cato was guarding the enemy's magazines with a fleet and a part of the land forces at Utica, and that he had with him 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against (Y.R. 708) the latter. He arrived at a time when Scipio had gone (B.C. 46) away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him, defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off. Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saying to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In one part of the day's work did Cæsar's luck show itself, in that the victorious enemy seems to have abandoned the field at the very moment of success. It is said that in the flight Cæsar dashed up to his whole line and turned it around and seizing one of those who carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and Cæsar was glad to do the same. Such was the result of Cæsar's first battle in Africa.

[96] Not long afterward it was reported that Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Cæsar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, also frightened them. But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom. When this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Cæsar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be pitted against the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards.

[97] The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in all parts of the field until

toward evening, when victory declared itself on the side of Cæsar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep. The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they could. Scipio himself with Afranius, abandoning everything, fled by sea with twelve open ships. And thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, in the second engagement, completely annihilated. And now Cæsar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to Cæsar's luck. And it seems that the result of this war also was due to the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to wear out Cæsar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory by pushing it sharply to the end.

[98] As these facts became known at Utica some three days later, and as Cæsar was marching right against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Cæsar, and that Cæsar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture, as had been his custom since Pompey's death. He changed his habits in no respect. He partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favorable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Cæsar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he change any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his sword in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betrayed by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" he said. When they besought him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without his sword, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his sword. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read.

[99] When he had read the book through and when he thought that those who were stationed at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his bowels, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound put a bandage around it. When Cato came to

himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks to those who had saved him and said that he only needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the sword with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. When Cato thought that they were asleep, he tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound, enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from high-souled considerations. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, when she was a virgin. He was extremely fond of her and had had children by her. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, — who desired to have children but was married to a barren wife, — until she bore a child to him also, when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely loaned her. Such a man was Cato. The Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Cæsar said (B.C. 47) that Cato had envied him the opportunity for a deed of honor, but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled the Cato, Cæsar wrote an answer to it which he called the Anti-Cato.

[100] Juba and Petreius, in view of the circumstances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew each other with swords at a banquet. Cæsar made Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and appointed Sallustius Crispus its governor. He pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to young Pompey. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found. Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea. This was the end of Cæsar's war in Africa.

CHAPTER XV

Cæsar's Four Triumphs — Cæsar marches against Young Pompeius in Spain — Battle of Munda — Flight and Death of Young Pompeius

[101] When Cæsar returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of (B.C. 46) Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these misfortunes were represented in the processions and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, the only one whom he did not venture to exhibit, since the latter was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achilles and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

[102] It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 talents [of silver] was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Cæsar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and præfect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected a temple to Venus, his ancestress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one-half of the number

existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city.

(Y.R. 709) [103] Cæsar, now in his fourth consulship, marched against young Pompeius in Spain. This was all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped from Africa had assembled here. The army was composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was a great number of emancipated slaves also in Pompeius' camp. All had been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this fact and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Cæsar straightway on his arrival, although the older ones, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Cæsar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Cæsar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven days, coming with a heavily-laden army by a very long (B.C. 45) route. Fear fell upon his soldiers as never before, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valor of the enemy.

[104] For this reason Cæsar himself also was ready to move slowly until Pompeius approached him at a certain place where he was reconnoitering and accused him of cowardice. Cæsar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba and then, too, gave *Venus* for his watchword. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave *Piety* for his. When battle was joined fear seized upon Cæsar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Cæsar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encouraged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he dodged while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Cæsar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence.

[105] After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled to Corduba, and Cæsar, in order to prevent the fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this kind of a wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Cæsar. Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat with 150

horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a fleet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place for medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Cæsar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A younger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight; but as yet he kept moving about in concealment and lived by robbery.

CHAPTER XVI

Unexampled Honors bestowed on Cæsar — He dismisses his Body-guard — Rumor of Cæsar's Intention to assume the Title of King Antony crowns him at the Lupercal — Cæsar plans a Campaign against the Parthians — Conspiracy against Cæsar's Life — Brutus and Cassius the Leaders — Other Conspirators — Brutus prevents the Killing of Antony — Cæsar comes to the Senate — Bad Omens at the Entrance — Cæsar assassinated

[106] Having ended the civil wars Cæsar hastened to Rome, honored and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honors were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were superhuman — sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. His likeness was painted in various forms, in some cases crowned with oak as the savior of his country, by which crown the citizens were accustomed formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should perform his sacerdotal functions always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years the priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Cæsar's decrees. In honor of his gens the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

[107] Thus while they feared his power they besought his clemency. There were some who proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the prætorian cohorts that had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordinary public attendance only. To him in this state and while he was transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honors aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, which afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honors conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Cæsar also recalled the

exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Therefore the wearied people especially hoped that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had grasped the same power. But in this they were disappointed.

(Y.R. 710) [108] Some person among those who wished to spread the report of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, sought out this person and put him in prison, pretending to gratify Cæsar in this way, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Cæsar was well satisfied with their action. Some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and when the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am no king, I am Cæsar," as though they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus (B.C. 44) found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Cæsar was at last vexed and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of conspiring to make him odious by artfully accusing him of aiming at royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation.

[109] When Cæsar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish cohorts as a body-guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honors for him brought to an end even thus, for, while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival, sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater number groaned, and Cæsar threw off the diadem. Antony again put it on him and again Cæsar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end. When they saw that Cæsar prevailed they shouted for joy, and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.

[110] And now Cæsar, either renouncing his hope, or tired out, and wishing

to avoid the plot and accusation, or giving up the city to certain of his enemies, or to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getæ and the Parthians. The Getæ, a hardy, warlike, and neigh-boring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumor gained currency that the Sibylline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason some people ventured to say that Cæsar ought to be called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, and that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Cæsar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the city in which he was exposed to such envy.

[111] Four days before his intended departure he was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they well knew that if he should conquer those nations he would be a king without a doubt. But I think that they took, as a pretext for their own design, this plan for an additional title, which really made no difference to them except in name, for in fact a dictator is exactly the same as a king. Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Cæpio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan revolution), who had sided with Cæsar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Cæsar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Cæsar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honor and trust by Cæsar at all times. He had employed them in the largest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge of Transalpine, and Marcus Brutus of Cisalpine, Gaul.

[112] Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as prætors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city prætor, this being the place of highest honor, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each other. Cæsar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favor Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Cæsar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) at the time of his birth, for which reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was

ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether it was because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by people who secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to the tribunal of Brutus himself such writings as these, "Brutus, are you corrupted by bribes?" "Brutus, are you dead?" or "would that you were still alive!" or, "your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "you are not the descendant of that Brutus." These and many like incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his own ancestor.

[113] While the talk about the kingship was going on, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Cæsar's flatterers propose a decree making him king?" Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as prætors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he replied. Cassius embraced him, saying, "Which of the nobility will you allow to share your thought? Do you think that artisans and shopkeepers have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or rather the noblest Romans, those who ask from the other prætors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, but from you liberty, as a boon worthy of your ancestry?" Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own friends, and of Cæsar's also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Cæsilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Casca, Servius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Cæsar's friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already mentioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basillus.

[114] When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They sought a time and place. Time was pressing because Cæsar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and would thereupon have a body-guard of soldiers. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed. It was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old, taking place in open Senate, would seem to be performed not by private plotters, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Cæsar's army. At the same time they thought the honor would be theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the

place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Cæsar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus said that they would win the glory of tyrannicide from the death of Cæsar alone, because that would be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction.

[115] The day before the meeting of the Senate Cæsar went to sup with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to the drinking-bout. While they were in their cups the conversation turned on the question, "What is the best kind of death for a man?" Various opinions were given, but Cæsar alone expressed the preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavorable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey's theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings, as was the custom when the games were taking place. Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as prætors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Cæsar's house and that the Senate was to be dismissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, "You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all." Casca was suddenly conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, continued, "Where shall you get the money to stand for the ædileship?" Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popillius Læna, one of the senators, drew them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror.

[116] While Cæsar was being borne to the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Cæsar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Cæsar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already murdered. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Cæsar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the curia, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popillius

Læna, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Cæsar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Læna did not seem to be revealing anything to Cæsar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when they saw him return thanks to Cæsar after the conversation they took new courage. It was the custom of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate, to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Cæsar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some say, the beginning of the entrails was wanting. A soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Cæsar, laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was still more entitled to credence. So Cæsar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went in disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Cæsar should meet his doom.

[117] The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others, with concealed daggers, stood around Cæsar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Cæsar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Cæsar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but missed his aim and wounded him in the breast. Cæsar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled Casca with great violence. While he was in this position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was exposed by his turning around, Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades. With rage and outcries Cæsar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but after receiving the wound from Brutus he despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, he fell in a decent position at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other.

CHAPTER XVII

*Panic in the City — The Murderers take possession of the Capitol —
Rottenness of Roman Society — The Conspirators distribute Bribes — Brutus
and Cassius come down from the Capitol — Proposals for Compromise to
Antony — Antony's Answer*

[118] When the murderers had perpetrated their crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person was sacred and inviolable, there was an immediate flight from the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of JULIUS CÆSAR AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS In the Vatican Museum, Rome

those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre into the balcony of the Senate. The theatre itself was emptied in haste and panic-terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their front doors and put themselves in a posture of defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house, apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Cæsar. Lepidus, the master of horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the plain in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Cæsar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Cæsar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Cæsar, for he did not like guards except the usual attendants of the magistracy. Many civilian officers and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate, but had fled en masse, all except three slaves, who placed the body in a litter and, with uneven step (being an uneven number), bore him homeward who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea.

[119] The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap on the end of a spear as a symbol of freedom and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers and recall the memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with

the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as being their own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny. They had apprehensions of the plebeians and of Cæsar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service and to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Cæsar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

[120] In this frame of mind they hastened up to the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping that if some would begin to praise the deed others would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the Roman people were still exactly the same as they had heard that they were at the time when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did not perceive that they were counting on two incompatible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The latter class were much easier to find of the two, because the government had been corrupt for a long time. The plebeians were now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen had equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves were dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume was common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the poor, which took place in Rome only, drew thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude of discharged soldiers no longer returned one by one to their native places as formerly, fearing that some of them might be accused of having engaged in iniquitous wars, but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and houses belonging to others. These were now encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their colony, and as they had already sold their own belongings preparatory to their departure they were in readiness to be bought for any purpose.

[121] From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Cæsar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers; for there could be no peace without amnesty to them. While they were thus engaged the prætor Cinna, a relative of Cæsar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his prætorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Cæsar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled

their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honors. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace.

[122] But after Dolabella, a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Cæsar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended to have been privy to the conspiracy against him, and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent — some say that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic — then the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a prætor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from the wound he had received when he and Cassius were dealing blows at Cæsar. When they reached the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary they praised each other as for something confessedly admirable. They considered the city fortunate and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Cæsar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Cæsar), who was still warring against Cæsar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Cæsetius and Marullus, who had been deposed by Cæsar, should be recalled from exile.

[123] After they had thus spoken Cassius and Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they had not yet entire confidence in the present posture of affairs. Having first enabled their friends and relatives to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers asked, not extolling the deed that had been done, however, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Cæsar's friends. They asked that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators (who had been actuated, not by hatred toward Cæsar, but by love of country), and out of compassion for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife, and which a new sedition might deprive of the good men still remaining. "If enmity were entertained against certain persons," they said, "it

would be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It would be far preferable to sink private animosity in the public weal, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present.”

[124] Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Cæsar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Cæsar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labors. Having come to this decision, Antony replied to the messengers, “We shall do nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Cæsar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we will agree to whatever may be decided in common to be propitious for the city.”

[125] Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would cooperate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and he had fires lighted throughout the city. By this means the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonized soldiers ran about uttering threats lest they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or proclaimed to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Cæsar’s merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Cæsar’s money and his official papers were transferred to Antony’s house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it.

CHAPTER XVIII

Antony summons the Senate — Debate on the Killing of Cæsar — Antony cunningly proposes a Self-denying Ordinance — It is rejected — A Speech by Lepidus — Antony addresses the Senate — The Senate votes Amnesty to the Murderers and Confirmation of Cæsar's Acts

[126] While these things were taking place Antony, by means of a notice sent around by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the prætor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Cæsar's veterans, when they saw him, were indignant that he, although a relative of Cæsar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech, threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them. This was the first decided expression of opinion in favor of Cæsar. The hirelings, and the murderers themselves, were alarmed by it.

[127] In the Senate only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder. Most of them sought to aid the murderers in various ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some of them extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyrannicides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the deed for the sake of reward, but thought that they should merely be thanked as public benefactors. Still others were opposed to thanking them and thought that it would be sufficient to grant them impunity. Such were the devices to which they resorted, and were trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the great families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honor them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honoring them would be dishonoring Cæsar, it was answered that it was not

permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another having said plainly that one of two things must be decided beforehand — either that Cæsar was a tyrant or that his murderers were to be pardoned as an act of clemency — the others [Cæsar's enemies] seized upon this simple proposition and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Cæsar, under the solemn pledge that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiased judgment, the penalty of the oath should not befall them for having previously voted Cæsar's decrees under compulsion — never willingly and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the killing of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

[128] When Antony, who had been looking on and waiting, saw that sufficient material for discussion had been introduced which was not open to dispute, he resolved to balk their scheme by exciting fear and anxiety for themselves. Seeing a great number of these senators themselves who had been designated by Cæsar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony proclaimed silence as consul and said: "Those who are asking for a vote on the character of Cæsar ought to consider in the first place that all the things done and decreed under his government and while he was the chosen ruler of the state remain in full force. If it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to decide, because they concern us alone, I will propose to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier ones. Almost all of us have held office under Cæsar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones."

[129] Having lighted this kind of a firebrand among them, not in reference to Cæsar, but to themselves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose immediately en masse, and with loud clamor protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or for some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honor on

murderers and dishonoring their own magistrates under the pretext of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people's gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honor to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the prætors, in order to ensnare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their places, in common with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control the future election.

[130] While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for some time. When they were perceived in an elevated place, and the shouters had been with difficulty silenced, one of their number, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, "Have a care lest you suffer a like fate." Antony loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, "That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Cæsar." Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, "I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is called expedient rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Cæsar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them."

[131] When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus was about to speak those who were standing at a distance asked him to go down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he said, "Yesterday I stood with Cæsar here, where now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do about his murder." Many cried out "Avenge Cæsar." The hirelings shouted on the other side, "Peace for the republic." To the latter he replied, "Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Cæsar and we have trampled on them — we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers." Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, "Cæsar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of

those who still remain. Our conscript fathers," he added, "are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of most of them." They shouted again, "Avenge him yourself." "I would like to," he replied, "and it is right that I should do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I should wish to do it alone, or alone set ourselves up against them."

[132] While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Cæsar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider me worthy of it," whereupon the mercenaries, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who was waiting to see what the people would do, looked at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people would not do anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a matter of the greatest favor), and at the same time to have Cæsar's acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement. Accordingly he commanded silence again and spoke as follows: —

[133] "Fellow-citizens, while you have been considering the case of the offenders I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Cæsar instead of on them, I had brought forward, until this moment, only one of Cæsar's acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Cæsar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organized by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favors and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new wars — you who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country? But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itself, — men who are here after receiving the rewards of victory, many of them with arms in their hands and in the same organization in which they fought, men assigned to colonies by Cæsar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), — what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country? The past night showed you a sample. They were cursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers.

[134] "Think you that Cæsar's fellow-soldiers will allow his body to be

dragged through the streets, dishonored, and cast away unburied — for our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants? Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such fickleness on our part be held in greater reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honor on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in a sacred place, in full senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonor one whom even our enemies honor for his bravery? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as being sacrilegious in themselves and not in our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Cæsar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Cæsar's acts). Let them be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the light of a favor."

[135] When Antony had said these things with intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others remaining silent and agreeing, the following decree was passed: "There shall be no prosecution for the murder of Cæsar, but all of his acts and decrees are confirmed, because this policy is deemed advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Cæsar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to confirm their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate to pass it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Cæsar had made the custodian of his will and urged him not to make the will public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.

CHAPTER XIX

*Piso calls for the Reading of Cæsar's Will — Brutus addresses the People —
His Speech applauded*

[136] Then Piso called out with a loud voice and demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid the burying of a Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Cæsar's acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to him. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder. Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been intrusted to me unless somebody kills me also." This speech excited clamor and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was decreed that the will should be read in public and that Cæsar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned.

[137] When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: "Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we intrust ourselves to you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whose help we shall do what remains to be done for the restoration of democratic government. After Gaius Cæsar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the most popular man among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Cæsar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly intrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present accusers have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude.

[138] "If Cæsar did no more against your liberty than are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership

of colonies, nor any other posts of honor; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Cæsar's command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Cæsar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his appointments your elections for five years), what sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope could be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Cæstius and Marullus? Were not the incumbents of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Cæsar banished them even without a trial. Have we then, or has he, done violence to inviolable persons — unless you say that Cæsar was sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens? Did not our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion take an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so forever? What has become of the public tribute? What of the public accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who removed part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him?

[139] ““But what kind of an oath after this will be a guarantee of peace ?” they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we said before, while we were still in danger; this we will continue to say forever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honor securely at the hands of Cæsar, had a higher regard for our country than for our offices. They slander us about the colonies and so excite you against us. If there are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known.”

[140] A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, “Bravo, my men, you have done well to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honors and bounties from your country, to give her equal honor in return as she sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Cæsar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Cæsar, taking advantage of your military oath, led you against your country much against your will. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you shall have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not

by taking land from your unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with new-comers, nor by considering it proper to requite your services by means of acts of injustice. When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public money. In this way the people colonized you without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Cæsar, who invaded their country like a foreign land and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. They took, by the law of war, — nay, by the practice of robbery, — from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we do not take away even from foreign enemies, except a mere tenth of their produce by way of tax.

[141] “They divided among you the property of your own people, the very ones who sent you with Cæsar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who is driven out and deprived of his goods will always be watching his opportunity to ensnare you. This was the very thing that the tyrants sought to accomplish, — not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of common crimes and common fears. And this, ye gods, they call colonization, in which are common the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes. They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it forever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple. You have and shall keep what you have received. None of us will take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing wanting in this business we will supply — a reconciliation with your fellow-countrymen most agreeable to them now, as they hear that we shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred.”

[142] While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, and after the assembly was

dissolved, his discourse was approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of the people. The latter were favorably inclined toward them, and promised to coöperate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were delighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made their appearance they were received with shouts of applause, and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, which was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear and envy lest the conspirators should get the upper hand of them in other political matters.

CHAPTER XX

The Reading of Cæsar's Will — Antony's Funeral Oration — The Populace roused to Fury — The Murderers flee from the City

[143] Cæsar's will was now produced and the people ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavius, the grandson of his sister, was adopted by Cæsar. His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas. The people were again stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Cæsar when he had been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Cæsar's body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent display placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to Cæsar on his mother's side), resumed his artful design and spoke as follows: —

[144] "It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral oration of so great a man should be pronounced by me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive — the Senate and the people acting together — I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own." Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Cæsar to be superhuman, sacred, and inviolable, and which named him the father of his country, or the benefactor, or the chieftain without a peer. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Cæsar's corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Cæsar as the father of his country he added that this was a testimonial of his clemency; and again, where he was made sacred and inviolable and everybody else was to be held unharmed who should find refuge with him, — "Nobody," said Antony, "who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honors from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most

servile are we if we give such honors to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of servility by paying such honors as you now pay to the dead.”

[145] Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Cæsar and Cæsar’s body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, “Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so.” A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony quieted them again and recanted, saying, “It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting our accustomed hymn of lamentation for him.”

[146] Having spoken thus,, he gathered up his garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and sang first as to a celestial deity. In order to testify to Cæsar’s godlike origin, he raised his hands to heaven and with rapid speech recited his wars, his battles, his victories, the nations he had brought under his country’s sway, and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, “Thou alone hast come forth unvanquished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the out-rage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome.” Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and prayed that his own life might be given in exchange for Cæsar’s. Carried away by extreme passion he uncovered the body of Cæsar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator’s blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus, mourned with him in the most lugubrious manner, and from sorrow became again filled with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Cæsar himself was supposed to speak, recounting the benefits he had conferred on his enemies by name, and speaking of the murderers themselves, exclaiming, as it were, “ Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me!” The people could endure it no

longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all the murderers who, with the single exception of Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Cæsar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed by him worthy of adoption as his son.

[147] While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Cæsar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, which gave him a shocking appearance. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding themselves, they burned the senate-chamber where Cæsar was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the murderers, who had fled some time previously. They were so mad with rage and grief that like wild beasts they tore in pieces the tribune Cinna on account of his similarity of name to the praetor Cinna who had made a speech against Cæsar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the simhilarity of name, so that no part of him was ever found for burial. They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbors besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following day.

[148] The murderers fled from the city secretly. The people returned to Cæsar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where in the olden time stood the palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together sticks of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected, but now there stands the temple of Cæsar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honors; for Octavius, his son by adoption, who took the name of Cæsar, and, following in the footsteps of the latter in political matters, greatly strengthened the government founded by Cæsar, and which remains to this day, decreed divine honors to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honors to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings while living.

CHAPTER XXI

Comparison of Cæsar with Alexander

[149] So died Gaius Cæsar on the so-called Ides of March, which correspond nearly with the middle of the Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer predicted that he should not survive. Cæsar jokingly said to him early in the morning, "Well, the Ides have come," and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, "But they are not past." Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsayer, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Cæsar went on his way and was killed, being fifty-six years of age. He was a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia against a head sea successfully. A god restrained the waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. In India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered many barbarians in Europe and made himself master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war. He overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he saw, and died while he was devising means to capture the rest.

[150] The Adriatic Sea yielded to Cæsar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces by running them on the rocks of the British coast. He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Cæsar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment an exception was made of a Gallic war, in case of which priests and old men were required to serve in the army. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment, leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy, swam under

water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he came near a friendly ship, when he made himself known by raising his hands, and was saved. In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces were not, like Alexander's, always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by young Pompey. But Cæsar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by good-will, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

[151] Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honors. Both were well-formed and handsome in person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Æacus and Hercules, Cæsar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer. Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Cæsar from a private station, well born and illustrious indeed, but very short of money.

[152] Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the sooth-sayers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a liver, and the first time it indicated a doubtful danger. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracæ and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Cæsar in Spain while his army was in great fear of young Pompey, and hesitated to join battle. Cæsar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, rushed

forward and rescued him. Thus in the case of each the first victims without livers presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. As Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephestion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephestion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech.

[153] As Cæsar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was killed. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, "He who guesses right is the best prophet." Again, the Chaldeans urged him not to march his army into the city while looking toward the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being bothered by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation and navigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dyke this stream and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But scarcely had he returned back to it when he died. Cæsar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Cæsar mocked him saying, "The Ides have come "; and the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsayers who uttered them, yet they became the inevitable victims of the prophecies.

[154] Both were students of the science and arts of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the Persians. Cæsar likewise interrogated the Egyptians while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans.

He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Cæsar changed it to the sun's course, as the Egyptians reckoned it. It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show. MARK ANTONY In the Vatican Museum, Rome

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

The City after Cæsar's Funeral — Antony puts the False Marius to Death — He deceives the Senate — He falsifies Cæsar's Decrees — Brutus and Cassius leave the City — Dolabella appointed Governor of Syria and Antony Governor of Macedonia

I. **THUS** was Gaius Cæsar, who had been foremost in extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them.

[2] The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration over Cæsar, by which, chiefly, the people were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Cæsar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and made himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of provinces from Cæsar himself had gone away to take charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia adjoining Ionia, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special favorites of the Senate, had been chosen by Cæsar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. Being still city prætors, they remained there necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years.

[3] It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On the rumor of this plot, Antony, using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they enjoyed it exceedingly because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honored, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming against Antony and called on the magistrates, in place of Amatius, to dedicate the altar and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Cæsar. Having been driven out of

the forum by soldiers sent by Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Cæsar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show a shop where the statues had been broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the Tarpeian rock.

[4] So this tumult was quieted. The extreme fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that Brutus and his associates could not rest secure otherwise. Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still at war with Cæsar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50,000,000 of Attic drachmas out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody, in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and the ones most honored by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what they had done would be confirmed, and the republic be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually, and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city.

[5] Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter for his service otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through service under Cæsar. He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honor and made sharers of his public councils. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Cæsar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Cæsar's intentions were in Antony's possession, and Cæsar's secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Cæsar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony's discretion. Antony made many additions in order to

secure the favor of many persons. He made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own guards, and although all were advised that these were Cæsar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew that the favor was due to Antony. In the same way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards.

[6] While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatius, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command. Seeing that the republic was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also. They reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by. They sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Cæsar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city prætors unfinished, and that they should incur the suspicion of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as prætors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honor corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. Being in this state of mind, and the Senate holding the same opinion as themselves, the latter gave them charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world until the time should arrive for them to take command of their provinces. This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have fled. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their account.

[7] After Brutus and Cassius had left the city, Antony, being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as the former had always been at variance with the latter. Antony, knowing that this young Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it, but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Cæsar. He replied that Cæsar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody, and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Cæsar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments

before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also that it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella, were not chosen for Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to falsify the signs in the sky during the comitia, expecting that Antony, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would coöperate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavorable, as it was not his business to attend to this, THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS Vatican Museum (Duruy)

Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella.

[8] Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Cæsar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was coöperating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an army. They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius. They assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus. Such was the state of affairs at Rome.

CHAPTER II

The Young Octavius in Apollonia — He comes to Italy — Cæsar's Soldiers receive him gladly — He moves toward Rome — He resolves to avenge Cæsar — He visits Antony and reads him a Lecture — Antony's Reply

[9] Octavius, the son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister, had been appointed master of Cæsar's horse for one year, for Cæsar at times made this a yearly office, passing it around among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Cæsar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Cæsar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Cæsar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening that Cæsar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to him, and were then the most powerful ones under him. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether they had already been punished by the people, or would be, or whether the people were pleased with what had been done.

[10] Thereupon his Roman friends advised him to take refuge with the army in Macedonia to insure his personal safety, and that when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction he should take courage and avenge Cæsar of his enemies; and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Cæsar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavius yielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Cæsar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Adriatic, not to Brundisium (for as he had made no test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiæ. There he took lodgings and remained for a while.

[11] When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Cæsar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Cæsar, as he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Cæsar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundisium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him.

When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Cæsar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of Cæsar; for it is customary among the Romans for the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Cæsar the son of Cæsar, instead of Octavius the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Cæsar's son, some from friendship to Cæsar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them other soldiers, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundisium.

[12] Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Cæsar, and by the good-will of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some of the towns were not altogether favorable to him, but Cæsar's veterans, who had been distributed in colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Cæsar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavius praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about 400 stades from Rome, he received news that Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompey had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in accordance with Cæsar's memoranda, and that many other things were happening.

[13] When he arrived at the city his mother and Philippus and the others who were interested in him were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Cæsar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Cæsar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavius quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as one enforcing the law, the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and perhaps Antony himself would help. If he (Octavius) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Cæsar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will. As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that he ought not only to incur danger, but even to die,

after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Cæsar, if he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then turning to his mother, he repeated the words of Achilles to Thetis, which were then fresh in his mind:—"Then quickly let me die since fate denied That I should aid my friend against the foes That slew him."

Iliad, xviii. 98, Bryant's translation.

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown; and he invoked Cæsar not as a friend, but a father; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

[14] Thereupon his mother's anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as the only one worthy of Cæsar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favor of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavius approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city prætor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Cæsar; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the prætors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavius went from the forum straightway to Antony. The latter was in the gardens that Cæsar had given to him, that had formerly been Pompey's. As Octavius was kept waiting at the vestibule for some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Antony's displeasure. When he was admitted there were greetings and mutual questionings proper to the occasion. When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavius said: —

[15] "Father Antony (for the benefits that Cæsar conferred upon you and your gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Cæsar was killed you were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also; not, as I think, because you were likely to avenge Cæsar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. At the same time they made it clear that they were not tyrant-killers, but murderers, by taking refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and impunity for their crime unless some portion of the Senate and people had been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would

be for the interest of the majority, and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security. Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Cæsar's will had been read, and you had delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, in lively remembrance of Cæsar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbors, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not coöperate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in the act of murder — you, Cæsar's friend; you, the consul; you, Antony?

[16] "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can always defend themselves against me, and had you not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father's slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate — you who ought most of all to have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favor, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Cæsar and annul your own opinion. Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, to the firmest friend of Cæsar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honor and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Æneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of designating you as his successor.

[17] "For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Cæsar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will hereafter aid and cooperate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father's faithful friends. If you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us. So much for that. You know about my private affairs and the expense I must incur for the legacy which my father directed to be given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city

and waste their time on my account. Of Cæsar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Cæsar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once."

[18] While Octavius was speaking in this fashion Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and, accordingly, he replied in the severe terms following: "Young man, if Cæsar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer leading but reigning), then there is no need of my answering you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not as a favor to you, but to the people, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Cæsar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honors to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides, Cæsar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom neither glory, nor any kind of honor, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory stigmatized, and their property confiscated.

[19] "Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Cæsar, for his immortal honor, and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Cæsar to remain unburied and dishonored — the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honors were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Cæsar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It was more becoming in you to testify your gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me for concessions made to soothe the

Senate, or in compensation for what I demanded of it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons — you a younger man addressing an older one. But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Cæsar's will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidæ is enough to content one.

[20] “As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I should think you must be joking, unless we might believe that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father. After he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Cæsar's assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. This will not be unjust to Cæsar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the accounts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought around by me to support the decrees in favor of Cæsar, and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder, will distribute it among those who are disaffected toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are in harmony with you, will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are forever exalting their favorites, and casting them down again.”

CHAPTER III

Disagreement between Antony and Octavius — Litigation over Cæsar's Estate — Growing Popularity of Octavius — Dolabella proceeds to Syria — Antony schemes to get Command of the Army in Macedonia — Dolabella puts Trebonius to Death

[21] Feeling outraged by the many insulting things said by Antony, Octavius went away, invoking his father repeatedly by name, and offered for sale all the property which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time exhorting the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most of them grew apprehensive of the young Cæsar' on account of the favor in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians, and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Cæsar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder Cæsar. Others were delighted with the present state of affairs, believing that the two men would come in conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavius, and that the treasury would be filled thereby because much of the public property would be found in Cæsar's estate.

[22] In the meantime many persons brought lawsuits against Octavius for the recovery of landed property, some making one claim and some another, differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death by the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates, Octavius was worsted through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases had been made by his father, and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Cæsar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Cæsar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavius, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done in derogation of Cæsar, and to ratify all that had been done by him. Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the understanding at the time. While hastily passing a mere

decree of amnesty, it had been registered that whatever had been previously determined on should stand unrepealed, not for its own sake, not because it was satisfactory in all respects, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favor of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Peditus and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavius. This was the answer made by Antony to Peditus and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavius, for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward.

[23] The games were now approaching, which Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give in behalf of Brutus, the prætor, as he attended also to the other duties of the prætorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavius, on the other hand, intrigued against this scheme, distributing the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers. He went around to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own zeal for the people, all of which brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When, in addition to what he had received as Cæsar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Peditus and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Cæsar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Cæsar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the wrong that Antony was doing him.

[24] They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the spectators were thus wrought up to a feeling of pity for them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until the demand for their recall ceased.

When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavius had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been intrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Cæsar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

[25] Presently a rumor was noised about that the Getæ, learning of Cæsar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Cæsar to be used against the Getæ before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumor, and sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him. Having deceived the Senate chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia. Having obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumor came back and reported that they had seen no Getæ in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn.

[26] While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, who was governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, to occupy a market-place outside the walls. When the latter attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and, having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, leaving a few of their number to follow him. Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and

killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it by escalade. Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to follow them. One of the centurions answered him facetiously, "Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself." With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the prætor's chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Cæsar by detaining Antony in conversation at the door of the senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who was visited with such punishment.

CHAPTER IV

Antony brings the Macedonian Army to Italy — Growing Rivalry between Antony and Octavius — The Military Tribunes intervene between them — Antony obtains Cisalpine Gaul from the People with Octavius' Help

[27] Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Cæsar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money lest he should be overpowered by Antony, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law, in the same manner that Cæsar had obtained it at a former time and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundisium; and the latter proceeded to do as he was directed.

[28] This was the time for the games that the ædile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavius made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and crown, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Cæsar to be honored in this way at games given at his expense, Octavius brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavius was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony was angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavius himself, which had been instituted by his father in honor of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. It was evident that universal hatred of Antony had already grown out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Cæsar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one. Octavius himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them not to despise him, the victim of so many and so great outrages, nor willingly desert him, but to defend Cæsar, their commander and benefactor, dishonored by Antony; to defend him for their own sakes, because they would never be

secure in what they had received from Cæsar unless the decrees passed in his honor should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere throughout the city, and especially from the high places that he came to, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Cæsar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. Heap indignities on me to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me."

[29] Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in severer threats against Octavius, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Cæsar, and who were then in the highest favor with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Cæsar and had obtained his present good fortune at Cæsar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavius himself, with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he had been compelled to change his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honor for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention if Octavius, also, would curb his presumption.

[30] The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavius together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to have the tribunes of the people veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of intrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Cæsar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees — throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate desired that the votes should be taken by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum with a rope during the night, demanded that the votes be taken by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon. Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless coöperated with him for the sake of Octavius, who stood alongside the rope and begged them

to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of a province so convenient, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason brought his army across the Adriatic.

CHAPTER V

Antony again opposes Octavius — The Tribunes intervene again — Antony replies to them

[31] One of the tribunes of the people having died Octavius favored the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and, accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavius, either to curry favor with the Senate, or to appease its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavius should not solicit votes contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use every means in his power against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavius, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavius, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file.

[32] While Octavius was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Cæsar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favors them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Cæsar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Cæsar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such. Our enemies are starting up afresh. They have boldly seized Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Cæsar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Cæsar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, and for your own interest even more than ours. Help Octavius

as much as you can, or at all events as much as may be needful, to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you.”

[33] To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: “What friendship and zeal I had for Cæsar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favors he showed me, what honors he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Cæsar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then, will believe that I have no care for Cæsar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Cæsar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

[34] “When Cæsar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not the particulars of the conspiracy nor against whom it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with their gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Cæsar were declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it would not have been surprising if I had been at a loss what to do, you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unflinching courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Cæsar’s party could be safe only in case Cæsar were not declared a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged in the same fear (lest, if Cæsar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight, for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What did I want and how important was it? That Cæsar’s name should not be blotted out was the dearest wish of all to me, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honors previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his

acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honor instead of ignominy.

[35] “ Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain to actually spare the murderers for the sake of Cæsar’s immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to gain time. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers were freed from anxiety, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Cæsar’s body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed by the knives. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain and invoking him as a god. These acts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire in spite of the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How much the Senate was thwarted and grieved by this was presently shown when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (as I had no military force of my own anywhere), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me. He had pretended to be in the conspiracy against Cæsar and he had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

[36] “ While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favored his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, as the war against the Parthians fell to the lot of the one governing Syria. But they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the

quid pro quo that was given to them — Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws.

[37] “After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumor gained currency that the Getæ were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones [as Octavius thinks], but with the more numerous and powerful ones who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, who governed a conveniently placed province with a large army, whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, have deprived of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, when it has lost its army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundisium so that I might use it in emergencies. And, with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

[38] “Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When these facts became known the multitude showed their zeal against our enemies. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they have written to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country’s gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valor, with which Cæsar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers of body and of mind. While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light — excepting only Octavius, who behaves ungratefully toward us.”

CHAPTER VI

Octavius accused of attempting to assassinate Antony — He denies the Accusation — Octavius obtains Soldiers in Calatia and Casilinum — The Tribune Canutius sides with Octavius against Antony — Octavius declares his Readiness to fight Antony — Cæsar's Veterans refuse to fight against Antony

[39] These words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity toward the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavius; and as both yielded they formed a new alliance in the Capitol. Not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of his body-guard had been tampered with by Octavius, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavius in his camp and thought they were actually plotting against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavius that Antony, even though he were unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony) was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavius suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul. Octavius ran with mad fury to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony that had conspired against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the doorkeepers who restrained him from having a dispute with Antony. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to increase his body-guard. or to alienate the veterans from Octavius.

[40] Presently news was brought to Octavius by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundisium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Cæsar, and that they would assist him (Octavius) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundisium. As Octavius feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been colonized in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavius was advancing with another one some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavius against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavius was to wreak vengeance on the murderers in return therefor.

[41] In this time of consternation Canutius, a tribune of the people and enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavius, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Canutius addressed the people, saying that Octavius was advancing with real hostility to Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavius as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavius, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Canutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Octavius also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

[42] After he had thus spoken and the assembly had been dissolved, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavius or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others spoke out the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavius was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all of the assembled multitude, gave them new presents, and said that he would reward them still

more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, from 10,000 he influenced 1000 only to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavius, his compliance with their wishes, and the favors they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, like the fickle multitude, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavius had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighboring parts, enlisting new forces continually and sending them all to Arretium.

CHAPTER VII

*Mutiny among Antony's Troops — He punishes them — Octavius excites
Dissension in Antony's Army — Two of Antony's Legions desert to Octavius —
Antony departs to Cisalpine Gaul — Octavius offers his Services to the Senate
and they are accepted — Military Manœuvres of Octavius' Legions*

[43] In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundisium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Cæsar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavius) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. But he would find them out, he said. He would lead the army to the province voted to him, the fair Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the fomenters of the sedition (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking to strike terror into the rest by means of the few. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

[44] In view of these facts the men whom Octavius had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Cæsar and urging them to share the service of the younger one and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavius was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. Let us lay aside ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but rather the salutation of our first meeting than a full reward, but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others."

When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army. Whether moved by penitence or by fear they took what was given them. Antony, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes. The remainder he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

[45] Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavius, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavius. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian and espoused the side of Octavius. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the apparatus customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

[46] While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honor. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavius' public meeting. With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There were also some discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

[47] Octavius had two legions equally efficient, which had deserted from

Antony to him, also one legion of new levies and two of discharged veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavius nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.

[48] The soldiers of Octavius furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of *proprætor*, carrying on war and leading themselves, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honor, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; “and would do this all the more,” he said, “if they know of your zeal and my hesitation.” They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; “and that will be the case,” he continued, “until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you.” After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavius was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavius bind these mercenaries to himself. Such was the course of events in Italy.

CHAPTER VIII

Antony orders Decimus Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul — Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there — Cicero urges that Antony be declared a Public Enemy — The Tribune Salvius interposes in Favor of Antony — Debate in the Senate — Cicero's Speech — Piso speaks in Defence of Antony — The Senate orders Antony to desist from the Siege of Mutina — Antony's Reply — The Senate votes him a Public Enemy — Macedonia voted to Brutus and Syria to Cassius

[49] In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own good. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest he (Antony) should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing lest none of them should be opened to him, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, welcomed by all as he passed along, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina. Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and he awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina, and laid siege to Decimus.

(Y.R. 711) [50] In Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been (B.C. 43) performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Cæsar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interests in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account,

or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day; for among the magistrates the one who has the veto power always prevails.

[51] The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and sallied out among the plebeians to excite them against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should change the people around by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously needed the help of Octavius against him. Although Octavius knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavius to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he had promised to give them if they should be victorious. After passing these decrees they adjourned, thinking that Antony would in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and believing, also, that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows: —

[52] "What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honors on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been

wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than in himself, in the prætors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who have condemned Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. At Cæsar's death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers with his own secret motives he asked from us, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundisium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundisium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Cæsar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Cæsar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, just as Cæsar found it when he made himself our master.

[53] "In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh when they had not been regularly condemned but chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-doing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you sent letters directing him to hold the province. Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy as soon as the latter becomes more powerful than we are."

[54] Scarcely had Cicero finished speaking when his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect

for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: " Our law, Conscript Fathers, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Cæsar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Cæsar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud. So much for the charge in reference to money.

[55] "We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony. The people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Cæsar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is bearing arms against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting in accordance with law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to intrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to intrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader.

[56] "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers.

The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was — which legions you had voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavius. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Cæsar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one.

[57] "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial — he who is now in danger of being condemned unheard? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, O Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public moneys? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompey, the son of your Pompey, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded? And because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate. Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by any one who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months the only months that he remained in the city after Cæsar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had? But it is said that he was not in a condition to do otherwise. How? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed for Syria? Did he not have an armed force in readiness in the city, one that you gave him? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Cæsar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? None of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them. Ye behold then, O Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony.

[58] "Since, in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavius had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy the one who

actually comes and encamps alongside of us without authority is not considered an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavius' 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate weeping and fearful, not on account of what Antony has done, but on account of the overwhelming power of his enemies.

[59] "These facts furnish you an example of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city to ward off danger before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavius to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favor of no man.

[60] "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages, who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Cæsar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in fact. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Cæsar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to be more than ever careful in view of the public dangers."

[61] Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming

them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavius in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavius and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith, relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself. The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon them more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

[62] The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Cæsar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Cæsar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Cæsar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Cæsar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favors a man who took the province of Gaul after Cæsar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two respectable men. He holds Antony and Dolabella as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor monarch! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

[63] After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he would make the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit punishment for the murder upon him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's

support of Decimus, may at last be purged of the shocking crime.” These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply. The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be reestablished. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Cæsar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things.

CHAPTER IX

Octavius alarmed by the Action of the Senate — Octavius, Hirtius, and Pansa march to the Relief of Decimus — Activity of Cicero in Rome — Battle between Antony and the Consul Pansa — Pansa wounded and his Men retire to their Camp — Hirtius comes to the Rescue and defeats Antony

[64] Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavius learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea — all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling down of that of Cæsar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of proprætor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a proprietor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

[65] Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honors of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings." In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavius, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavius yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and

Hirtius and Octavius advanced toward Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

[66] Such was the course of events around Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the artificers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Cæsar and was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Cæsar's colonies, where he was well known, and raised two legions for Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course toward Antony, but being intercepted by Octavius and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen. When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavius and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavius' prætorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through a defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

[67] Carsuleius and Pansa passed through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the bushes, then a gleaming of shields and helmets, and Antony's prætorian cohort suddenly showed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The prætorians of Octavius confronted the prætorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the prætorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundisium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either

army they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

[68] Thus urged on rather by their own animosity and ambition than by their generals they assailed each other, considering this their own affair. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging in marshes and ditches, they stood together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience had made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

[69] All put forth superhuman exertions, and the prætorians of Octavius perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the abdomen by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterward they turned and took refuge in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quæstor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies dashed into it confusedly although they were Italians, the same as the Martians, so much more than race does training contribute to bravery. The Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from the attack as a bad job, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

[70] When Hirtius near Mutina heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valor; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the greater part of them were slain in this encounter by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on

he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men. Some were unhurt but were overcome by fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on horse-back in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, scattered by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavius' praetorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.

CHAPTER X

Octavius and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina — Death of Hirtius — Antony flees to the Alps — Decimus seeks an Interview with Octavius — A Thanksgiving at Rome for the Victory over Antony — Death of the Consul Pansa

[71] The next day they all withdrew to the camps at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavius decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony followed their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. As the enemy fought him with their cavalry only, moving the rest of their army in whatever way they chose, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies rejoiced at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavius won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavius rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night under arms.

[72] When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; that he (Antony) was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must soon succumb. Such was the advise of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, now misled by a god, was fearful lest Octavius should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him (Antony), as Octavius had the greater force of laborers, "in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with us." So he spoke, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.

[73] When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of

Octavius, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavius in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavius would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavius, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and led him into the conspiracy against Cæsar with the others. Octavius answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms sometime, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavius by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavius to cross the river without consular authority, into the government belonging to another, and not to follow Antony further, because he (Decimus) would suffice for the pursuit of the latter. Octavius knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

[74] In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavius. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days, — a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavius in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to fight Antony when he should draw near them. Such was the course of events at Rome.

[75] In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he summoned Octavius to his side, and said: "I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he seemed to be the one most ambitious to fill the rôle of Cæsar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they

saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honors. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honors than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Cæsar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

[76] "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Cæsar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Cæsar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quæstor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he transferred the new levies to the quæstor and expired. The quæstor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavius sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honors to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

CHAPTER XI

Cassius raises an Army — State of Affairs in Syria — Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia — Octavius makes Approaches toward Reconciliation with Antony — He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio - Octavius applies for the Consulship — Asks Cicero to be his Colleague

[77] The following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Cæsar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Cæcilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Cæsar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and sometime later, when he called Bassus to him and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and stabbed Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Cæsar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Cæsar sent Statius Marcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Marcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions.

[78] While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrender, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

[79] In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength

to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow-citizens, and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honor by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valor of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom he drilled in the Italian discipline.

[80] Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavius, although he considered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honors of a triumph for his exploits. Being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honors beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired a reconciliation with Antony, as Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of those of Antony's army who had been taken prisoners, both officers and soldiers. He enrolled them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony he allowed them to do so, in order to show that he was not moved by implacable hatred against him. When he was encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he inspired the latter with fear, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity to join himself or to go on safely with his army to Antony, and told him to chide the latter for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Octavius also allowed Decius, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, and had been treated with honor, to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius tried to find out what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that more would be insufficient for fools.

[81] After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavius wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest in consequence of the favor extended to the Pompeian faction, each of the Cæsarians should, one by one, share the fate of Antony, although he was suffering the consequences of his own folly and arrogance. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did

not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred to unite their strength by settling together on ground that belonged not to them in groups, rather than enjoy their own homesteads singly. These things Octavius wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. The first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would pursue and capture Antony immediately.

[82] When the Pompeians learned what had happened (and an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party), they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained, and they each offered sacrifices. Decemvirs were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Cæsar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Cæsar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext for annulling a part of the measures it should be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything from Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa. But Octavius also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he (Octavius) would enjoy the title only, by which means he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, for which reason he had previously asked the honor of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a hostile attitude. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interest of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague as a firm check upon the immaturity of Octavius. The Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the conspirators especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavius, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment."

CHAPTER XII

Antony encamps near Lepidus — They unite their Forces and Ventidius joins Antony — Consternation at Rome — Increasing Coolness between Octavius and the Senate — Octavius sends Soldiers to the Senate to demand the Consulship — He marches toward Rome with his Army

[83] For various reasons the election was postponed in accordance with the law. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where the latter was encamped. He neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going back and forth between them constantly, Antony reminding Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, and showing him that after he (Antony) should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Cæsar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one. Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so voluntarily. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going back and forth, and being gratified with the simple manners prevailing in Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, like fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, disregarding the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The so-called Tenth Legion, that had been enlisted by Antony originally, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

[84] When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this he warned Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on certain errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some quæstors who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. The latter came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army was now escorting Antony, and they besought Lepidus for peace and compassion to their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them undressed, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he fell on his knees before Antony, being an inexperienced and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony and nothing to cause fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man and most formidable to his enemies. He had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry. Ventidius had joined him on the road with

three legions. Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed every-thing.

[85] When these facts became known at Rome a wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavius and Antony should form an alliance, sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, secretly to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and who favored the senatorial party. Although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Cæsar, and although they suspected everything of his, yet the want of other forces compelled them to take this course. Most awkwardly, too, they reappointed the young Octavius as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

[86] Octavius excited the army to anger against the Senate on account of its repeated indignities toward himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavius and said that it would make answer by its own legates. It sent the latter, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavius was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the legates it forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavius as the eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavius, the legates returned leaving the business unfinished. Octavius no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Cæsar, one by one. He admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and sent to one war after another for the purpose of being killed or arrayed in opposition to each other. This was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition in the army.

[87] "You know," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished.

You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Cæsar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety while the relatives of the murderers dominate the Senate ? I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is beautiful to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from ambition from the time when I declined the prætorship that you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us, and that is that I obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all of my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and after bringing the murderers to punishment I will release you from any more wars."

[88] At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavius. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden time Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Cæsar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age. While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that army officers should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and elevate him to the consulship because he was Cæsar's son. At the same time they extolled the elder Cæsar without stint. When Octavius saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly toward the city, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy, — the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war, — he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate was sending as a present to the soldiers, Octavius feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

CHAPTER XIII

Alarm in the City — Mutual Criminations in the Senate — Vacillating Counsels — The Senate resolves to resist — Octavius arrives at the City Gates — The New Legions go over to him — Cicero departs from the City — Octavius is elected Consul with Pedius as his Colleague — His Adoption by Cæsar ratified by the People

[89] When the news of Octavius' approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the fields and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since it had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some were blamed because they had wrongfully deprived him of the command of the campaign against Antony, others because they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honor of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten. Still others said that the army had become hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially because of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavius. Thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long taken the lead, was nowhere to be seen.

[90] There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given. Instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavius was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. It felt that it ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as far as possible and oppose the laws to the invaders, for there was some hope that, if the laws were opposed to them, not even they would bear arms against their country. If they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of

the Romans of old, who never yielded anything prejudicial to their liberty.

[91] As the two legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbor on the same day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all of the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind, all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the so-called hill of Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city prætors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbor, together with money, in order to escape by sea in case they should be vanquished. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavius in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves to the last extremity. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. When they sought for the mother and sister of Octavius, and did not discover them either in any open or secret abode, they were again alarmed at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Cæsarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that these women had been carefully concealed by them.

[92] While Octavius was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavius hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him. The common people ran also and admired the good order of the soldiers, which they considered a sign of peace. On the following day Octavius advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savored of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself. The others allied themselves with Octavius. When Cicero learned this he sought an interview with Octavius through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavius for the consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavius answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

[93] The next night a rumor gained currency that two of Octavius' legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, because they had been led against their country by deception. The prætors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavius' army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

[94] Octavius laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the prætors, not even Crassus who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave. He pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and that the amount that had been previously ordered to be paid on the motion of Cicero be distributed; that is, he divided 2500 drachmas per man and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected, together with Quintus Pedius, whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Cæsar, he entered the city as consul. He offered the usual sacrifices, and twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*, — that is, by a popular vote, — for the parts into which the tribes, or the common people, are divided are called *curiæ*, just as I suppose the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriæ*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Cæsar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavius wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Cæsar's will.

CHAPTER XIV

Indictment and Trial of Cæsar's Murderers — The Senate rescinds its Decrees against Antony and Lepidus — Flight of Decimus Brutus — He is captured and put to Death

[95] He caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Cæsar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of Cæsar bringing accusations against some for actual participation in the crime and against others as having guilty knowledge only. Several were indicted, and among them some who were not in the city when Cæsar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default while Octavius was overlooking the court. None of the judges voted for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but was included with others in the proscription a little later. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city prætor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavius for the command of Africa, and, being thus brought into his presence, attempted to take his life. His colleagues stripped him of his prætorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavius ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

[96] These things accomplished, Octavius formed plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavius had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. They foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavius against Brutus and Cassius. Nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature were sent to them. Thereupon Octavius wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself take vengeance on Decimus for Cæsar's account and on Plancus for his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavius.

[97] Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which the latter passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had

much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled. The other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labors. As he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by the higher Alps, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. Since Cæsar had travelled by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one — to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavius. After them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by all the others except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.

[98] Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camillus, a man to whom he had done many favors. So he told them to bring him to Camillus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him, for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but he sent word to Antony secretly. Antony was some-what touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camillus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Cæsar's præfect of horse and had governed Farther Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consulship the coming year and for the governorship of Hither Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Cæsar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was castrating by way of punishment.

Antony to Hirtius and Octavius

"WHEN I heard of the death of Trebonius I was both glad and sorry. It rejoiced me to know that a wretch had paid the penalty due to the ashes and bones of the most illustrious of men, and that the vengeance of the gods had overtaken him within the term of the revolving year, and that punishment for the parricidal act is either accomplished or impending. I mourn that Dolabella was voted an enemy as soon as he had put the assassin to death, and that the son of a buffoon should seem dearer to the Roman people than Gaius Cæsar, the father of his country. Most grievous is it that you, Aulus Hirtius, loaded as

you are with Cæsar's benefactions, and left by him in a condition that must be a surprise to yourself, and you, O boy, who owe everything to his name, should so conduct yourselves that Dolabella should be condemned by law, and this pest [Decimus Brutus] delivered from siege, and Brutus and Cassius strengthened as much as possible. You look upon the present state of things too much as you have viewed the past. You call Pompey's camp the Senate. You have taken the vanquished Cicero for a leader. You are strengthening Macedonia with armies. You have placed Africa in charge of Varus, who was twice taken prisoner. You have sent Cassius into Syria. You have allowed Casca to hold the tribuneship. You have taken away the revenues of the Luperci assigned to them by Cæsar. You have abolished the colonies of veterans established by law and *senatus consultum*. You promise to restore to the Massilians what was taken from them by the law of war. Do you forget that under the law of Hirtius no Pompeian who lives can hold office? You have supplied Brutus with the money of Apuleius. You applauded the execution of Pætus and Menedemus, Cæsar's hosts, who had been given the citizenship by him. You took no notice of Theopompus when he was stripped and driven out by Trebonius and fled to Alexandria. You tolerate Servius Galba in your camp girded with the same dagger [with which he stabbed Cæsar]. You have enlisted my soldiers and the veterans under pretence of exterminating those who killed Cæsar, and have hurled them, in ignorance of what they were doing, against their quæstor, their general, their comrades. In short, what have you not approved of, what have you not done, that Pompey himself would do if he could come to life, or his son if he were at home? Finally, you say that peace is not possible unless I let Brutus go free or supply him with corn. What? Is this the opinion of those veterans who can still choose their own course? Since you have sold yourselves for adulation and poisoned gifts, . . . But you say you are bringing aid to beleaguered soldiers. I will not hinder them from escaping and going where they please if they will let that man perish who has deserved to perish. You write me that mention has been made of peace in the Senate, and of five ambassadors of consular rank. It is hard to believe that those who drove me headlong when I offered the fairest conditions, and was even thinking of abating some part of them, can contemplate any moderate or humane act. It is hardly probable that those who voted Dolabella an enemy for his most righteous deed could spare me, who hold the same sentiments with him. Wherefore you ought rather to reflect whether it is more fitting, and more useful to our party, to avenge the death of Trebonius or that of Cæsar, and whether it is more equitable for us to compete with each other in bringing to life the cause of Pompey that has so often had its throat cut, or to combine, so that we be not a laughing-stock to our enemies, who will be the gainers whichever of us shall fall. Fortune itself has thus far shunned that spectacle, that it might not behold two armies belonging to one body fighting each other, with Cicero for trainer, who is a happy man in so far as he can deceive you with the same compliments with which he

boasted that he deceived Cæsar. I am resolved to endure no affront either to myself or to my friends, nor to desert the party that Pompey hated, nor to allow the veterans to be moved from their settlements or be put to the torture one by one; nor shall I come short of the faith I pledged to Dolabella, nor violate my alliance with Lepidus, that most conscientious man, nor betray Plancus, the partner of my counsels. If the immortal gods aid me, as I hope, in my righteous course, I shall be glad to live; but if another fate awaits me I shall enjoy your punishment in advance, for if the Pompeians are so insolent when vanquished, what they will be when victorious you will learn by experience rather than myself. Finally, the sum and substance of my decision is this, I can bear the injuries that my friends have done me if they are willing to forget that they have done them, or if they are ready to join me in avenging Cæsar's death. I do not believe that ambassadors are coming to the theatre of war. When they do come I shall know what they demand." *Cicero, Phil. xiii*

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

Reconciliation of Octavius and Antony — The New Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus — Plunder of Italy promised to Soldiers — Fearful Prodigies at Rome

THUS was punishment visited upon two of Cæsar's murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The following events came next in order.

[2] Octavius and Antony composed their differences on a small, gradually sloping islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus himself went before them, searched the island, and shook his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavius in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: That Octavius should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that anew magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul. The latter, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus, while Octavius was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

[3] Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among

themselves. The assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic only was postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavius were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavius and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with the expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies — cities which excelled in wealth, in the fertility of their territory, and in handsome houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavius, as consul, communicated them to the soldiers, all except the proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

[4] While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled exactly like wolves — a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum — an animal unused to the city. Cattle used the human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; in consequence of which the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead.

CHAPTER II

Proscription decreed by the Triumvirs — First Massacre — The Triumvirs enter the City — Text of the Proscription

[5] As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they swapped their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, some on the ground of enmity, others for a grudge merely, or because the victims themselves were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends. Some were proscribed on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were coöperating with them. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. Some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the so-called knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the lieutenants serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-lieutenants.

[6] As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets. Search was made for the others in temples and houses. There was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men had been seized and massacred, although nobody had been previously sentenced by proscription, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. In despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of committing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the public

faith, being ignorant of the determinations of the triumvirs. Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night.

[7] The triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, each with a prætorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and the tribune Publius Titius proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would have been called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedæmonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for consideration of this measure, nor was a future day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who had been previously condemned or killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs in order to adjust the rewards, which to a free person were payable in money and to a slave in both money and freedom. All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

[8] The proscription was in the following words: “ Marcus Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavius Cæsar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious scoundrels begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Cæsar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honors, and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those, who have conspired against us and from whom Gaius Cæsar suffered, cannot be overcome by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Cæsar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Cæsar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the Romans, this man was slain in a public and sacred place designated as the senate-house, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-

three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, some of whom he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reënforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

[9] "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall see the rest punished presently. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well in hand, appertaining to Spain and Gaul as well as to Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Cæsar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war. We think that there should be no delay in such an emergency, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that (Y.R. 712) they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

[10] "What vast numbers of citizens have they doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their estates, or their high position; nor shall we go to the same lengths as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers. It is incumbent on us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we please, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

[11] "In God's name then, let no one harbor any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing any excuse or pardon. Those who kill the proscribed and bring us their heads shall receive the following rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a

slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown (Y.R. 711) the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers." Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek.

CHAPTER III

The Triumvirs put some of their Own Near Relatives on the List of the Proscribed — Terrible Panic in the City — Domestic Servants as Informers and Assassins — Scenes of Agony and Horror — Some Remarkable Cases

[12] Lepidus was the first to begin the work of proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Cæsar. These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinnius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not so much on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbor, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously.

[13] Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, and decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown; also undignified flights in strange costumes, of persons hitherto well dressed. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thick-set tiles of their roofs. Some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers. Others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbors feared neighbors who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, prætors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of savior and master. It was most lamentable that even after submitting to this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

[14] Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation, for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, and could rely on their own domestics. But now they were more afraid of them than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain the published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these

reasons each one became treacherous to the household, preferring his own gain to compassion for the home. Those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other. After the proscriptions some immediately became the betrayers of all. Others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became hunting dogs for the murderers for the sake of the rewards. Of the remainder, some plundered the houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

[15] Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or dodged, or tried to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honors of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

[16] These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the deity thus smote the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about, after a long period of time, the present well-ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Gaius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially of one of them, who, by means of his character and good fortune, established the government on a firm foundation, and left his

lineage and name to those who now rule after him. I shall now run over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the more worthy to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in numerous books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

CHAPTER IV

The Tribune Salvius slain at a Banquet — Annalis and Thoranius betrayed by their Sons — Flight and Pursuit of Cicero — He is killed — His Head and Hand suspended from the Rostra — The Egnatii, Ballus and Aruntius — The two Ligarii — Septimius betrayed by his Wife — Other Depraved Women — Statius, Capito, and Vetulinus — Servants and their Masters — Curious Incidents — The Cases of Varus and Largus — Rufus is proscribed for the Sake of his House

[17] The massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His was, according to the laws, a sacred and inviolable office, endowed with the greatest powers, even that of imprisoning the consuls in certain circumstances. Salvius was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had coöperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on. Some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the side of the tribune's body. The second one slain was the prætor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he fled, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the prætor more easy to his slayers.

[18] Annalis, another prætor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quæstorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied him, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the ædileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father. Thoranius, who was

not then prætor but had been such, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened in the son's case that, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, he was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

[19] Cicero, who had held supreme power after Cæsar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all of his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the seasickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), crows flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his bed-covering until his servants, perceiving that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Læna, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Come on, you centurions in the rear, this is the place;" whereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken.

[20] Læna, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason CICERO In the Hall of the Philosophers, Capitoline Museum, Rome

of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against the tyranny of Antony and which he had entitled *Philippics* in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Læna, a long distance off, showed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy. The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time

from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight. Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time according to agreement.

[21] The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by the same blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies were still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did ill luck add to the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death. Such examples were there of good and bad sons.

[22] Two brothers of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled. When the latter learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from a bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again. When he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed, "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out. They then cut off his head, just as he was, without washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me instead of him." The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his."

And so saying, he killed both of them in due order. Let these serve as examples in the case of brothers.

[23] Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her. So she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. He learned this fact from his wife, and in ignorance of his domestic ills prepared for flight. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

[24] Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers. The janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming. When the janitor went out Salassus feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing that it was not the janitor but his wife who was bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her. Let these serve as examples of depraved women.

[25] Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened

door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who had mastered that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messina, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

[26] Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favorite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he found that his master had been killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." Lucius placed his gold in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the seashore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear himself bravely under similar circumstances. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his diet, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

[27] Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not endure the anguish of the tempest, he leaped overboard. Sisinius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him. Æmilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man

was. The centurion, recognizing Æmilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cilo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names were on the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road. Icilius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius when Octavius presided over the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers fell into a dispute with Icilius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

[28] Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to a marsh at Minturnæ, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnæ were mounting guard over this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death and resigned himself to his fate, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnæ," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and — what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers — also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighborhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians. Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men." Thus he recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him.

[29] Rufus possessed a handsome house near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were

observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him. A slave revealed the hiding-place of Aterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He had the impudence to bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscrip't, for doing more than was needful. Such were the evils that befell the men.

CHAPTER V

Children Proscribed for their Wealth — Sales of Confiscated Property — Taxes imposed on Women — The Daughter of Hortensius makes a Public Speech — The Triumvirs relax the Impost — Outrages committed by Soldiers

[30] The calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with the attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the virile toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples. His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his brilliant escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a robber and committed to a workhouse. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high road with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed.

[31] While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "In God's name, let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were gutted, but there were not many buyers of their lands. Some were ashamed to add to the burdens of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be quite safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be extra-hazardous to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations, were short 20,000,000 of drachmas.

[32] The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the female relatives of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavius and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could

scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, they spoke as follows, according to previous arrangement: "As is befitting women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to your female relatives. Having suffered unseemly treatment on the part of Fulvia, we have been compelled by her to visit the forum. You have deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you. If you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. If we women have not voted you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honors, — why do you visit upon us the same punishment as upon the guilty, whose offences we have not shared?"

[33] "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honors, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers once for all rose superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. Who now causes you alarm for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other. We did not contribute to Cæsar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are reëstablishing the commonwealth."

[34] When Hortensia had thus spoken the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and not furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception,

should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

[35] Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs. Even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of rich men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them.

CHAPTER VI

Examples of the Proscribed who escaped — The Brother of Lepidus and the Uncle of Antony allowed to escape — Messala and Bibulus — Acilius and Lentulus — Escape of Apuleius and Rheginus — How Oppius was saved by his Son — The Metelli, Father and Son — Marcus and Restio saved by Slaves — Faithful Freedmen — Daring Exploit of Pomponius — Strange Battle between Two Fugitives — How Varro the Historian was saved — How Virginius the Orator escaped to Sicily — Strange Adventures of Marcus Lollius — Balbinus and Lepidus — The Son of Cicero escapes and is restored to Favor

[36] Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honor are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that hope should not be abandoned in adverse circumstances. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable zeal in behalf of the unfortunate at this crisis, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessities. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves for their masters, quite beyond expectation. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

[37] Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of the triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and

the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of the triumvir. When, later, they attempted to do violence to him, she dashed into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now. Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

[38] Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Cæsar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavius, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavius sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them. Bibulus was received into favor at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavius and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

[39] Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and conducted him to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed prætor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to

Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the praetor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

[40] The wife of Apuleius threatened that, if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him in a sewer by night. The soldiers were not willing to follow him there in the daytime, on account of the foul odor. The next night she fixed him up as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as he passed along admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius obtained his safety by yielding herself to Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

[41] The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting the trick and nobody troubling him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected even by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office [for public games], the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him and saved him."

[42] There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavius and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavius looked over the prisoners at

Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavius, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavius spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

[43] The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius. When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave, who had been brought up by himself and had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighborhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city to no purpose. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.

[44] Appion was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recess thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the nighttime, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the

tomb with his father. Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the slaves to the city. One of the slaves broke his leg and walked leaning upon the other with his hand. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with one of the slaves in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him and shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

[45] Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavius and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative. The following named persons were saved as I shall now relate. Pomponius arrayed himself in the garb of a prætor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a prætor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a prætor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

[46] Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons. For the remainder of their course they took different roads. They released prisoners and collected fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they arrived at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedmen put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and traversed the whole of Italy as

far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

[47] Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome itself, which he taught until the return of peace. Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of ædile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head, and thus celebrating the mysteries of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honor of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

[48] Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honorable reward and a larger one by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been

promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared. A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would tell how the captain was helping a proscript to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.

[49] Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were a proscript he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was. The latter obtained from Octavius, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavius, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him, pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavius and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted. Like good fortune attended them in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year.

[50] Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavius and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Mæcenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for lèse-majesté against Octavius and also the young man's mother as knowing to the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Mæcenas sent the son to Octavius at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavius. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and

grant to one, who stands by your side, the favor of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavius, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune and released his wife from bail altogether.

[51] Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honored with a military command. Afterward Octavius, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed augur, and not long afterward consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavius this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quæstor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavius. Once when Octavius came to visit him Publius showed him some images of Brutus, and Octavius praised him for doing so. Such were some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted.

CHAPTER VII

The War in the Provinces — Cornificius and Sextius in Africa — The Adventures of Publius Sittius — A Battle at Utica — End of the War in Africa

[52] While these transactions were taking place at Rome all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among these wars was the one in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, the one in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and the one against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture by siege. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated ones of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

[53] That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Cæsar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa as the appointee of Octavius, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavius in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash around and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Lælius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

[54] Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Cæsar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Cæsar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Cæsar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio

then fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain. He returned to Africa after Cæsar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training. He expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favor of Octavius. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Cæsar.

[55] Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Lælius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Lælius with his cavalry to make a reconnoissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Lælius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with a larger force to assist Lælius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

[56] Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Lælius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Lælius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians. He brought the cities into allegiance to Octavius and granted pardon to all. This was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted.

CHAPTER VIII

Brutus and Cassius — How Cassius raised an Army in Syria — He gains Four Legions from Egypt — Cassius marches against Dolabella — He captures Laodicea — Dolabella killed — Brutus informs Cassius that Octavius and Antony are crossing the Adriatic — Cassius captures Tarsus

[57] Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Cæsar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Cæsar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Cæsar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius and Brutus were still city prætors. Cassius had been chosen by Cæsar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still prætors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone, the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

[58] While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Cæsar long before. One of these Cæsar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Cæcilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the sight of which the army resented, and Julius was stabbed. This act was followed

straightway by repentance and fear of Cæsar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Cæsar sent Statius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

[59] Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate, which they obeyed in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, and who had been left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quæstor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

[60] Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, having put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When this was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

[61] Being refused by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, without consulting Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really cooperating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Cæsar. This was the reason why she

had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

[62] When Cassius was again ready with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to corrupt Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force and, while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his own body-guard and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also, and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

[63] After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavius and Antony with a strong fleet, he purposed to prevent its sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favorable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavius and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighboring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

[64] The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honors upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitely as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred

articles used in religious processions and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

CHAPTER IX

Cassius summons Rhodes to surrender — The Rhodians resolve to fight — They send Archelaus as an Ambassador to Cassius — Speech of Archelaus — Reply of Cassius — Sea-fight between Cassius and the Rhodians — The Rhodians retreat — Cassius lays Siege to the City — Rhodes captured and put under Contribution — Ten Years' Tribute exacted from Asia

[65] When Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favor of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to subvert the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavius and Antony and who had fleets, lest they should fall upon the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

[66] The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character. They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they sent messengers to Myndus nevertheless to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance. When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still

larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him; whereupon they elected Alexander as prytanis, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet.

[67] Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not subvert a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not attack Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome — at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending — at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honor. So much, O Roman, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you.

[68] "As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, restored to health when sick, where you had your hearthstone, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who have hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different hopes, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either that the Rhodians perish utterly, or Cassius be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Cæsar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, which is valid even among enemies, not to mention friends and wards. Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

[69] When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my guardians and instructors. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I

and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavoring to liberate their country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favor while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who have been sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these very evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

[70] “Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped an abundant reward) you remind us of, but when in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you have very short memories. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, to be willing to begin now to fight for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties, — treaties made with you by Gaius Cæsar, the founder of the present monarchy, — yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war, — Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate’s decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you till you obey our orders in everything.” With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away.

[71] Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that by sailing against Mithridates at Myndus they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and skill on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy’s line, turned

around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater strength. Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they were confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part having suffered injury.

[72] Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from the summit of a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius, who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

[73] While they were doing so Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seemed the fact, that those of the citizens who were favorable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine. Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by force. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and punished with death those who were led before him. The others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished.

All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it, together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.

[74] Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet and very extensive apparatus to Octavius and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Cæsar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighborhood of Tænarum and to collect what booty they could from that country.

CHAPTER X

Brutus in Macedonia — He marches against Xanthus — Desperate Defence of the Place — Capture of Xanthus — The Xanthians destroy the City and Themselves — Capture of Patara — Murcus sails to Brundisium to blockade Antony

[75] We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Bœotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of three legions of soldiers which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Cæsar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he trained them in the Roman discipline. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he (Brutus) should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver. This he stamped and converted into money.

(Y.R. 712) [76] When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might (B.C. 42) not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward coverings for his workmen, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering as in contests for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labor. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days.

[77] The Xanthians were now subjected to close siege. Brutus attacked them

now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders, although fatigued by being always pitted against fresh soldiers, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them — in consequence of which there was around the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

[78] Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they burned all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without the hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under a heavy volley of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge in the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every means [to effect an entrance], Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls to serve in place of ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

[79] The Cœnandians, who were neighbors of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of a precipice. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to chop down the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others outside chopped in conjunction with them, and coöperated to the same end. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for

their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

[80] When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men. Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city, shut up by Harpagus, then became the tomb of the Xanthians; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

[81] Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands, and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold, and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for superserviceable zeal in accusing his superiors.

[82] At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport

of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbor and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet, together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus, where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had returned home with difficulty and in ill health, he sailed for Brundisium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbor, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports and was favored by a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavius, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

CHAPTER XI

Doings of Sextus Pompeius in Spain — He sails to Sicily — Sea-fight between Pompeius and Salvidienus — Salvidienus put to Flight — Octavius and Antony cross the Adriatic — Their Advance Guard march to Philippi and occupy the Passes of the Mountains of Thrace — Brutus and Cassius move toward Philippi

[83] With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Cæsar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Cæsar. When Cæsar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

[84] Then Cæsar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on the same kind of warfare, Cæsar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but, taking what ships he found in the harbors, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

[85] In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before, and those who had fled from Rome, both freemen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do

against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavius learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, as though it were an easy task, while he passed through Italy himself with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllæum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, labored heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current, the ships of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, being unable to maintain their position firmly, or to work their oars, or manage their rudders, by reason of their inexperience, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet.

[86] When Octavius arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundisium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavius, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundisium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavius, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundisium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favorable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavius and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus was sent by Brutus and Cassius to coöperate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for, as the triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut

off their convoys from Italy. And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 long ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy.

[87] Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavius and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpileans and the Sapæans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Ænus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapæans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but that there was a roundabout road which was difficult and three times as long.

[88] Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not so much to close the passage to them as to transfer themselves from Macedonia to Thrace for want of provisions, marched toward Ænus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and Cardia, which clasp the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas. Here they reviewed their army, Coast of Thrace, showing the Field of Philippi

which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full, so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, 3000 Thracian and Illyrian, and 2000 Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse.

CHAPTER XII

Brutus and Cassius arrive at the Gulf of Melas — Speech of Cassius to the Republican Army — After which they move against the Enemy

[89] Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had served under Gaius Cæsar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Cæsar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful they had ever beheld. To both the generals this was an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows: —

[90] “A common peril, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery — the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity — you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men, our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honorable and righteous cause for war.

[91] “We raised Cæsar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honored before others by him), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law

supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that his will should take the place of the laws, his rule should supplant that of the people, and his supremacy that of the Senate in everything.

[92] “Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves. You, of the common people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything. But in time of peace you resume the mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honors upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honored have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know?

[93] “From the time when Cæsar’s domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody’s deeds, nor, if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whom you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the order of one man, because in your behalf they saw fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies, which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

[94] “It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but

that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder; nor was it our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country. Accordingly the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Cæsar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy), because he was the only son of Pompey the Great, who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition in a private way to the tyranny in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

[95] "What their present situation is you know. They have been proscribed without trial, and their property confiscated. Without being condemned, they have been put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, prætors, tribunes, ædiles, and knights have been exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over, — sudden seizures of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such conditions has the city now been plunged. At the head of all these villains are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and tutors first of all. It is said that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like

this, — Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an outrage committed upon one woman under the influence of the amatory passion, and then, for that one act, they resolved to be ruled by kings no longer?

[96] “While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Cæsar when they proscribe men who were not in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preferences for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he was the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part have those women had in the conspiracy against Cæsar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part have those plebeians had, whose property is worth 100,000 drachmas each, upon whom new taxes and contributions have been imposed, which they have been ordered to pay under penalty of being informed against and fined? And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favor us because we do what is just.

[97] “Besides the favor of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they coöperate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Cæsar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides have not taken up arms for the same reason, — the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one’s cause.

[98] “Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Cæsar’s soldiers. We were not his soldiers then, but our country’s. The pay and the rewards given were not Cæsar’s, but the republic’s. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger,

and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose its own destiny. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome.”

[99] They all cried out, “Let us go forward!” and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: “May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is cooperating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft, besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are cleared of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere from Italy, exhausted as it is by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

[100] “Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and this must be carried to them overland with severe labor. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, and it is brought to us daily by sea without labor from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favor of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these

words, we will make an additional gift from this platform — to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion.”

[101] Having thus spoken and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days around the gulf of Melas the army came to Ænus and thence to Doriscus and other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

CHAPTER XIII

Tillius Cimber flanks the Enemy with his Fleet — Brutus and Cassius impeded by the Mountains — Severe Labors in the Thracian Forests — They arrive at Philippi — They encamp on the Hills

[102] As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapæan pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpileans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

[103] When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapæans strongly. Again Brutus and Cassius could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapæan mountain) of three days' march, which had been impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If they would carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hebrus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy.

[104] They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the

more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labor and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic, fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves had been led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him. While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnoissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapæans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received an ovation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by an unknown path, the other because he had discovered the movement.

[105] Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapæans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Cora was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

[106] There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two

other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavius having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the precipitous hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant. Their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and they proceeded to fortify their camps.

CHAPTER XIV

Antony arrives at Amphipolis — Advances boldly to Philippi — The Forces on either Side — Brutus and Cassius hope to starve their Enemies — Antony seeks to force an Engagement — He attacks the Fortifications of Cassius — Brutus routs the Army of Octavius and captures his Camp — Antony puts the Army of Cassius to Flight — Captures and plunders his Camp

[107] Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his apparatus there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marshes; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever the work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

[108] In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavius had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavius and Antony

were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

[109] Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and Cassius protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the same, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day cutting a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway and flanking it with stone so that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing around his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions inside and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and laying a solid foundation for his rampart, thus intercepting the passage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them.

[110] When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the fortification of Cassius which lay between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged of their own volition, without any order from their officers, took them in flank, and killed as many as they could reach. The battle once begun they charged upon the army of Octavius, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavius had in common, and captured it. Octavius

himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

[111] When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck a body of Cassius' troops, which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the debris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall.

[112] As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already worsted, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000 and on the side of Octavius double that number.

CHAPTER XV

Cassius commits Suicide — Brutus weeps over his Body — Naval Engagement in the Adriatic — The Antonian Fleet destroyed

[113] When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had any camp to go to, he ascended the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. He could not see accurately on account of the dust, nor could he see everything, but upon discovering that his own camp was captured he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to draw his sword and kill him. While Pindarus delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders. Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which also the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too slow.

[114] Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, ah, whither?" He delivered the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered no defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jeeringly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired, but they dared not put us to the test."

[115] On the same day that witnessed the battle of Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavius, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a prætorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of

horse, and a considerable corps d'élite of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. The wind suddenly failing, the rest floated about in a dead calm on the sea, having been delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. The latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valor. They hastily lashed their ships together with ropes and spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire, and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

[116] Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, giving and receiving blows. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, by hunger, and by thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them were nourished for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundisium on his ship five days later. Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a shipwreck or a naval engagement. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

CHAPTER XVI

Brutus addresses his Army — Speech of Antony to his Soldiers — He offers Battle to the Enemy — Scarcity in the Camp of the Triumvirs — Brutus declines to Fight — His Soldiers become Restive — His Officers urge him to fight — He yields to them unwillingly — Octavius and Antony encourage their Forces — Prodigies before the Battle — Second Battle of Philippi — The Republican Army routed

[117] Brutus assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. When it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished. Most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners — concerning the scarcity and dearth of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?

[118] "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardor before the proper time. Let no one think that delay implies want of generalship more than haste, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if we wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion." After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder.

[119] Octavius and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage that, like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. They built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid. Now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, on which account also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their rocky fastnesses instead of their arms, be valliant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be unequal to the capture of their fortifications. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

[120] "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. You, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valor. Nor will you be troubled, after a little, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for our wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while we, coming from our own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. And as compensation for your losses we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

[121] Having spoken thus, he led out his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of

Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy because, by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest it should be forced unexpectedly. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavius occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

[122] The task of Octavius and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and fear fell upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad rush to bring him to an engagement against his will.

[123] Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else, rather than come to an engagement with men who were famishing, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all — not like Cassius, who was austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately — we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we

who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

[124] His officers kept teasing and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem to be carrying on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Cæsar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had apprehended from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

[125] So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and unbounded confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a well-deserved shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favored delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good counsel; because also Brutus, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a severe countenance and reminded them in a few words of what the opportunity offered. "You want to fight," he said; "you force me to battle when I am able to conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine." With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence.

[126] Octavius and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, and urging them in the most serious manner to do their duty, and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be the greatest incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove

unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy which they will yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honorable death. If we conquer we gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessity urging us on, and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness — the only warriors who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight.”

[127] In this way Octavius and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe. Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his nearest neighbor, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and it did decide it.

[128] The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, at which time two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory; on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the rear ranks. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardor, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front. Finally, the soldiers of Octavius, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavius himself (for the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were putting in motion a very heavy

machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks began to dissolve and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavius, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification, but at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

[129] The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavius to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everywhere, and everywhere attacking, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously, surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavius; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness, "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by vice. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horse-men were ashamed of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think — as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

CHAPTER XVII

Brutus escapes to the Mountains — His Officers decline to fight again — Brutus commits Suicide — Character of Brutus and Cassius — Their Crime against Cæsar — The Spectre in Brutus' Tent — Death of Young Cato — Death of Portia — Magnitude of the Victory — Its Lasting Results

[130] Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,""

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that, when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavius. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

[131] On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having less than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, misled by a god, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato was still willing to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

[132] So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime. Although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Cæsar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to

them, and commiseration for them when they fell into misfortune. On account of those two it granted amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregarding of Gaius Cæsar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination, — so much were those two held in honor by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were preferred to [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not implacable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable.

[133] When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans; but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Cæsar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Cæsar and followed them more faithfully against Cæsar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Cæsar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished, while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundisium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforesaid and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but generally hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labors Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything because he was by nature a seeker after knowledge.

[134] Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Cæsar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-

house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without an equal, who was most useful above all other men to Rome and its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his lictor presented his garland wrong side up. A gilded statue of Victory dedicated to Cassius fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:—"A cruel fate O'ertakes me, aided by Latona's son."

Iliad, xvi. 849. Bryant's translation.

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi." And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle. When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due to divine interposition, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Cæsar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

[135] Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in his best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavius and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in garrisons surrendered. The garrisons themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavius and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of Cassius himself, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his

wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb.

[136] Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they took sides in the contest in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Portia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some coals of fire that they were carrying, and swallowed them. Of the members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavius, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

[137] Thus did Octavius and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons evenly matched. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof of this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain among the victors appeared to be not less [than among the vanquished].

[138] Thus the army of Antony and Octavius confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger of famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. That result came about which Antony and Octavius had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavius not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that transpired after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not

to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Death of Cicero

“Just before the arrival of the triumvirs Marcus Cicero left the city, considering it certain that he had no more chance of being saved from the vengeance of Antony than Brutus and Cassius had of escaping that of Octavius, — which was the fact. He fled first to his Tusculan villa and thence proceeded by cross-roads to that of Formiæ in order to take ship at Caieta. There, after advancing several times seaward, he was driven back by adverse winds, and again he found himself unable to endure the tossing of the ship on the gloomy rolling waves, and he began at length to grow weary both of flight and of life. So he returned to his upper villa, which was a little more than a mile from the shore, saying, ‘I will die in my fatherland that I have so often saved.’ It is well established that his slaves were ready to fight for him bravely and faithfully, but that he ordered them to put down the litter and endure with patience whatever an adverse fate should compel. As he leaned out of the litter and offered his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did this satisfy the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands, also, for the offence of having written something against Antony. Thus the head was brought to Antony and placed by his order between the two hands on the rostra, where, often as consul, often as a consular, and, that very year against Antony, he had been heard with admiration of his eloquence, the like of which no other human voice ever uttered. The people, raising their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered parts. He lived sixty-three years, so that in the absence of violence his death could not have been considered premature. His genius served him well both in his works and in the rewards thereof. He enjoyed the favors of fortune for a long time, yet in the intervals of his protracted career of prosperity he suffered some severe blows, exile, the ruin of the party he had espoused, the death of his daughter, and his end so sad and bitter, none of which calamities did he bear as became a man except his death, which to one who weighs the matter impartially must seem the less undeserved, since he suffered nothing more cruel at the hands of his victorious enemy than he would himself have inflicted if fortune had put the same power in his hands. Yet if we weigh his virtues and his faults he must be pronounced a great, energetic, and ever memorable man, to fitly sound whose praises another Cicero would be needed.” (Livy, cxx.) This judgment of the gravest of Roman historians is the one which the better part of mankind have ratified in all succeeding ages.

The glowing words of Velleius also deserve a place here; and these likewise have found their echo in all later generations, viz.: “You have gained nothing, Mark Antony (for the indignation bursting from my mind and breast compels me to exceed the intended character of this work); you have gained

nothing, I say, by paying the price for closing that celestial voice and cutting off that most noble head, and instigating, by a cruel reward, the death of a man who had once been so great a consul and the saviour of the republic. You deprived Marcus Cicero of a life of anxiety and a feeble old age, of an existence worse under your chieftainship than death under your triumvirate. But the fame and glory of his deeds and words you have not taken from him in the least, but rather augmented. He lives and will live in the memory of all ages. So long as this body of the natural universe, whether created by chance or by providence, or however constituted, which he almost alone of the Romans penetrated with his intellect, embraced with his genius, and illuminated with his eloquence, shall endure, it will bear the praise of Cicero as coeval with it. All posterity will admire what he wrote against you and execrate what you did against him, and sooner shall the human race perish from the earth than his fame decay." (Velleius, ii. 66.)

Valerius Maximus, under the heading of "Ingratitude among the Romans," says: "Cicero, at the instance of M. Caelius, with no less zeal than eloquence, defended C. Popilius Læna, a man of Picenum, and, though he had a doubtful case, returned him in safety to his home. This Popilius, of his own accord, although he had never afterward been harmed by Cicero by word or deed, asked Antony to send him to pursue and kill that illustrious proscrip. When he had obtained this detestable commission he hastened with joy and gladness to Caieta and ordered that man who, not to mention his very great dignity, had certainly been Læna's preserver, and was entitled to veneration for the zealous and distinguished service rendered in his private capacity, to lay bare his throat. Then, with absolute coolness, he cut off the head of Roman eloquence and the most renowned right hand of peace. Loaded with these, as with the honorable spoils of war, he returned gayly to the city. As he bore the infamous burden it never occurred to him that he was carrying the very head that once had pleaded eloquently for his own. Words are powerless to stigmatize this monster, since no other Cicero exists to deplore in fitting terms the misfortune that befell that one." (Val. Max., v. 3. 4.)

The following is Plutarch's account of Cicero's death. "While these events were in progress Cicero was at his country place near Tusculum, and his brother was with him. When they heard of the proscription they decided to go down to Astura, Cicero's place on the sea-coast, and sail thence to Macedonia to join Brutus, for it was already rumored that he had mastered those parts. They were conveyed, sorrow-stricken, in litters, and often stopped on the road, bringing their litters near together, and condoled with each other. Quintus was particularly disturbed as he remembered his needy condition. So he said that, as he had brought nothing from home, and as Cicero's provision was also very scanty, it would be best for the latter to continue his flight, while Quintus should return home and provide himself with necessaries. After this was decided upon they embraced each other, wept, and went different ways. Quintus, not many days later, was betrayed by his servants to the

pursuers, and was killed, together with his son. Cicero was conveyed to Astura, where he found a ship ready, in which he embarked and sailed as far as Circaëum with a favorable wind. The pilots wished to proceed from that place immediately, but Cicero, either fearing the sea, or not having lost all faith in Octavius, went ashore and travelled 100 stades by land toward Rome. Again he became anxious, changed his mind, and went back to the sea-shore at Astura. There he passed the night in great trouble and perplexity. He even contemplated going secretly to the house of Octavius and killing himself on his hearthstone, in order to bring divine vengeance upon him, but the fear of torture changed his purpose. Then, falling a prey to other perplexed and varying counsels, he allowed his servants to convey him by sea to Caieta, where he had a country place, an agreeable retreat in the summer season when the north winds blow fresh. There was a small temple on the sea-shore at this place, out of which crows flew in large numbers and with loud noise, to Cicero's ship as it neared the land, and, alighting on either side of the yard-arm, some of them croaked and others pecked at the ends of the ropes. This seemed to all to be an ill omen. Nevertheless, Cicero disembarked and proceeded to his villa, where he went to bed to take a little rest. The crows alighted at the window, where they clamored tumultuously, and one of them flew down upon the bed where Cicero was covered up, and, little by little, drew the covering from his face with its beak. When the servants saw this they reproached themselves for remaining idle spectators of their master's fate, and not rescuing him in his undeserved distress, while the brute creation was lending him aid. So, partly by entreaty, partly by force, they put him in the litter and carried him toward the sea-shore.

"In the meantime the murderers were coming, under the command of the centurion Herennius and the military tribune Popilius, whom Cicero had once defended when he was prosecuted for killing his own father. Finding the doors closed, they broke them open, but they did not find Cicero, and those who were within said that they did not know where he was. It is said that a young man named Philologus, who had been educated by Cicero in the liberal arts and sciences, a freedman of his brother Quintus, told the tribune that they were carrying the litter through the bushy shaded walks toward the sea. The tribune took a few men and ran around to the exit of these paths. Herennius kept his course along the path, and when Cicero saw him he ordered the servants to put down the litter. Then, leaning his chin on his left hand as was his custom, he looked straight at the murderers. His haggard appearance and his unshaven face, wasted with anxiety, caused most of them to hide their own heads while Herennius murdered him. He was killed while holding his neck out of the litter, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. By Antony's command his head was cut off and also the hands with which he wrote the Philippics, for he styled his orations against Antony the Philippics, and they are so called to this day." (Life of Cicero, 47-48). It thus appears from Plutarch's account, as well as from Livy's, that, if Cicero had really desired to

escape, he had abundant opportunity. It was perhaps the intention of Octavius and Lepidus that he should do so.

Dion Cassius gives a very brief account of Cicero's death, but adds some particulars about the indignities offered to his remains, viz.: "When the head of Cicero was brought to the triumvirs (for he was captured and killed while fleeing), Antony heaped many bitter reproaches on it, and then ordered that it be put in a more conspicuous place than the others on the rostra, so that in the place where Cicero had been heard speaking against himself it might be seen, together with the right hand, as that also had been cut off. Before it was removed Fulvia took the head in her hands, and, after abusing it with bitter words and spitting on it, placed it on her knees, opened the mouth, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with pins that she used in dressing her hair, all the time heaping disgusting epithets upon it." (Dion, xlvii. 8.)

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

The Scattered Republican forces — How they were reassembled — Octavius and Antony after the Battle — Antony in Asia — Makes a Public Speech at Ephesus — Levies Ten Years' Taxes — Distress of the Inhabitants — Antony makes a tour of The Eastern Provinces — Meets Cleopatra in Cilicia and becomes her Slave — The Murder of Arsinoe — Unsuccessful Attack on Palmyra — Antony goes to Egypt to join Cleopatra

AFTER the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavius returned to Italy. Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt — a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The later wars were sporadic. But, finally, Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, and Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavius. These events came about in the following manner.

[2] Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus, he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had a numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus, who had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by

themselves. Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus.

[3] After the battle of Philippi Octavius and Antony offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavius went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He was chosen for this purpose on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Ægean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. It was decided, at the instance of Octavius, to make Cisalpine Gaul free, as the elder Cæsar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius. It was decided that if Octavius should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time, except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in prætorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavius had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus. Then Octavius proceeded (Y.R. 713) toward the Adriatic.

(B.C. 41) [4] When Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators among us made these taxes necessary. When they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who made these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Cæsar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages; for he even turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honorable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

[5] “Now that a just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier penalty. We need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the service. The sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavius has gone to Italy to provide them with land and cities — to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we must count upon getting money from you, not all that you have (we could not think of that), but a part, a very small part, which, when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. What you contributed to our enemies in two years (for you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is by no means equal to your deserts.”

[6] Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had delivered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively.

[7] While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar. To these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus. He gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them harshly. He made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to see him he gave Ægina in exchange for Tenos, and also Icos, Cea, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia,

Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, Ituræa, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities, — in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisinna, awarding the kingdom to Sisinna on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who appeared to him to be a beautiful woman. In Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

[8] Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labors in avenging Cæsar. Instead of apologizing she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had been enamoured of her long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

[9] Straightway Antony's interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoë was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death. Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant who, when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Cæsar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Aradians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called Megabyzus, and who had once received Arsinoë as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusations against its inhabitants, that, being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia and dispose of them in the Roman territory. In fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen, but the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they were expert

bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned around and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

[10] It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed prætor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of Cæsar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants got possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and coöperated with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

[11] She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion. He laid aside the cares and duties of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the phœcasium. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in Alexandria was wholly devoted. Such was the state of affairs with Antony.

CHAPTER II

Octavius returns to Rome — Consternation among the Italians — Confiscation and Division of the Land — Beginning of Trouble with Lucius Antonius — Outrages committed by the Soldiers — Octavius powerless to prevent them — The Killing of Nonius — Insubordination and Desertion, and the Causes thereof

[12] As Octavius was journeying to Rome he became dangerously ill at Brundisium, and a rumor gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavius the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavius transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. The soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valor. The cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; but there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established so that democracy should never again lift its head, — colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

[13] Octavius explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbors in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease when Octavius rebuked them and made them numerous other presents. They were contemptuous in the knowledge that their rulers needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the control of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a

firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them with good-will, necessarily. Octavius made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him. The greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

[14] Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavius, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favor of the soldiers. As this could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavius should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavius exclusively. They made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in envious terms, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its maximum, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavius' illness. Although Octavius was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favor to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favorable to the soldiers than Octavius was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from other communities, neighbors of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavius, saying that the colonization was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while the former was against inoffensive persons.

[15] Octavius knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it. There was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies. Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army. The soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavius had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They

gathered around Octavius as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.

[16] Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavius delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavius' illness, not his disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant. Then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavius was about to pass along. The friends of Octavius advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded. They repented and were ashamed of their importunity. They condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honored with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

[17] Let these two instances serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favor and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to

a similar cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behavior, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions.

CHAPTER III

Famine in Rome — Lucius Antonius espouses the Cause of the Citizens against the Triumvirs — An Arbitration between Lucius and Octavius — The Trouble breaks out afresh — Preparations for War between Lucius and Octavius — Another Arbitration proposed — The Negotiations fruitless — Growing Power of Sextus Pompeius — Situation of Affairs in Africa — Beginning of Hostilities — Octavius seeks Peace — Ineffectual Embassy to Lucius

[18] Now famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Many robberies were committed by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and which were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

[19] Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavius. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to, the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. Antony's soldiers, and Octavius also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavius was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavius' cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavius to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavius replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

[20] When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavius at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share; that neither Antony nor Octavius should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavius in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavius into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, and Salvidienus crossed the Alps unhindered.

[21] As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Præneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavius, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he (Lucius) was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lucius, saying now that she had fears for her children on account of Lepidus. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavius. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavius reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to accept the arbitration of themselves, or of the officers, whatever the decision might be.

[22] Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavius was, by his favors, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy; that in fraud of Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine; that he had distributed this money in order to curry

favor with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his reasons for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavius could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what was done by the other. When Octavius saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, he made similar preparations on his own side.

[23] Two legions of the army which had been colonized at Ancona and which had served under the elder Cæsar and under Antony, hearing of their respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavius replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavius to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Præneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavius, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision some of them were killed. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

[24] Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavius and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations full of bitterness against each other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus. These were all in Italy. Octavius had four legions at Capua and some prætorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain. Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. War was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavius except Sardinia, for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks — from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus, and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

[25] The affairs of Octavius were in disorder outside of Italy also. Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonizing of the soldiers, and the

dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, and who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and a full complement of men. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large sum of money, and eighty ships. He also sent after the other army from Cephallenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was afflicted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might have mastered it. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed of that also.

[26] In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavius. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavius' procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundisium, captured some of the triremes of Octavius, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

[27] Octavius sent a legion of soldiers to Brundisium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavius and Lucius sent recruiting officers through-out Italy, who had skirmishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonies. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavius, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonized soldiers joined Octavius. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

[28] Though these events were taking place, Octavius, nevertheless, convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: "I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. I have strong forces

who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand. I am strong in all respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will be announced to us not from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I protest that I have done Antony no wrong. Nor have I suffered any wrong from him. I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice. I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius.”

[29] So spake Octavius. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Præneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavius was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundisium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away without transacting their business. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavius, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavius set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the optimates then showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.

CHAPTER IV

War begun — Lucius declares his Intention to restore the Republic — Lucius seeks to intercept Salvidienus — Is prevented by Agrippa — Lucius is besieged in Perusia — He there awaits Reënforcements — His Reënforcements cut off — Lucius makes a Sally, and is driven back — Lucius' Lieutenants fail to assist him — Famine in Perusia — No Food allowed to Slaves — Lucius attempts to break out — Lucius defeated after desperate Fighting — He begins to entertain Thoughts of Surrender

[30] The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and started to revolt. Both Octavius and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reënforcement to Lucius, Octavius fell upon his rear guard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavius did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavius. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavius and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, and establishing the government of their fathers in place of a tyranny.

[31] All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavius, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, a quæstor of Antony, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavius to the prejudice of their common sway; whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavius. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavius with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavius, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that Lucius would turn from Salvidienus against himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the

rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

[32] When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him. So he turned aside to Perugia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavius advanced against him and against Perugia and enclosed them with three armies, and Octavius summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they did not altogether approve of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, for so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the AGRIPPA Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

aid of the besieged, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perugia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

[33] Octavius, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of circumvallation around Perugia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, so that nothing could be introduced into the place. Lucius built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavius' legions, which was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's preference), in order to raise the blockade, Octavius and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perugia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated, — Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spolegium. Octavius stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perugia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front,

to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavius had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

[34] When the work of Octavius was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations before-hand. Knowing this fact Octavius kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavius himself with some prætorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

(Y.R. 714) [35] Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower the forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavius and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia were rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight, around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they (B.C. 40) could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

[36] As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardor, saying, "In our

recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death." All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be thrown to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.

[37] The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something important in their desperation had not the fact become known to Octavius that they had not many such machines, and had not the best of his reserves been brought to the assistance of the tired men. These fresh troops flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their voices had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavius joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they could not. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant.

[38] This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavius stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher

officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavius for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavius was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

CHAPTER V

Lucius addresses his Soldiers on the Subject of Surrender — Sends Envoys to Octavius — Makes a Personal Visit to Octavius — What Lucius said to him — Lucius surrenders unconditionally — Reply of Octavius — The Soldiers of the Two Armies embrace each other — Octavius pardons Lucius and all except a Few Leaders — Perugia destroyed by Fire

[39] Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him encouragement, Lucius called his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavius falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavius in order to make war against us as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would make my fame glorious after my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger."

[40] After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavius, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that

they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavius, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were colonized veterans, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

[41] These personal enemies of Octavius, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of the country. Lucius in pity commended them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavius his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and distinguished by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavius understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavius anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

[42] When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I were a foreigner waging war against you, Octavius, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. Since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, in a matter appertaining to our common country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak

otherwise.

[43] "I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you, but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the customs of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone; not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice in the war you were waging. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it.

[44] "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you heretofore and what I still think. So much for myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army, if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rules there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I would not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be

securing favor for myself in an underhand way.”

[45] After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavius said: “When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my intrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me.” These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language. They then separated, and Octavius eulogized and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavius for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the speakers.

[46] Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavius. They took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavius himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night. The next morning Octavius offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavius as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavius had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavius had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius’ men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavius in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the

new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

[47] For this reason Octavius did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion. I intended to ask the old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you, what they have suffered at our hands, or what favor they have asked in vain, or what greater favors they expected from anybody else, that they have taken up arms against me, against you, against them-selves. All the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will ask them these questions." They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said. "They are dismissed without punishment for their wrongdoing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you." They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavius, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither.

[48] Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavius summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavius placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavius, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honor and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded those Perusians to come forward who had stretched out their hands to him from the walls, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them. The councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Æmilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Cæsar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

[49] Octavius intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames. A strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason

the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavius made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were chiefly the personal enemies of Octavius, namely, Canutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the siege of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.

CHAPTER VI

The Armies of Asinius, Plancus, and Ventidius — Octavius gains Possession of the Army of Calenus — Antony's Wife and Mother join him at Athens — Octavius begins to suspect Antony — He holds a Conversation on the Subject with Lucius — Antony sets Sail for Italy — Meets Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic — Antony arrives at Brundisium and lays Siege to it — Octavius marches thither — Antony sends to Macedonia to bring his Army — The Soldiers of the Two Armies fraternize — Death of Fulvia

[50] Now Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined LIVIA AS PRIESTESS OF AUGUSTUS From Pompeii, in the Museum at Naples

troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundisium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavius followed them, offering terms of peace, and harassing those who refused, especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia fled with her children to Dicæarchia, and thence to Brundisium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundisium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

[51] Octavius was planning to get possession of another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died. Octavius, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight. Octavius, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome.

[52] As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and concealed his intentions. In the spring

he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundisium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance between them against Octavius. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavius he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavius should adhere to their agreements he would endeavor to reconcile him with Pompeius. Such was his answer.

[53] When Octavius returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, the reputation he had gained at Philippi having made him popular. Octavius considered himself far superior to Antony, to Pompeius, and to Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had no ships and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while he had the choice of many virgins in marriage, he wrote to Mæcenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavius without delay. Then Octavius, on various pretexts, sent away, to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were under suspicion.

[54] Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude if, after meeting such a favor from himself, he should now refuse to confess concerning the aims of Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will

allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favor of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I would go to join him, either openly or secretly, and would fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. If he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you are not trying to establish a monarchy. I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family." So spake Lucius. Octavius, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would intrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, which were now under the command of his lieutenants, Peducæus and Lucius. So Octavius dismissed Lucius with honor, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants.

[55] Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Cæsar's murderers, and had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavius at the time of the battle of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than to be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and continued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood on the prow as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Palæis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

[56] From thence they sailed to Brundisium, which was garrisoned by five

cohorts of Octavius' troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant. Considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavius' garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbor. Now the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbor, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius to move against Italy with his fleet and to do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavius, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

[57] Octavius, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succor the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what had happened had been done at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavius was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundisium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavius into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavius. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundisium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events.

[58] Antony was enabled by means of his intrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers. He summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime he resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, which returned, one after another, the next day, in sight of Octavius, bearing armed men, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundisians, to the great chagrin of Octavius, since he was not able to defend them. Toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of

Octavius with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Uria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundisium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as an invincible man still inspire terror.

[59] Antony's prætorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavius in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves, they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundisium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him. The others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundisium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Cæsar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavius' men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavius, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavius against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works. While these events 'were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick; and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

CHAPTER VII

The Mediation of Lucius Cocceius between Antony and Octavius — Interview between Cocceius and Octavius — Cocceius argues for Antony's Rectitude — Octavius writes to Antony's Mother — Antony and Octavius reconciled — They make a New Partition of the World — Antony marries Octavia

[60] There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with Cæcina, by Octavius, the previous summer, to Antony in Phœnicia, and had remained with Antony after Cæcina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavius for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavius which he could convey. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Cæcina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavius an enemy after his generous behavior toward Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundisium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavius.

[61] When Octavius saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. "I did not save your brother," he exclaimed, "in order that you should be my enemy." Cocceius replied, "How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?" "It was not fitting," replied Octavius, "that after the death of Calenus such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry have actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius; "but Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundisium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavius, "nor did I know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundisians themselves and the præfect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who has been condemned by

vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundisium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy.”

[62] “But it was agreed between you,” said Cocceius, “that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honor than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers. The vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony.” Octavius repeated his accusations, saying, “Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony.” Cocceius replied, “Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you agree to peace.” Octavius, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, “But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves.” Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife’s death. “Now that she is dead,” he continued, “it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are.”

[63] In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavius and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavius said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony’s mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honor by Octavius, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his artful way of opening a correspondence OCTAVIA Cameo owned by M. le Baron Roger (Duruy)

by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from

his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until a treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian gens. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

[64] When Octavius' soldiers learned these facts they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a common friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Mæcenas from that of Octavius. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavius for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavius' sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavius embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

[65] Now Octavius and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavius. Lepidus was to govern Africa, as Octavius had given it to him. Octavius was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavius was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers. These were the last conditions of peace between Octavius and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles. What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history.

[66] In the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavius, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavius was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavors to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra

and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavius the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavius' army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundisium. This secret Antony revealed, not with universal approbation, but because of his frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavius instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome, pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavius confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

CHAPTER VIII

Sextus Pompeius cuts off the Supply of Corn — Famine in Rome — Riot in the Forum — Octavius is stoned by the Mob and rescued by Antony — Negotiations with Sextus Pompeius — Sextus puts Murcus to Death — Sextus goes to Puteoli, and has a Conference with Antony and Octavius — They come to an Agreement — Banquets on Shipboard and on Shore — Great Rejoicing at Rome — Antony returns to the East — Spends the Winter in Athens

[67] Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. There was great dearth of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavius would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property. They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, until the whole populace was aroused.

[68] Octavius with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favor of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane,

striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavius from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid a shocking spectacle. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property. This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs. The famine grew worse. The people groaned, but did not stir.

(Y.R. 715) [69] Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they (B.C. 39) should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law, and to accomplish something more important; and he promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called *Ænaria*. When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavius with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also threatened to burn *Mucia*, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, if she did not communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavius and Antony went to *Baïæ*.

[70] All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except *Menodorus*, who wrote to him from *Sardinia* either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. *Menodorus* also advised him to distrust *Murcus*, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with *Murcus* lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, *Murcus* retired in disgust to *Syracuse*. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of *Murcus*, and induced them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime, — the next one committed by him after the murder of *Bithynicus*, — *Murcus* having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius in *Spain*, and had joined him in *Sicily* voluntarily. Such was the

death of Murcus.

[71] His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Ænaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavius and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, but not preventing them from hearing each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Cæsar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest an honorable recall to their homes, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavius and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he had been betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as his most competent officer and his only friend.

[72] Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavius, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored around it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms: That the war should cease on both land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not assail with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavius should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been previously required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition; that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the priesthood of the first rank. Such were the conditions accorded to

Pompeius himself. Members of the nobility who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of court for participation in the murder of Gaius Cæsar. The property of those who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, should all be restored except movables. Proscripts should receive one fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius should be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavius and Antony.

[73] Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony. The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On succeeding days Antony and Octavius gave banquets in tents pitched on the mole, on the pretext that thus all might participate, but perhaps really for their better security and to quiet apprehensions; for they did not even then neglect precautions. Their ships were moored alongside and guards were stationed around them, and the banqueters were girded with concealed daggers. It is said that, while the three were feasting in the ship, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs of his father and his brother, and to avail himself of this most favorable occasion to resume the sway that his father had exercised, saying that he, with his own ships, would take care that nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied, in a manner worthy of his family and his position, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my knowledge. False swearing may become Menodorus, but not Pompeius." At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavius. On the following day they designated the consuls for the next four years, viz., for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavius and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sossius; and, finally, Antony and Octavius again; and as they would then have been consuls the third time it was expected that they would restore the government to the people.

[74] Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius SEXTUS POMPEIUS Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

going to Sicily by sea, Octavius and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news ³ there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. As the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honor as to saviours. The city would have given them a

magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only ones disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

[75] After these events Octavius set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates; in Idumea and Samaria, Herod; in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were forever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all within reach, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sestius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sestius of the command of these troops.

[76] Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and without formal company. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being (Y.R. 716) by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the (B.C. 38) winter he was like another man. He changed his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

CHAPTER IX

Peace broken between Sextus and Octavius — Antony returns to Brundisium — Defection of Menodorus — He delivers Sardinia and Corsica to Octavius — Octavius makes war against Sextus — Sea-Fight at Cumæ between Menodorus and Menecrates — Menodorus wounded and Menecrates killed — The Fleet of Octavius worsted — A Second Victory for Pompeius — Octavius driven ashore and retreats to the Mountains

[77] While Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavius and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavius, which were the following: Antony had ceded Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that the former should wait till the collection had been made. Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavius said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships, and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Private robbery again infested the sea, and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavius having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavius proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus.

[78] Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavius, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus. About the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavius, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavius to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavius accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens

and meet him at Brundisium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about the war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundisium and Puteoli, intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him.

[79] Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavius there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavius' great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. 'It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundisians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavius not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for the latter had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

[80] Octavius sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed, and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavius himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavius sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus.

[81] When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius, with Sabinus and Menodorus, sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavius was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavius at Messina, and ordered his freedman Menecrates, who was the bitterest enemy

of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. Menecrates was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumæ, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Ænaria. At daybreak they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking through it. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like infantry contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

[82] In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grapplingirons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valor. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passageway for his daring crew, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

[83] This took place on the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own fleeing ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night was approaching, all returned to their former station. Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two,

Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea captains), abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, mediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole, fleet.

[84] Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavius, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavius' friends advised him to improve this most favorable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements. When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates.

[85] When Octavius heard of his disaster at Cumæ he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance and while he was passing Styliis and turning into Scyllæum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavius' fleet did not give battle, since Octavius did not permit it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. He gave orders, however, that all should hug the shore, cast anchor, and defend themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumæ, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

[86] Octavius leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. The latter leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavius' men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and,

fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men. This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties.

[87] At nightfall, those who had reached the shore from the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavius fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything thing needful be obtained from the ships in their wrecked condition. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of the road by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest.

CHAPTER X

Terrible Storm in the Straits of Sicily — Destruction of Octavius' Fleet — Great loss of Life — Octavius retreats to Vibo — Pompeius does not pursue — Octavius appeals to Antony for Aid — Antony comes to his Assistance with Three Hundred Ships — Meeting of Octavius and Antony — Antony returns to his Parthian Expedition — Menodorus deserts to Pompeius

[88] The next morning, when Octavius looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and furniture, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, turning them on their sides, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbor of Messana. The ships of Octavius were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control.

[89] Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor where, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore. Some of the others followed his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually did in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors on either side, landward and seaward, and thrust out poles to prevent collisions with each other. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were upset on the shore one after another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard. There was no distinction between pilot and common sailor. Knowledge and authority were alike unavailing. The same destruction awaited those in the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber. The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf. When the convulsion seized the water, as is usual in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed to it, and then their vessels were whirled around and dashed against each other worse than ever. As night came on the wind increased in fury, so that they perished no longer in the light but in the darkness.

[90] Groans were heard throughout the entire night, and the cries of men

running along the shore and calling their friends and relatives upon the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost when they could hear no responses; and anon the cries of others lifting their heads above the waves and beseeching aid from those on shore. Nothing' could be done on either land or water. Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but the danger from the storm was almost as great on land, lest the surf should dash them against the rocks. So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest that those who were nearest the land feared the land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid collision with each other, for the narrowness of the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together with the force of the waves, the rotary motion of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains, and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were utterly lost. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavius' ships and men were destroyed by it.

[91] Octavius, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided. On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were tying their ships together with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favorable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and cared only to defend himself against assailants.

[92] Less than half of Octavius' ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were

not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent (Y.R. 717) Mæcenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting (B.C. 37) the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Mæcenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa. His friends and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them. Accordingly, Octavius cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones.

(Y.R. 718) [93] At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavius as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated (Y.R. 716) with Octavius again, because the expense of his fleet was (B.C. 36) burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavius' army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavius. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavius complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits. She replied that that had been explained through Mæcenas. Octavius said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him. She replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavia had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavius with permission to put him to torture [in order to learn the truth]. Octavius would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is a river of the latter name between them.

[94] They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavius, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavius saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavius prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at

Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

[95] However, Octavius postponed his expedition against (Y.R. 718) Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavius 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavius promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the favor from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli — a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel — and Octavius gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them.

[96] But Menodorus, — either because he was an habitual traitor, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return, — now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavius' admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavius dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place. When the fleet was ready, Octavius performed a lustration for it in the following manner. Altars were erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude were ranged around them in ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who performed the ceremony offered the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carried the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times around the fleet, the general sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet. Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burned them, while the multitude chanted in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet.

CHAPTER XI

New Expedition against Sextus Pompeius — Lepidus brings a Fleet from Africa — Another Storm damages Octavius' Ships and causes Delay-Sextus fails to take Advantage of these Occurrences — Menodorus turns Traitor again — Surrenders his Ships and himself to Octavius — Disposition of the Forces of Octavius — Disaster to Lepidus on the Sea — Agrippa occupies the Island of Hieria — He attacks the Pompeian Fleet, and wins a Victory

[97] It was intended that Octavius should set sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, to Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavius' sailing had been previously communicated to all. It was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honor of the first Cæsar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavius fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plennius at Lilybæum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbors and naval stations for Octavius and Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messina watching its chances. In this way they made their preparations on either side.

[98] When the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavius sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Neptune, the guardian, and to the tranquil sea, that they should be his assistants against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plennius in Lilybæum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavius took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a southwester, which threw the bay into commotion,

as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and the confusion became worse confounded by night.

[99] When the tempest had subsided, Octavius buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnicas had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships that he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Mæcenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavius himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Thence he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand.

[100] Pompeius did not deign to seize the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavius would now desist from his undertaking, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavius and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was intrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

[101] Conceiving that, however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valor, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and sailed, by rowing three days, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavius' shipyards, and darted away to an unseen place

carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes. He also sunk, or captured, or burned some merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavius and Agrippa being absent. The latter had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus ran his ship upon the soft ground, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains as to a certain prey, when he backed away, laughing, and left the soldiers of Octavius the victims of both chagrin and astonishment. When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebillus, having a view already to the future.

[102] During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavius, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavius, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harass the forces of Octavius as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated on account of the baseness of the transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavius. Menodorus at once deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavius, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavius conceded his safety on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

[103] When the fleet was ready Octavius set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there. He sent three legions to Styliis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail around from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, the cavalry reconnoitring by land and the liburnicas by sea. While he was making this movement Octavius, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said,

guarded all the landing-places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

[104] Such were the preparations of Octavius and Pompeius in this quarter. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus later, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions reëmbarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

[105] Octavius crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle, one of the five Æolian islands, having made a reconnoissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylæ, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hieræ, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylæ, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa, and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apolophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

[106] Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hieræ before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the fleet of Apolophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavius at once that Pompeius was at Mylæ with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hieræ in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavius were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavius, but the latter were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, in breaking oar blades and rudders,

cutting off oar handles, or separating the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavius sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the corvus and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians, whenever they were overpowered in this manner, leaped into the sea and were picked up by their small boats, which were hovering around for this purpose.

[107] Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking a hole in the keel. The men in the towers were shaken down, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits.

[108] Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary; but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbors, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. Such was the result of the naval battle at Mylæ between Agrippa and Papias.

CHAPTER XII

Octavius crosses the Straits and demands the Surrender of Tauromenium — He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius by Land and Sea — Octavius' Fleet is beaten and dispersed — Cornificius is left in Camp near Tauromenium — Octavius escapes to the Shore and rallies his Land Forces — Cornificius marches across Sicily — Terrible Sufferings of his Troops — He is rescued by Agrippa — Octavius effects a Lodgement on the Northern Coast of Sicily — An Eruption of Mount Etna — Pompeius challenges Octavius to a Naval Engagement — The Challenge is accepted — A Stubborn and Protracted Contest — Agrippa gains the Victory — Pompeius flees to Messana — He departs from Sicily — Lepidus plunders Messana

[109] Pompeius suspected that Octavius had gone to the camp of Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the fact. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylæ so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as his army was sufficiently rested, bestirred himself and set sail for Tyndaris, which had offered to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening. In the meantime, Octavius had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylæ on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

[110] When Octavius disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet — an astounding spectacle, since Octavius believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side. The forces of Octavius were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavius

himself was alarmed because Messala could not join him. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavius' men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavius, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phœnix. Night coming on they went to rest, and Octavius' soldiers finished their camp, but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet.

[111] Octavius placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carcius, and embarking himself on a liburnica, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavius' ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

[112] Octavius spent the greater part of the night among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbor of Abala with a single armor-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him suffering in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he despatched a liburnica to Cornificius, and sent word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Styliis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail for Lipara, to which place he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius

with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Mæcenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the so-called first legion to Vibo.

[113] This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact in honor of Roman magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander. Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled darts from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

[114] On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the streams in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure the daytime, because of suffocation. Moreover, the bottoms of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer. On account of the tormenting thirst they could not delay. They could no longer charge upon their assailants, but received wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and barefooted companions, dashed at the defiles with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defiles occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely.

[115] While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as they had been all the time hoping for something of this kind, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw

the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength. When the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess. Some who neglected this advice died while drinking. In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and what was left of his army, escape to Agrippa at Mylæ.

[116] Agrippa had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither Octavius transported his infantry and cavalry. He had in Sicily all together twenty-one legions of the former, 20,000 of the latter, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylæ, and all the places from Mylæ to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighborhood of Tauromenium and around Mylæ were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavius when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylæ; and Octavius occupied them and also Mylæ and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep.

[117] When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles, and he called to his assistance Tisienus with his army. Octavius sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armor-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if a torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavius ravaged the territory of the Abacænians, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messina.

[118] As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavius sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavius if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavius, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300

ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the harpago, a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the harpago, an iron claw, to the other numerous ropes, which drew the harpago by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

[119] When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the crew and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power. The generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The harpago achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, especially when the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the harpago did its work.

[120] Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other completely, and meanwhile the fighting and the sea were a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships. They left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

[121] Judging from the colors of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius'

ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavius who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on the land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself, darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving no orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavius received the surrender of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavius' ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground, and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

[122] Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plennius from Lilybæum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plennius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait for Plennius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, whose mother he had saved in similar circumstances. After his departure Plennius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavius himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plennius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival of Octavius, but Lepidus granted terms, and, in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plennius to himself, allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city. They had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards.

CHAPTER XIII

Lepidus lays Claim to Sicily — Octavius tampers with his Troops — Conflict in the Camp of Lepidus — He is deserted by his Soldiers — Lepidus deposed from his Command — Octavius does not pursue Pompeius — Mutiny in the Army — It is suppressed by Octavius — Octavius rewards his Soldiers and returns to Italy — Unbounded Honors bestowed upon him at Rome — He refuses to punish Lepidus — Robbery suppressed — Octavius elected Tribune for Life

[123] Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry. He was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavius, and he seized all the defiles. Octavius arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavius, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavius, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavius was exasperated. He came to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavius were anchored away from the shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them.

[124] The soldiers were angry at the thought of engaging in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavius and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavius, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus. They also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavius learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavius did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavius came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while

others began to take down their tents.

[125] When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were exchanged and one of Octavius' armor-bearers was killed. Octavius himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavius was so angry that he could not restrain himself from dashing upon them with his horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavius, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reenforcements in all directions; but when these very reënforcements went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him. They transferred themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed others to prevent them from going, but the very ones who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavius with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

[126] The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavius to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus was Lepidus deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He changed his costume and hastened to Octavius, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavius started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held. And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favors of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period.

[127] Octavius neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavius said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse, and some 40,000 light-armed troops. He also had 600 war-ships and an immense

number of merchant vessels, which he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honors to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

[128] Fortune became jealous of his great prosperity. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavius knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when the latter should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honors of the previous wars. He said that he would not postpone the honors. So he distributed many prizes, and gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofilius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out, "Well said"; whereupon Octavius descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered around the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them. Ofilius said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause, but after saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

[129] The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but they joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavius conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20,000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only AUGUSTUS In the Braccio Nuovo, Vatican Museum, Rome

who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed contrary to the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them

to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would be sorry, and that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed proprætors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

[130] When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honors, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and distributed in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honors voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column surrounded by the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription: "“PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE REESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA.”"

[131] When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed upon one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a designated day and to execute the orders contained therein. These orders related to the slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and the treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavius returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

[132] This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavius was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavius to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavius excited astonishment by having put an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according

to the customs of the fathers. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would abdicate entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to their government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavius. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavius had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

CHAPTER XIV

Sextus Pompeius flees to Antony — Forms Plans to assist Antony or supersede him according to Circumstances — Sends an Embassy to Antony — Antony sends Titius against him — Antony hears the Ambassadors — He captures the Envoys sent by Pompeius to the Parthians — Double-dealing of Pompeius discovered — He begins Hostilities against Antony's Lieutenants — Antony sends Reënforcements against him — Pompeius deserted by his Friends — A Battle in the Night — Pompeius offers to surrender to Furnius, who refuses to accept him — Pompeius refuses to surrender to Titius — He is captured by Amyntas — He is delivered to Titius, who puts him to Death

[133] Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Cæsar, had bestowed him with his mother, when he was still a boy, and where his father had recovered him after his defeat. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to intrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been worsted, and this result was confirmed by the reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming with both projects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavius, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

[134] As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honor if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the ambassadors who had arrived, and who addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he was without a place of refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account and which espoused his own

cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, or, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavius with ships against him), nor would you have been defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavius, not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavius' words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against the latter after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided no part of it with you.

[135] "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for. He would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of goodwill, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavius against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you that those soldiers were not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, unless, to be sure, it has already come."

[136] When the ambassadors had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he should come in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

(Y.R. 719) [137] In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of

Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he (B.C. 35) mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, colonized there by Gaius Cæsar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because there was a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbor of the Achæans and collected provisions.

[138] Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While they were waiting for assistance from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, the inhabitants, who were distressed by continual exactions, enlisted gladly under Pompeius, especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbor of the Achæans. While Pompeius was deficient in cavalry, and was thus crippled in procuring supplies, he learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop, but Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry.

[139] Pompeius took Nicæa and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reënforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that

Antony had lent to Octavius against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavius had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

[140] Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight in a state of nudity. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by a god, he gave no heed to these opportunities, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut off his supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

[141] Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and nobody supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you have fought against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wished to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done. Why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now

you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been intrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honorable manner."

[142] Pompeius was angry with Titius as an ingrate, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity to be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had intrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not been previously advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

[143] Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Cæsar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered to the proscribed in Rome exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with mental aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself. After such a career Pompeius

was taken prisoner.

[144] Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Others think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favorable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Still others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the coöperation of Cleopatra, should breed dissension between Antony and Octavius.

[145] After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavius made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end), and added them to the history of the neighboring Macedonia.

The Greek Texts



The Forum at Rome — it is believed that Appian moved in AD 120 to Rome, where he became a lawyer.

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts of Appian's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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Source texts: Appian. 'The Foreign Wars' and 'The Civil Wars'. L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig. Teubner. 1879. With thanks to the Pegasus Digital Library.

ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκ τῆς Βασιλικῆς

“ἄρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπυος, ὃς ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ ἥκμαζε πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἔς τινα τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλόν, Λώρεντον ἐπικαλούμενον, ἔνθα καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίνων τῶν τῆδε Ἰταλῶν Φαῦνος ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ὃς καὶ ζεύγνυσιν Αἰνεῖα τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Λαουινίαν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Λαουίνιον ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Αἰνεΐας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Λατίνου Φαύνου Λατίνους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Λαουινίαν τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Ῥουτούλων τῶν Τυρρηγῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναιρεῖται πολέμου νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνεΐας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθεὶς, ὃς ἐγεννήθη τῷ Αἰνεΐᾳ ἐκ Κρεοῦσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικός. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθῆναί φασι, τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[2] Ἀσκάνιου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλβης οἰκισιν ‘καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἔκτισε πόλιν, Ἀλβην καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Λαουινίου τὸν λαὸν μετόκισεν’ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σίλουιος. καὶ Σιλουίου παῖδα Αἰνεΐαν Σιλουῖον φασιν, Αἰνείου δὲ Λατίνον Σίλουιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιβερίνον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμόλον. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ: οὐ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀουεντίνον, Ἀουεντίνου δὲ Πρόκαν γενέσθαι. καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Σίλουιον ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. τῷ δὲ Πρόκα δύο ἐγενέσθην υἱοί, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὁ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βία κατέσχευ ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἔγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουϊαν ἰέρειαν, ἵνα ἅπαις διαμείνῃ, καθίστησι: τὸν μέντοι Νεμέτορα τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐξεῖλε πραότης καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια. ἀλλ’ ἡ Σιλουΐα ἔκυε παρὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμούλιος ἐπὶ κολάσει συνελάμβανε, δύο δὲ παῖδας ἐκ τῆσδε γενομένους ποιμέσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰς τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ βρέφη: Θύβρις ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ, Ῥῶμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμύλος οἱ παῖδες, ἐξ Αἰνείου ἔλκοντες μητρόθεν τὸ γένος: τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φύντος ἀδελγον.”

Phot. Biblioth. b 4 Bekk.

“ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἐπτὰ βασιλέων, Ῥωμόλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἄγκου Ὀστιλίου καὶ Ἄγκου ἐτέρου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερουίου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεις περιέχει. ὧν ὁ πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστὴς γεγὼνός, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς, ὅμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἠφανίσθη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἤττον βεβασιλευκῶς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε ζήσας ... ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη,

καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ὁμοίως σφαγῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ ἑβδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη: ἐξ οὗ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθείσης εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη.”

id. b 22.

“ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπὸ σκηνῇ Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον.”

Suid. vv. Τάτιος et φυλάξασα.

“κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχώσθη.”

Suid. v. λιθάζω.

“ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμύλον Τατίου αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διή τησαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χεῖράς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἤδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν εἰς αὐτάς ἀμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἶκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μιαιοῦ πολέμου, ἢ πρῶτας ἀνελεῖν αἱ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορία καὶ οἰκτῶ τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνώσκοντες ἤδη μὴ καθ’ ὕβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ χρείας, εἰς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν γενομένην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τάτιόν τε καὶ Ῥωμύλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, εἰς τὸ Ῥωμαίων μετοικίσεσθαι ἐπ’ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ.”

U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) .

“ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ’ ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγγειλεν Ὀστιλίῳ.”

Suid. v. ἰδιόξενος.

“οἱ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν ὥς κακῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι τὰ πάντα θέμενον.”

id. v. βλάσφημος.

“συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν Γάβιοι δικαιῶσιν.”

id. v. δικαιῶν.

“ὠνεῖται τὰ τρία βιβλία τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐννέα.”

Bekk. Anecd. , 15.

“ὁ δὲ Ὀράτιος λελωβημένος ἦν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἔτυχεν οὔτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν.”

Suid. vv. ἀχρηστία et Ὀράτιος.

“οἱ ὕπατοι τὰ ὄρκια προὔτεινον, καὶ εἰς πάντα ἔφασαν ἐνδῶσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι.”

id. v. προσήσεσθαι.

“ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθιζε. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἀνὴρ Σαβίνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός, οὐκ εἶα τοὺς Σαβίνους παρασπονδεῖν, ἕως κρινόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔφυγεν εἰς Ῥώμην μετὰ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ δούλων πεντακισχιλίων. οἷς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν εἰς οἰκίας ἔδωκαν καὶ γῆν εἰς

γεωργίαν, καὶ πολίτας ἔθεντο. τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἔργα λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν Σαβίνων· καὶ φυλὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν.”

Vales. Excerpt. ex collectan. Const. Porph. .

“Λατῖνοι ἑνσπονδοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευον ἐπ’ αὐτούς ... οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἐγκλήματα εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἑνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς.”

Suid. νν. ἑνσπονδος et πάρεσις.

ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς

“Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους.”

Suid. v. κληροῦχον.

“ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸν Μάρκιον μετιόντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειροτόνησεν, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιὼς αὐτοῦ.”

id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

“ὁ Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, φυγὴν καταδικασθεὶς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο.”

id. v. πίμπραται.

“ὅτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἦκοι, τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἰρήσεσθαι βουλευθείς.”

id. v. ἀλλαξάμενος.

“ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Οὐολούσκους καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἠπεῖλει τῇ βουλῇ παραδῶσιν τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσιντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ῥωμαίοις πρεπούσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολούσκων ἀκροωμένῳ προὔτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμησκον ὥς οὐχ ἁμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτόν καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὅμως Οὐολούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἂν ἦν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδῶσι, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὥσπερ Λατίνους. ἔως δ' ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατούντων οἱ κρατούμενοι, οὐχ ὅρᾳ τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσοντας ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἐπτὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἴλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

[2] οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἔαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δ' ἀντειπόντος ἔπεμπον ἐτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἐκουσίους ἔαν γίνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδούμενόν τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐς αὐτόν οὐχ ἁμαρτόντων. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἔπεμπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐσταλμένους, ταῦτά τοῦ Μαρκίου δεησομένους· ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔφη δεῖν ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, ἢ μηδ' αὖ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὥς ἄνθρωποι ἀμυνόμενοι Μάρκιον.

[3] Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Οὐολουμνίαν, πένθιμα ἠμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδιά ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσαι, συνεξελεθεῖν

αὐταῖς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἡξίουν αὐτάς, καὶ δεθηθῆναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης ἐξήεσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἔχθρῶν στρατοπέδον: ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιούσαις ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθήρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τὴν μητέρα, προσδραμών τε ἡσπάζετο, καὶ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Οὐολούσκων, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὃ τι χρήζοι.

[4] ἡ δὲ συνηδικῆσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένῳ τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἔφη, ὅρᾱν δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν ἤδη καὶ τίσιν ἔτισαν ἱκανήν, ὣν χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέφθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολώλασι πολλάι, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἔσχατον, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερέας καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα, τό τε ἀδίκημα ἰῶνται ἀμνηστία καὶ καθόδῳ. 'σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ, μηδὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπιχείρει κοιναῖς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων. ποῖ φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ; μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὴν σὴν; μετὰ τὴν ἐστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά; δὸς χάριν, ὦ παῖ, κάμοι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρακαλοῦσαις.' ἡ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἶα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην: οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἂν ἀδικῇ, οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν εὖ ποιοῦν: καὶ τὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκέλευεν ὅρᾱν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεψάντων. τιμάς τε ὅσων ἡξίωτο, καὶ ὄρκους οὓς ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεξήει, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

[5] ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἤδη πρεσβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίου βασιλέως καὶ Γαΐου Μαρκίου, τούτοις δὲ Τάτιον μὲν, ὄντα ξένον καὶ ἀληθῆ πολέμιον, ἐνδοῦναι ταῖς γυναῖξιν αἰδοῦμενον, Μάρκιον δ' ὑπερορᾶν πρεσβείας γυναικῶν τοσῶνδε, καὶ τῆς γεγαμημένης καὶ μητρὸς ἐπὶ ταύταις. 'ἄλλη μὲν οὖν,' ἔφη, 'μηδεμία μήτηρ, ἀτυχοῦσα παιδός, ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίκοιτο προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑφίσταμαι: προκυλίσομαί σου.' καὶ λέγουσα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν ἐρρίπτει. ὁ δὲ ἐδάκρυσέ τε καὶ ἀνεπήδα καὶ ἀντείχετο αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πάθους ἐξεφώνησε, 'νικᾷς, ὦ μητερ, ἀλλὰ νίκην ἐξ ἧς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολεῖς.' ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπήγε τὴν στρατιάν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσων Οὐολούσκοις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη συναλλάζων: ἐλπίς τε ἦν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα πείσει Οὐολούσκους. κατελεύσθη δὲ φθονούμενος παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀττίου."

U. .

"ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίου."

Suid. v. ἐδικαίου.

"ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιεπαῖνοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλεθρίας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται."

Suid. vv. ἐλεεινός et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.

"τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθής ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπιδησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ

στρατηγῶν.”

id. v. ἐθελοκάκως.

“ὅτι σημειων γενομενων ἐκ Διὸς ἀηδῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἄλωσιν, οἱ μάντιες ἔλεγον ἐκλειφθῆναί τινα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀνήνεγκεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοιτο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρῆσαντι περὶ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλή τοὺς λαβόντας ὅτιοῦν ἐκ τῆς Οὐηιεντίας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὄρκῳ τὸ δέκατον εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὥκνησε καὶ τῆς γῆς ἤδη πεπραμένης, ὥς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθεῖναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔκειτο χρύσεος ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιτῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκιῷ πολέμῳ κατεχώνευσε, κεῖται δ’ ἡ βάσις.

[2] αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἐδωκεν ὡς αἴτιον γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλεπῶν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξημίωσε πεντήκοντα μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὐδ’ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἐτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὕβρισθῇ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου: αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετόκησεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχὴν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τότε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον: Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέφυγε καὶ δικτάτορα αὐθις εἵλετο, ὥς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς πράξεσι συγγέγραπται.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων ἠξιώθη. ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐφημούμενος πᾶσιν ἠφίει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προῖων δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκοπίαις ἐπαιρόμενος ἐβούλευσεν ἤδη χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς κοινὰς, ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἠξίου τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἔτι οὐσαν ἀνέμνητον.”

Val. .

ἐκ τῆς Σαυνιτικῆς

“ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορουῖνος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομὰς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἶδε Καμπανοῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὔσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους ἑαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἕκαστοι τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμον προσαγαγέσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὁδεύων ἔμαθε τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἀφῆκεν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινα χρεῖαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χιλιάρχον τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ᾧ εἴρητο ἀφανῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἑκάτεροι δ’ ὑπώπτευν μεμνηῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ Ταρρακίνην ἀφίστανται τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δεδεμένους ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ ὀπλίσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἤλαυνον ἐς Ῥώμην ὁμοῦ δισμῦριοι γεγονότες.

[2] ἔτι δ’ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπήντα Κορουῖνος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἡρεμεί, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἔτι, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνώκosi μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμίσγυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ ὁδυρμοὶ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείois καὶ φίλοις ἁμαρτεῖν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ὧν ὁ Κορουῖνος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὁκνῶν ἄσπασθαι πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοσοῦτου φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν δύναιτο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμιξίας ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ οὐδ’ ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ἦ πιστός, ἅτε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον αὐτῶν αἰτιώμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἔφη περὶ μειζόνων· καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσκειν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ’ οἰκείων τοσῶνδε. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατήρσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ὁ ὕπατος τοιοῦτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν. τούτῳ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἀμελὴς ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸν εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενόν τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ παῖς ὁδε Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτων ξιφίδιον, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἠξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς δὴ τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπέκλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπᾶσας ἠπεῖλει τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὁμώσειεν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤμοσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν· ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμπρὸς ἦν,

ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιοῦσδε ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγέννητο.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεῖχε, μετὰ δέ, οὐ φέρων ἔτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντήλασε τὸν ἵππον.”

Suid. v. ἐρέθισμα.

“ὅτι Σαυνῖται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Δαυνίων ὀδοήκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἴλον, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀνελόντες ἀπανέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπρέσβευον οἱ Σαυνῖται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αἰτίους τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότας ἀνηρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιουσίας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ πάνυ νομίζουσα τετρῦσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἢ παρητοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνέτιθεντο: περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ’ ἀκοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἔφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ’ ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες. λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πείραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

[2] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἔτι παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἕως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ’ ἐνεμέσῃσε τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὕστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤχθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐς γὰρ στενωτάτον χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγούντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Πόντιον καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ἣν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχουσι καιροί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοῖεν. θρήνος οὖν ἦν οἷα πόλεως ἀλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἔτι ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὁκνοῦντες ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι: ὡς δ’ οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὃ τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ νεότης ἦν πέντε μυριάδων, ἣν ὥκνουν φθειρομένην ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκάλουν, εἴτε κτείνειν εἴτε πωλεῖν εἴτε φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἔλοιτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀτυχούντων ὑβρίσαι.

[3] ὁ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καυδίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γήρωι ἀμάξῃ. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, ‘ἐν ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἢ κολάσεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσσουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἴσθι νίκην τήνδε πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν: καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μήτ’ ἐνυβρίσας μήτ’ ἀφελόμενος μηδέν, ἵνα σῶον ἦ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δ’, ὡς ἀκούω, φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόναις εὐεργεσίαις ἡττώμενοι διαγωνιοῦνταί σοι περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος. ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τήνδε τὴν εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἦν δέ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθῃ, κτεῖνον ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς, μηδ’ ἄγγελον ὑπολιπών. λέγω δ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰρούμενος, ταῦτα δ’ ὡς ἀναγκαῖα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ὅτιοῦν ὑβρισθέντες ἀμυνοῦνται σε

πάντως: ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μεῖζον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὖροις βλάβος νέων ὁμοῦ πέντε μυριάδων.'

[4] ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν: 'ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ θαυμάζω: προεῖπας γὰρ ἐρεῖν ὑπερβολὰς ἐκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσούτους, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀφαιρήσομαι δι' ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὐδ' αὐτῷ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ, Ῥωμαίων πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἔτι νῦν ἐχόντων, τούσδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθείς. οὐ ποιήσω: ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δέ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν: ὧν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνᾶσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρημένοι χρήζουσι παραμυθίας: φύσει δὲ γαῦρον ὁ νενικηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπονται. τίς οὖν ἀνέξεται μου τούσδε μὴ κτείνειν μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὥς εὐεργέτας ἀπαθείς προπέμπειν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρῶμεν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἐγώ, τῆς δ' ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι: ὥς δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλοιμι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἶην, ὅπλα μὲν αὐτούς, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι καὶ χρήματα 'καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐκτέμψω δ' ὑπὸ ζυγὸν σῶους, ἧ τινὶ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατ' ἄλλων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὁμηρα τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἕως ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐπινηγίσει. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἡγοῦμαι νενικηκός τε ἔργα ποιήσκειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ῥωμαίους τε ἀγαπήσειν ὅσα καὶ αὐτοί, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἐς ἄλλους ἔδρασαν.'

[5] ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσέ τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπήνης ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπήλυνεν. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἴ τις εἰρηνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρείη. τοῖς δὲ παρῆν οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐπὶ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοῖς οὖν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, 'ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσπενδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἴτ' αὐθις αὖ φιλίας ἡμῖν γενομένης, Νεαπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσιν. καὶ οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἦν ὑμῖν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔν τε ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐδ' ἠρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἄλλοτρίας, καὶ κληρούχους ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἡμῶν δις πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωρούντων, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπενδομένους ἀλλ' ἐαλωκότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ' ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῖν συνοικούντων. ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἄσπονδα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσιν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἦν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας τῆς ποτὲ

μνημονεύων, δίδωμι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν σὺν ἱματίῳ σῶον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἣν ὁμώσητε τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ' ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδέ ποτ' ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύσειν.'

[6] ἀπαγγελλθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρήνος ἐπὶ πλείστον: θανάτου γὰρ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι χεῖρονα τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ. ὥς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπύθοντο, αὐθις ἐθρήνουν ἐπὶ πλείστον. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας αὐτὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὤμνουν ὃ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι, δύο ὄντες Ποστούμιος τε καὶ Οὐετούριος, καὶ ταμιαὶ δύο καὶ ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλιάρχοι δώδεκα, σύμπαντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἦρχον. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας τι τοῦ διατειχίσματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμπεπηγὸς ἐπικάρσιον ἄλλο ἐπιθείς, ἐξέπεμπε Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τούτῳ. καὶ τινα ὑποζύγια ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας, καὶ τροφήν, ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇδε ζυγόν, ὀνειδίζειν ὥς δοριαλώτοις.

[7] ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρήνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχροῦς περισεσωσμένους ὡς ἀποφανόντας, ἥ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσαίαι καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἕως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆσαν: οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσῆλθον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἔπρασσον δὲ οὐδέν."

U. .

"Δεντάτῳ κατὰ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς εἶπετο νεῶν λογάδων πλῆθος ὀκτακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἔτοιμοι. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας."

Suid. v. ζῆλος.

"ὅτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ καὶ διέρριπεν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνῆρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν εἶασεν, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνέπιμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἡνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε, πλὴν Βριτομάριος, ὃν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἦγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

[2] οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ἀνηρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργιζόμενοί τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μακρῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν."

U. .

"ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἐθεάτο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα,

καί τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκῶς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαῖς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμησε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας, παροξύνας τε ἔπεισεν ἐπαναχθῆναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναῦς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἔς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεινα αἵτιοι μάλιστα ἐγεγένηντο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν.

[2] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Ταραντα πέμπουσι, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεῶντες, οὓς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλὰ θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ' οὓς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἃ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτίσαι, σφίσι δ' ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχλευάζον εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐλληνίσειαν: ἔσκωπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον. Φιλωνίδης δὲ τις, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκώμων, Ποστουμίῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἐπικύψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατησχμήονησεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιζεν ὡς ἐπὶ γελοίῳ, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, 'ἐκπλυνεῖτε,' ἔφη, 'τοῦτο αἵματι πολλῷ, τοιοῦτοις ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν.' καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀποκριναμένων ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὕβριν ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος οὐκ ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις, '3' καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν Αἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλε τὰ μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντίνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἡξίουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγὰς προκαλέσασθαι, ἂν δ' ἀπειθῶσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε προὔτεινε τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς γνώμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ βουλευομένοις ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι τινας ἤδη δεδουλωμένων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνους ἐπισφαλές. 'εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκρατῶς ἐξόμεθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἴσου, Πύρρον ἐξ Ἡλείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλῶμεν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφήνωμεν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου.' ὃ καὶ γέγονεν."

U. .

"Οτι μετὰ τὸ νανάγιον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡλείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τε παρὰ σφῶς βίᾳ, καὶ φανερῶς ἐνυβρίζοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναῖξιν καὶ παισίν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς οὐ πρεπούσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάσιά τε ἔνοπλα ἔτασεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν ὥριζε, τότε δὴ καὶ πάμπαν ἀήθεσιν ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιτάγμασι κάμνοντες οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν ἡσθάνοντο σαφῶς."

Val. .

“ὅτι ὅσοι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, μή τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν Ῥηγίωνων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὐωχουμένους ἐν ἑορτῇ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀκουσίαις συνῆσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφερον ὅτι Ῥηγῖνοι τὴν φρουρὰν προεδίδουσιν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατωκημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κἀκείνοις ἐς ἰδίους ξένους ὅμοια δεδρακόσιν.

[2] ἀλγήσαντα δ’ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἰατροῖς ἀπιστοῦντα, μετὰπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ῥηγῖνος ἀνὴρ, μετῴκηκώς ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν ἀγνοούμενος. οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ συντόμῳ φαρμάκων ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρίσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανεέλθῃ, καὶ λαθὼν ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δ’ ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὁδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὔρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

[3] Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τὴν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἔτι Ῥηγῖνοις λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν, οἱ μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἄταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς, οἷα πηρός, ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων ἐς διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἔπεμπε ἐς Ῥώμην Κινέαν τὸν Θεσσαλόν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀρετὴν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μήτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθύς ἐλάσαντος μήτ’ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσημένον στρατόπεδον: ἐδίδου δ’ αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρον, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους Ἑλληνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔφεν, Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαννίταις καὶ Δαυνίοις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἀποδοῖεν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γιγνομένων ἔφη τούτων Πύρρον ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων.

[2] οἱ δ’ ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἕως Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καῖκος ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἤδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, ‘ἡχθόμην,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὅτι μὴ βλέπω: νῦν δ’ ὅτι ἀκούω. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ὑμῶν βουλευόμενα ἡξίου μὴθ’ ὁρᾶν μὴτ’ ἀκούειν, οἱ δι’ ἐν ἀτύχημα ἀθρόως οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τοῦτο δράσαντα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλευέσθε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τί τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτά τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ὀνομάζειν.’ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις ὁ Ἀππίος εἰπὼν καὶ

ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε σύμμαχον μήτε Ῥωμαίοις δικαστὴν ἢ διαιτητὴν.

[3] καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ καὶ Ἀππίος εἶπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέα. Λαιουίνω δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἴ τις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔτι παρών, καὶ θεώμενος αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένους ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφάς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθὼν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρὸς ὕδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἱ δὲ οὐ Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πύρρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος τῷ Λαιουίνῳ Κορουγκάνιος ἦκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ' ἧς εἶχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυνθανομένων Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὅλη, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυμάσαντος μεταλαβὼν φάναι, 'βασιλέων μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγῶν.' Πύρρος δ', ὡς οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖόν οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, πάντα δηῶν. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγνίαν, βαρεῖαν δ' ἔχων ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἡγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διήρει.

[4] Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν λῦσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ σπενδομένοις μὲν ἔφη, καθάπερ προεῖπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσοούτους. ἐξένιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειεν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινωὸν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς Ἥπειρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δώσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασασμένοις. ἐπιγέλασας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, 'τὴν δ' ἐμήν,' ἔφη, 'παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς οἶσεις σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ· καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον.' οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω φασὶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἥπειρῶτα μεταλαβόντες ἐμὲ σοῦ προθήσουσιν.

[5] ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κρονίων τὴν ἐορτὴν ἔπεμπεν ἄνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ᾧ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἃ ὁ Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἐορτάσαντας ἐπανάκειν ἐς αὐτόν. τούτους ἡ βουλὴ, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἐορτάσαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὐθις ἐδόκει."

U. .

"ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἤδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατέπλησεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἄρχων Σικελίαν ἄρτι ἐτεθνήκει, οὗ

θυγατέρα Λάνασσαν ἔχων ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νῆσον οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπετο. ὤκνει δ' ὅμως ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἄνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπεῖν. ἄσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτόμολον ἐπιβάς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην χάριν ὁμολογήσοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἄγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὅτι δύναιτο πράζοντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἔφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι πολλὰ δὲ γυναιξί, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόδωρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενος, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰσχύειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

[2] οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις· καὶ φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ' αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ δώρων· ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτοὶ πολυτελεῶς ἐξένιζον, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἰχμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετὰ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων ... καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἱππέων, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας.”

id. .

“ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρὺν ἐπὶ τε ξενίαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶνδε γεγινώς ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, φορτίσι δὲ καὶ ὀλκάσι πολὺ πλείοσιν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διανυμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πλὴν δώδεκα μόνων, αἷς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἐτίνατο Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐπιζεφυρίους, ὅτι φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτῆς, ὕβρισαντας ἐς αὐτούς, ἀνῆρθεσαν. ὥμῳς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων τε καὶ συλῶν ὁ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκώψας τὴν ἄκαιρον θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι πλοῦτον ἄπονον εὐβουλίαν.

[2] ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμῶν ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέρριψεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Λοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὥστε καὶ Πύρρον ὁψὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναι τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, καὶ θυσίας ἰλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλαῖς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ ἀπαντῶντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτῷ συμβουλευσάντας ἢ λέγοντι συνθεμένους, ἢ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἔκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπεπράχει κακῶς.”

Val. .

ἐκ τῆς Κελτικής

“Κέλτοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εἶλον ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξήλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὐθις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ’ ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοϊντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοί, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοῖς Γάιος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀπήντα, ὅς τις καὶ στρατηγῆματι τοιούτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται: ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλῳσιν οἱ δεῦτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ’ ἀφίεντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθεῖν τὰ δόρατα: βαλόντων δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων ἀναπηδᾶν ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοῇ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι: καταπλήξειν γὰρ ὧδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶνδε δοράτων ἄφεςιν καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχειρήσιν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ ἀπεοικότα ἀκοντίοις: ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν ὑσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦδε καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρὶς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατιᾷ.

[2] ἄλλους δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκα Ποπίλλιος, καὶ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου υἱός. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μαρίου ὑπατειῶν πλεῖστόν τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα φοβερώτατον χρήμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τινες ὑπάτους Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατέκοπεν: ἐφ’ οὗς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεῖς ἅπαντας διέφθειρε. τελευταῖα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίοις πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυριάσι τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, εἴ τις ὑφ’ ἐν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίῳ πλείοσι, καὶ τούτων ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐξώγησαν, ἑκατὸν δ’ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔθνη δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὀλίγην κομιδῇ στρατιὰν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ κατέκανε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλόν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἔπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιὼν καὶ παραθαρρύνων, καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμητέον, τὰ μὲν ἐπ’ ἀπήνης φερόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βάδην χειραγωγούμενος.

[3] Καῖσαρ δὲ πολέμησας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλουητίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγυριοὶ δ’ αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πίσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὥς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Λαβηνὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ Τρικούρους ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ’ Ἀριοῦνιστου

Γερμανούς, οἱ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζονες τῶν μεγίστων ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλλει, καὶ πόα ἐχρῶντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τροφῆς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ φερέποντοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὐδὲ λογισμῷ ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ τινὶ ἀλλὰ θυμῷ χρώμενοι καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης καὶ φερεπονίας ἡσσῶντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὀρμῆς βαρυτάτης ἐπεπῆδον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνέωθον: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ κατεστρατήγουν αὐτούς, καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίους αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ἀπέκτειναν.

[4] μετὰ τοὺτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς καλουμένοις Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμὸν τινα περῶσι, τοσοῦτους ἀπέκτεινεν ὥς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτρέψαντο, ἄρτι στρατόπεδον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσαν, τοὺς δὲ ταξιάρχας καὶ λοχαγούς ἅπαντας: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθάρησαν, ἐξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλοβρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπετῶν δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοι τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σούκαμβροι δὲ πεντακοσίους ἵππεῦσι τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔτρεψαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἔδωσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

[5] ἐπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον, ἡπείρου τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον ἔτι. ἐπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμπώτεως: ἄρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἤπτετο τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλεύετο, ἡρέμα πρῶτον, εἴτα ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαίῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν.”

“ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῖρα Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥήνον ἱκανὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς: οἱ τό τε Ἄλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν, καὶ Κλουσίοις, εὐδαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν, ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπονδοὶ γεγονότες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις συνέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβίους τρεῖς, οἱ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἔμελλον προαγορεύσειν ἀνίστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὐπὼ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλουσίνους ἐνήγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνεῖλέ τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Κλουσίον.”

Υ. .

“ὅτι ὁ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις

πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἱ Κελτῶν ἀπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινούς νόμους ἐπολέμησαν. ἦται τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότες οἱ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεγίνωσκον μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἁμαρτεῖν, αἰδοῖ δὲ οἴκου διαφέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονοῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἤδη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ἦκειν αὐτούς, ἂν ἔτι μηνίωσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάσασθαι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.”

Suid. v. ὑφίσταται.

“ὅτι Καιδίκιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνῖσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. ὁ δὲ ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸν ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, ‘οὐκ ἂν ηὔξάμην ἐπιποθῆσαί με Ῥωμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτην ἤλπισα τὴν ἐπιπόθησιν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιότεραν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἠρέμουν ὥς λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον παραστησόμενοι. καὶ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατέβαιναν ἱερεὺς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δὴ τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεῶν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰδεσθέντων ἢ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τότε φησὶν ὧδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος.”

id. ib.

“τοῦ δὲ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδην ἐνεπίμπαντο οἱ Κελτοί, τὴν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρπούς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἀφυᾶ. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ὑγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἀδύνατα ἀμπαν ἐγίγνετο: ὑπὸ τε ἰδρωτός καὶ ἄσθματος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως.”

id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἄδην.

“οὓς γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαῖοις, ‘οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν βοὴν βαρεῖαν ἰέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἰωροῦντες. ὦν τὸ ἄτολμον ὀρῶντες, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίσθε τῷ ἔργῳ.”

Suid. v. ἰέντες.

“τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρᾶν, καὶ τοῖς πονουμένοις ἐτέρους νεαλεῖς

ἐπιτέμειν αἰί. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῇσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως.”

id. v. νεαλῆς.

“ὁ δὲ Κελτὸς ἀγανακτῶν καὶ λιφαιμῶν ἐδίωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπείγομενος· ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος αἰεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε πρηνῆς ὁ Κελτός. καὶ δεῦτερον τοῦτο μονομάχιον ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλύνουσι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.”

id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

“ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἡ δὲ βουλή πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τὰ τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριπεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσου ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμψη, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἡβῇ πάντας ἔκτεινεν ὁμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἤγεν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμῃ. ὕστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι πατρίδας ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσι, συνέπεσον ἐς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἡττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν.”

U. .

“ὅτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδιδόντας, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Γναίου Δομετίου. ὃ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτὴς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἐσκευασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρείποντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες· δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι. μουσικός τε ἀνὴρ εἵπετο, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοίτον, εἶτ’ Ἀλλόβριγας, εἶτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἐς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμνῶν· οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τοῖς Σαλύων δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν.”

id. .

“ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολὺάνδρος ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωιν, ἐφῆδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις, ἧ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦντων δ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αἰτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ’ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ’ οὐκ ἐπὶν ὥς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαι τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον

ἀφέξεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁδὼν ἡγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς διαδραμών, ἀδοκῆτως ἀναπανομένοις ἔτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσὼν, ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ πάντα ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ζόφος καὶ ὄμβρος καὶ βρονταὶ βαρεῖαι, τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης ἐπιπεσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη. σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐς ὕλας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυγόντες, τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρᾳ συνήλθον. καὶ Τεύτονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρουν.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἀψαυστεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἕως ἡμέρα γένγται, πολύχρυσά ἐῖναι δοκῶν.”

Suid. vv. ἀψαύστως et Κίμβρος.

“ὅτι ἔθνη δύο Τιγύριοι καὶ Ἑλουήτιοι ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος πυθόμενος διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐστὶ ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσαμένοις ἐπὶ διαπίρα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὁμηρα δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκριναμένων δ' εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενος φθάσαι τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Τιγυρίους ἐλάσσους ὄντας ἔπεμπε Λαβηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλουητίους ἐχώρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβηνῷ τὸ ἔργον εὐμαρές, ἀδοκῆτοισι Τιγυρίοις περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεψαμένῳ καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἄσυνταξίᾳ.”

U. .

“ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἰδοῦοις ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπολέμει φίλοις οὔσι Ῥωμαίων. τότε μὲν δὴ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθεῖς, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰδοῦων, καὶ φίλος ἤξιωσε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ψηφισαμένου.”

id. .

“ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος ὁ Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐθις συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἤξιωσεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ' ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Οὐσιπέται, ἔθνος Γερμανικόν, καὶ Ταγχρεαὶ δοκοῦσι πρότεροι σφετέροις ἱππεῦσιν ὀκτακοσίοις τρέψασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὥς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καῖσαρά ὥς ἐναγὲς ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσαμένους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας

καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχιλίους. ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων.”

id. ib.

“εὐθὺς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκῆσαι, ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἔτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

Suid. v. παρορκῆσαι.

“δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τοῦπίσω.”

id. v. δέισαντες.

“ὅτι ὁ Βριτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἰδούους Ῥωμαίων ἀποστιῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιὰν ἐφθακέναι.”

Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nov. collect.* t. 2 .

ἐκ τῆς Σικελικῆς καὶ Νησιωτικῆς

“ὅτι ἀποροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρημάτων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυπήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐς Πτολεμαῖον ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, διςχίλια τάλαντα κιχρῶμενοι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἕς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων.”

Υ. .

“ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δις ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δις ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ᾗ δὴ καὶ πάνυ προὔχουν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποροῦντες ἤδη καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἦτουν ἀνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπόν τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥήγλον τὸν ὕπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἦκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρυσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρήνευσεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἔκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσμένα πάντοθεν ἐστῶτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύναιτο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνέθεντο.

[2] καὶ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Καρχηδονίους εἰσὶ, Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστήναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων νήσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίους δὲ ἢ Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράνῳ πολέμου Καρχηδονίους μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ξενολογεῖν, ποινὴν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ διςχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσιν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆες ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἑπτακόσiai, Καρχηδονίων δὲ πεντακόσiai. Σικελίας δὲ οὕτω τοῦ πλέονος Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, ὅσου Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον: φόρους τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον ἐπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἰέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνεπεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

[3] καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίους τὸν τε μισθὸν ἦτουν τὸν ἔτι ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχας. ἦτουν δὲ καὶ Λίβυες, ὑπήκοοι μὲν ὄντες οἶδε Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατείας ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὀρώντες: ἐχαλέπαινον τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τριςχιλίων, οὓς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς

ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὐνεκα. διωθουμένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἄμφω Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ἥ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνα· ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τήν τε ἄλλην ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἔπειθον καὶ δούλων πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τὰ τε Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεηλάτουν. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμούμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβυας Ῥωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιὰν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύναιτο διαλυῖσαι τὸν πόλεμον· οἱ ἐπανήλθον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρατῶς εἶχοντο τοῦ πολέμου.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Ἱπποκράτης καὶ Ἐπικύδης, ἀδελφῶ μὲν ἀλλήλων, στρατηγῶ δὲ Συρακοσίων, Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ πολλοῦ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τὰς Συρακούσας οὐκ ἴσχυον ἐκπολεμῶσαι, κατέφυγον ἐς Λεοντίνους διαφερομένους τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ κατηγοροῦν τῆς πατρίδος ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς Ἰέρωνος ἐφ' ὅλην Σικελίαν πεποιημένου μόνοι Συρακόσιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαίνισιαν. οἱ δὲ ἡρεθίζοντο. καὶ Συρακόσιοι μὲν ἐπεκήρυσσον, εἴ τις Ἱπποκράτους ἢ Ἐπικύδους κομίσειε τὴν κεφαλὴν, ισόσταθμον αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἀντιδώσειν, Λεοντῖνοι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἱπποκράτη στρατηγὸν ἡροῦντο.”

Val. et hinc Suid. v. Ἐπικύδης.

“ὅτι Σικελοὶ καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλον τι καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἱπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμνυντο μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἀγορὰν τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον, ἐς δισμυρίου πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας πεντακισχιλίους.”

Val. ib.

“ὅτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπίστευον χωρὶς ὄρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωρούντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὥμοσε μήτε φρουρήσειν τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Κρήτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτῃ βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λησταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀντώνιος, καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός. καὶ ἦν ὁδε πατὴρ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ὕστερον Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τὰδε, οἱ Κρήτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐκδοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς Λασθῆν τὸν πολεμήσαντα Ἀντώνιῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ ληστικά πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχον αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅμηρα τριακόσια καὶ ἄργυρίου τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια.

[2] οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος.

καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κνωσσὸν Πανάρης Μετέλλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτός. Μετέλλου δὲ Κνωσσὸν περικαθημένου, ὁ Λασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κνωσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρήτες ἐς Πομπήιον Μάγνον, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ ληστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψειν. ὁ δὲ ἀσχόλως τότε ἔχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μέτελλον, ὥς οὐ δέον ἔτι πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξανίστασθαι τῆς νήσου: παραλήψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθών. ὁ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτήν, Λασθένει συνθέμενος ὅμοια Πανάρει. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὁδε δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος.”

Υ. .

“ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ ποῦλχερ ἐπίκλην, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εὐπρεπής, τῆς Γαῖου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἦρα. καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὄντα ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαῖου παρελθεῖν οἷα γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναίς γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθῆναι.”

Val. .

Ιβηρική

Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διήκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περικλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ὄρων καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαιος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτς ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἐστὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμισυ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὥς ἐν χώρα μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ρέουσι ναυσίποροι.

[2] οἱ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοί μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτίβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρῦν. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαι τινὰ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἑλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδὲ τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρσίον ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἡ νῦν Καρπησσὸς ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοινικέες μοι δοκοῦσιν ἰδρύσασθαι· καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὃ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἄλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

[3] τὴν δὲ γῆν τήνδε εὐδαίμονα οὔσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἥρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη, τὸ δ' ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἃ μὲν εἶχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενά τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἶλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῖραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ὅ ῥα λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνκεται γραφὴν.

[4] πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐκδημος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὁδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ

καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθουν. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ' ἐκ τοιαύδε προφάσεως.

Αμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίῳν ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Λιβύην, ἀπαιτούντων ἐκείνων ὁ Λιβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξήπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Λιβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωσαν ποινὴν ὧν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ Λιβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶνδε συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὧν ἦν δημοκοπικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα ἔχων, τὰς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγὸς ἔπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰρεθῆναι μετ' Ἀννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς εὐθύνas τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.

[5] παυομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἀννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος ὢν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα, διήλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκοπίας ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διήρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοῖεν, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου, μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἱ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοί, κτείνουσιν ὧδε. ζύλων ἀμάξας ἄγοντες, αἷς βοὺς ὑπέζευξαν, εἶποντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ὥπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἰδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος· ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρες αὐταῖς βουσὶν ἐξήψαν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ ἐξώτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἰβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτόν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.

[6] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀρσσκομένοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἐπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστὴν, ὄντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις, παῖδά τε ὄντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γιγνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοῖ προσήγετο, πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἐς τε τὰ βίας δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς μέσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστῶς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξήλθιν ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.

[7] Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες περὶ τε τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἰς πῇ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὄκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν

ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφοτέρω ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπηκόοις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἑλλήνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τότε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.

[8] Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὡμῶς διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τότε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν· ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ ὄντα κομιδῇ νέον, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολιτῆται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὁ τε δῆμος ἅμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγίγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκομένοις τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτοῦς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπετόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσοιτο τοῖς πατρώοις ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

[9] ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν οὕσαν ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐδ' ἡξίου τὴν ἐχθραν, ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἔσαι καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καρχηδονίων κουφόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥαδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὢν ἐπὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρκωθῆναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἄσπειστος ἐχθρὸς ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ χρονίοις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεεῖ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὐθις ἀναρριπίσειεν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίσι καὶ φόβοις ἔσεσθαι μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δέ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχουσας ἀποφίνας· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὥς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.

[10] ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολήτας, οἱ γείτονές εἰσι Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἱ καταβοᾶν ὡς τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικούντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπειθόντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπειθεῖν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα

ἐπιστέλλων, ἕως ἢ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὃ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὐθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρέσβεις, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μὲν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ῥωμαίοις ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐρίστη. ἐλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

[11] Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγχεῖ μένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ: τούτοις τοῖς πρέσβεσι πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνας σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμησκον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἡτιῶντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προυκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν: οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆζειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. ὧν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπεῖχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμαχοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

[12] Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιεκάθητο συνεχῶς 'εὐδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει τῆς πολιορκίας', τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσος ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχώνευσαν ὥς ἀχρεῖον Ἀννίβῃ γενέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἐλόμενοί τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξέδραμον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἔτι καὶ οὐδέν τοιοῦτον ὑπονοούντων: ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὀπλιζομένους, ἔστι δ' οὗς ἤδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπώλοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρῶσαι τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγῶν, αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαζον. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίοις, πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ δυνατῇ γενομένη. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὥς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν αἰκίζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὀρῶν ἐπιθάλασσόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνας οὐ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσας ἀγαθῆς, ᾧκισεν αὐθις καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄποικον ἀπέφαινε: ἦν νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενῇ.

[13] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, οἷς εἴρητο ἐξαιτεῖν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὥς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἀμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον: ἦν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν

ἔπραξαν ὧδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκδίδουσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὕτω γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελῶμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, 'ἐνταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω: ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερα αἰρεῖσθε λάβετε.' οἱ δ' ἔφασαν, 'σὺ μὲν οὖν ἂ βούλει δίδου.' προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, 'δεχόμεθα.' καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λελυμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπιὼν ὑπήγετο, ἢ πειθὼν ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρεῖαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπείων ὁρῶν κατεσκέπτετο. καὶ διῆλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία ...

[14] ... ἐν Ἰβηρία σφίσι καὶ Λιβύῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι 'οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Λίβυές ποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλῳσιν, οὐδ' ὑπενόουν, Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Λόγγον ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Λιβύην ἐξέπεμπον 'καὶ ὅσα Λόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονιακῇ βίβλῳ συγγέγραπται, Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔστελλον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεμπον Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὁρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα, δείσας μὴ ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς Γναίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρία στρατιὰν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἕως Ἀννίβαν ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μόλις ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἢ ἐξῆς βίβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἢ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἀννιβαϊκῇ.

[15] Γναῖος δὲ οὐδέν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν: Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήναντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐθις ἔστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσις ἀντιστρατηγούντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ: αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο: καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην πιθανωτάτῳ στρατηγῆσαι τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.

[16] θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὐθις ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλεονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς, Μάγωνά τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἕτερον, ὃς Γέσκωνος ἦν υἱός. καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὧς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνων ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὀρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶνι. ἐνθα αὐτῷ προσιὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλη: καὶ προελθὼν τῆς

πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου, ἔλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβῳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδέν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ σίτον ἔπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἕτεροι Λιβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ' αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε προτέρους ἀνηγήκεσαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἕως ἐσέδραμεν ἐς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνέπρησαν οἱ Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

[17] οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπόθησαν Ἰβηρες, ὅσοι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἤνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἄρτι ἀφιγμένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν ... ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῆς. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ τῶνδε γιγνομένου, τὰ Λιβύων ὑπερηύζετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Πυρρηναίοις κατακεκλεις μένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο· καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἶδε οἱ Λίβυες ἐς τὰ ἕτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δέει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

[18] προύγραφον οὖν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἔτι πλείων ἐγίγνετο φόβος, καὶ σιωπῇ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπέιχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς οὗ Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ἐν Ἰβηρσιν υἱός, νέος μὲν ὢν κομιδῇ ἑτεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἦν, σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφὶ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὁδυράμενος ἐπέειπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναι τιμωρὸς ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ καὶ πατρίδι. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἐπαγγεिलाμένος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε κουφολογῆσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα ἡχαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες· καὶ ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἀλλὰ προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὁμοίαι· καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδέν ἐμποδὼν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὁμως, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντος. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐλομένου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξῆι μετὰ μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δηοῦντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι, μεθ' ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

[19] παραλαβὼν τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὓς ἦγεν ἐς ἓν συναγαγὼν, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τῶν Σκιπίωνων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἦκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ

θεόν. οὐ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθανόμενος δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίαις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὄπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὁμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθῃ τότε δὲ ἤδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἔκρινε πρῶτον ἐς τούτους ἐπιδραμεῖν διὰ τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὀρμητήριον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔξω ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἀργυρεῖα καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἔχουσιν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Λιβύην βραχύτατον.

[20] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῖσδε λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδενὶ προειπὼν ὅπη χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου δύναντος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα ἔφ, τῶν Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἡτοιμάζετο, κλίμακάς τε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντῃ περιτιθεῖς, χωρὶς ἐνὸς μέρους, ἣ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἦν βραχύτατον, ἔλος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ αἱ νῆες αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ μεγαλοφυχίας ἡλπιζε πάντως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, πρὸ ἔω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς, τοὺς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπηδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν ὅν γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνήγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὅδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοῆς καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρῶντο προθύμως ἅπανιν.

[21] ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὠθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἥσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἱ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἔκαμνον ἤδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφῆρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐθις ἦν ὁ πόνος πολὺς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἣ τὸ βραχὺ τεῖχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν: ἄμπωτις γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐπήει μὲν ἐς μαστοὺς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἰδὼν, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὡς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, ὃ

ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεὸς ἀφίκεται. πρόσсите τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ τεύχους. ἢ θάλασσα ἡμῖν ὑποκεχώρηκεν φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι.'

[22] καὶ πρῶτος ἀρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερε τε καὶ ἀνέβαινε, οὐπω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες αὐτὸν οἱ τε ὑπασπισται καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοῦ κλίμακας προσετίθεσάν τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὀρμῆς ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὅμως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὥς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἕτεροί τε περιθέοντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοί τινες ἀνέφξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας· ὁ δ' ἐσεπήδησε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις τε καὶ κατεπηχόσιν ἔχον ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[23] ὁ δὲ τόλμη καὶ τύχη πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἐλὼν ἡμέρα μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπῆρτο μέγας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα δρᾶν, αὐτὸς τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῆι μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβὼν, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὁμηρά τε Ἰβήρων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προείληπτο, ἔθηκε τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆνει, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιόνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρῶτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεια τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὲ πόλις ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ πρεῖς ἡμέρας ὥς τῆς πατρῴας εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὐθις ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοῖνικες κατεπεπλήγησαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

[24] ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἐς ὕψος ἐγεῖραι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτὸς τε ἐπιὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἕκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπῆγετο, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο. Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπῶ καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτῳ παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγει, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτι βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἀξιῶν Καρχηδονίοις ἐμμένειν ὥς στρατιᾶς ἔλυσσομένης αὐτίκα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἕτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθεῖη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γῆν

τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καί τινα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσῃν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαιτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν: ἔνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἡσσάτο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαιτύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.

[25] ὁ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρία συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνήλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβήρων, οὓς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὧν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἱππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὧδε δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππείας ἐπιδιήρει, καὶ Λαίλιον μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἔπεμπε, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων, εἴτ' αὐθις ἐπελαυνόντων: ὡς δὲ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτι διώκειν αὐτούς, τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν εὐσταθῶς ἥπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα δύναμις ἑπτακισμῦριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα: Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρήτο μόνοις.

[26] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦσαι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων: θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεὶς πάλιν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἥκειν τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ: καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἕς τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντις. καὶ λέγων ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὓς μεθ' ὀρμῆς καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐδείκνυε τε, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὁρῶν καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεῦρο κάκεῖσε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον ἡρεθίζοντο. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἶχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ' εἶασε τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι ὦν θεόληπτος, ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὀπίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς μὲν ἱππείας Σιλανῷ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαίλιῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδοῦς:

[27] Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἄσιτον οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοῆς. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἵππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτι τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν: οἷς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι χρήσιμα: οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἡττῶντο δι'

ὅλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέοντός τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἵππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδί παραδούς, καὶ παρὰ τινος ἀσπίδα λαβὼν, ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγώς, ‘ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.’ τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὄρῳντες οἱ κινδύνου φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδοῦμενοί τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ’ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας, ἣν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Λίβυες ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειπούσης αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἐσπέραν: καὶ πολλὸς αὐτῶν δι’ ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίωνι τῆς περὶ Καρμώνην μάχης, ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖων μὲν ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντα: κισχίλιοι.

[28] μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ’ οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν αἰεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἶπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν ὅσakis καταλάβοι. ὡς δ’ οἱ μὲν ὀχυρόν τι χωρίον προύλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἄφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ’ ἠπειγον ἕτεραι χρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπε τοῦσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπῆει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὐθις ὑποχωρούντων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεξεύγνυν ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν στρατιὰν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν τὴν Πυρρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ’ ὧν ἐξενολογῆκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας ὧδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγνοούντων, ἠπειγέτο.

[29] Λεύκιος δ’ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιών ἐφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγὸν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὧδε ἔσσεσθαι, Λαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προύπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν ἐπίωσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμπεν ἕτερα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενός τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ἦι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Λαίλιῳ.

[30] καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς ἐπανάγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἰστίῳ χρώμενος παρέπλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀδεῶς καὶ κατήχθη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξένιζεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ἰδία καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐθις αὐτῷ κατεῖχεν, ἕως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Σκιπίων, καταγόμενός τε καὶ πλέων: λέγεται δ’ ἐν Σύφακος ἐσιώμενος συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος καταπλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσιώμενος φοβερός εἴη.

[31] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνι τινες Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρου, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἐτέρους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ἐξακιοχιλίους, Ἄννωνος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, ὅθεν ἀποροῦντες ἀπάντων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννονα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἄννονα στρατηγὸν ὄντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροώμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδωκαν· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἤτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἕς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, 'ἄξια μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, οἱ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ' ἡμῖν, εἴλεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν· δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθεῖσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι.' ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθὺς ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσασθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερὰ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα μακραῖς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἄννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

[32] καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγέσθαι, πολεμικῶς δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ προέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἶπετο· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Ἰλυργίαν πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ὑποδεξαμένη Ῥωμαίων ὥς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεδεδώκει. ὧν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσσαρσιν ὥραις ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχὼν ἕως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἔκτεινον ὁμαλῶς καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφρουρεῖ, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἤρχε, διδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγνῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς ἐμποδῶν οὖσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ τοῖσδε μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεπεν ἐνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι ἀγαθῆς· αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεξεύγνυε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύναιντο.

[33] Ἀσταπα δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις αἰεὶ ἐμμείνασα ὁμαλῶς· οἱ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὥρκωσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἀλίσκηται, τὰ γύναια καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάζαι.

οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρας τῶνδε ποιησάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκιον οὐχ ὑφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππείας ἐτρέψαντο. ὀπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἦν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὁμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χεῖρους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἀπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.

[34] μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διώκει τὸ στρατόπεδον: ὅσοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ' ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἡρῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἐκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνός τινες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἐπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλόμενοι καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τᾶλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνουν ἀλλήλοις. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπειθῶσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ' ἅπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἤδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἦκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

[35] ἀναγινγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπόπτειον, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἠξίου καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὥδευον ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα, καὶ ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαι τε καὶ διῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς ἅμα ἕφ' ἑξήρεις ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὐκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἢν τις ἐπ' ἀνίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ' ἄρτι φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέθεον ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν, οἱ μὲν ἄζωστοι τὰ ξίφη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις, οὐ φθάσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.

[36] Σκιπίων δὲ φρουρὰν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀφανῇ, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἰτ' ἔφη τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθήσειν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξασιν, 'οὓς ἐγὼ κολάσω δι' ὑμῶν.' καὶ λέγων ἔτι προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστήσαι τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ μὲν δὴ δίστανον, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺς αἰτίους παρῆγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλούντων, τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ χιλιάρχοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρουμένην εἶδεν, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ: ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας

αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐκβοήσαντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀνξένας ἀπάντων ἐς τοῦδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.

ὧδε μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι:

[37] Ἰνδύβιλις δέ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμέ τι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδέϊτο προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ζημιώσας συνηλλάσσετο. λαθὼν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ὥμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἂν ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύῃ. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἠγγύητο Μασσανάσση: Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρωσ ἐκνίζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιοῦμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

[38] στρατηγούς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἐπεμπον ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρμοστὰς ἢ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων ὀλίγην στρατιὰν ὥς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ καταλιπὼν, συνώκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε: καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραϊανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμοντος αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ δόξης αἰοιδίμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διὰ τε νεότητα καὶ ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἳ τε φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὠμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδύβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναιμι ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἐκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρεῖλοντο, καὶ ὅμηρα ἤτησαν, καὶ φρουρὰς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔλγη.

[39] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὐθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἰβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρόνιος τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μάρκος Ἑλουιος, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους

Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἔτι τῆς κινήσεως γιγνομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμψθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἐτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρεπής, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ῥήτορα γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένη.

[40] ὡς δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγγέρατο, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὡς δ' ἔμελλε συνενεχθῆσεσθαι μάχη, τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι νεῶν ἀποροῦμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπήδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτου δ' αὐτῆς ἐς δείλῃν ἐσπέραν ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφédρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πᾶν ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ιδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ πρῶτος κατήρξε τῆς νίκης. διώξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ' ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπρασκεν.

[41] πρεσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὁμηρὰ τε ἤτησεν ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἐκάστους περιέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντας ἀποδοῦναι: καὶ ὥριζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν πορρωτάτῳ πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἀπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν, αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἣ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν: εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμόν ἠπειλεῖ. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἡττημένοι μεγάλη μάχῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις εἴθ' ἅπασι ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καιρὸν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιτέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβοῦμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἕκαστοι προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τεῖχη καθήρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἅπας ὑπακούειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὑφ' ἐνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθήρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

[42] Ὀλυμπιάσι δ' ὕστερον τέσσαρσιν, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ᾤκηνται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὕπατος Φούλουιος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχῃ. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν: ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἄλης ἐβίότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἣ νεόκτιστός τε ἦν καὶ ὄχυρά, καὶ ἠῤῥετο

ταχέως. ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἐκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππον καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔφη σάγους οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο. χρῶνται δὲ διπλοῖς ἱματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἡγοῦνται.

[43] Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάραουν δὲ πόλιν, ἥ Ῥωμαίων ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν· καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώσεσθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπειγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιιόντος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μνηῦσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἱλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκών, ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνemieχθή τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσηλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάραουν διαδραμὼν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκαρτερήσαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν· δισμύριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκῆτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὁ δ' εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἴτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνώκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς, καθ' ἃ Ῥωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι· ὄρκους τε ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι' ἃ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

[44] ἔτεσι δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἡγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιαύσδε προφάσεως. Σεγῆδη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὕτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνέκικεν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο, Τίτθους τε ὁμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν ἐς ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ἤτει τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαι τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ' αἰ Γράκχου συνθήκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τεύχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτιβήρσιν ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφείσθαι μετὰ Γράκχον. καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἦσαν ἀφειμένοι, δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιαύσδε δωρεὰς αἰεὶ προστιθεῖσα κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

[45] στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νοβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδοῦσης· ὃν ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὐπω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ

ὑποδέχονται τε, καὶ Κάρων αὐτῶν Σεγηδαῖον, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἰροῦνται στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρᾳ δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἕς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἔκτεινεν ἕς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρων τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἐτέρους ἄμφ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἶδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ' ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν: ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.

[46] Ἄρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἕς Νομαντίαν, ἡ δυνατωτάτῃ πόλιν ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἀμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ἡροῦντο: Νωβελίων δ' αὐτοῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δὲ οἱ Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὓς Μασσανάσσης ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὀπίσω τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χειρὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο: καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι σφῶν οὐ πρὶν ἑωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἕς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἕς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεὶς ἠγριώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας μέγιστον ἕς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνῆρει τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἔτι φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον. οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὅμοια πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτουν. ὅπερ αἰεὶ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἠγεῖσθαι πολεμίους: καὶ τινες διὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος: ἦν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διώκοντες ἔκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἕς τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα ἔλαβον. Κελτιβήρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἕς δισχιλίους.

[47] καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβὼν, ἀγορᾷ μὲν τινι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀζεινιον πόλιν σεσωρευμένη, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κἀναυῖθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπανῆλθε νυκτὸς ἕς τὸ στρατοπέδον. ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἕς τι γειτονεῦον ἔθνος ἐπεμπεν, ἱππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτός τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶνδε παισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὁκίλις, ἔνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἕς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχειμάζε, στεγάσας ὥς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθὼν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλιγότῃ καὶ νιφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὥστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ

κρούους ἀπώλλυντο.

[48] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νωβελίωνι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἄγων πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχίλους καὶ ἱππείας πεντακοσίους· λοχόντων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διήλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὀκλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχῆς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὦν τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὅμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβών. Νεργόβριγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἡρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππείας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑπισχνοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων. εἴτ' ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππείας ἄγοντες ὥς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἀμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἱππείας ἔδωκε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδῖον καταδραμῶν τὴν λείαν διεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. Νεργόβριγες δέ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἅμα μαι χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες λυκὴν ἀντὶ κηρυκείου περικείμενον, ἦτουν συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίτθοι δεηθεῖεν ὁμοῦ. ὦν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἡξίου, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν· ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοι τινες ὑπ' ἐκείνων πεπολεμημένοι.

[49] καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευον. ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουσα ὅτι μὴ, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἡξίου Νωβελίων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκέλλου, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐπετετρόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσειν ἔφη τὰ δόξαντα. καὶ στρατιὰν εὐθύς ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως· πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀδίκους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε συναγαγεῖν. ὦν ἐστρατήγει Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὕπατος, πρεσβευτὴ χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδόνα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον.

[50] ὁ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὤδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τόν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτιβήρσι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστώθη τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργόβριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους

ἀποσχῶν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ὁ τῶν Νομαντίνων στρατηγὸς Λιτέννων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔφη Βελλοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Ἀρουακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὁμηρὰ τε καὶ χρήματα πάντα ἤτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφήκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Αρουακῶν ἔληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

[51] ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρήζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἕτερον γένος Κελτιβήρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ γεῖτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Λεύκολλον ἀμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δ' ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἦκοι δεόμενος ἢ τί πολέμου χρήζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοίη, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοῖς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη· καὶ τότε ἔφευγον οὐκ ὄντες μενεμάχοι, περὶ τε τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὠθυμένων ἀνηρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχίλιους.

[52] τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανωσάμενοί τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὐθις ἡρώτων τί ποιοῦντες ἂν εἶεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμηρὰ τε ἤτει καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευεν οἱ συστρατεῖν. ὥς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἥξιον φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξελεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἰρητὸ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τεῖχη. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν ὁ Λεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστευε τε καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἀπιστίαν λαιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὡμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων· ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτέρας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἃ δύναιτο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα λείποιν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὐρεῖν.

[53] ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἐς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεφύγεσαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειδι τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προὔφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστευε αὐτοὺς καλοίη. ὁ δ', οἷον ἅπαντες οἱ ἀμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ὄνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλὰ, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ' οὕτω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσαν, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμινὰ δέ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἐθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ'

ὕπακούοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γιγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὢν ὑπερήλγησέ τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὢν.

[54] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπῆρε Ῥωμαίους, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατεῖχον: οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Λευκόλλων, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Λευκόλλων περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον: καὶ συνεπήχουν οἱ ἔνδον αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων: οἴνου γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ' ἁλῶν οὐδ' ὄξους οὐδ' ἐλαίου, πυροὺς καὶ κριθᾶς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγῶν χωρὶς ἁλῶν ἐψόμενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγγυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μὲν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον εἰς τὴν πόλιν: μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν εἰς τινὰ δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνφοκοδοῦν. πάντῳ δ' ἐκατέρων κακοπαθόντων ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἤπτετό Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, Λευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὠρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας εἰς ὅμηρα. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Λευκόλλος αἰτῶν, οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἠγούμενος ὅλην Ἰβηρίαν πολυχρυσὸν εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἔλαβεν: οὐ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταυτ' ἐκείνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.

[55] ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ἦει πόλιν, ἣ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἶχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν εἰς αὐτήν: ὅθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευόν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι σιτολογεῖντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱππεῦσιν ἠνώχλουν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυν. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λευκόλλος ἀνεξεύγνυ, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λευκόλλος ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη.

[56] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἱ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα ἐλήζοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἐξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας εἰς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασὶν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινὰς ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι Βλαστοφοίνικας. Πούνικος μὲν οὖν λίθῳ πληγεὶς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν

Καίσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρος Μουμμίω, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἡττώμενος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίου δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεῖς ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑννακισχιλίους, καὶ τὴν τε λείαν τὴν ἡρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβέ τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεῖα πολλά, ἅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετώθασον.

[57] Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιὼς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἴ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κάκεινοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαίνου σφῶν ἡγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἶλον Κονίστοργιν. παρὰ τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Λιβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἐπόμενος ἑννακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δηούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἐτέρων τινάς, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ἃ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὥς μὴδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ διαφυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις ἔκαυσεν.

καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν,

[58] ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, ὃς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, ἣ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπληξάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἓν τὸ Οὐεττώνων ἔθνος, ὁμόρου τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὥς δ' ἀνεξεύγνυε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καὶ τινες Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκούους ἐπολιόρκουν: οὗς ἐπείγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρονιος Γάλλβας ὁ Ἀτιλίου διάδοχος, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίου διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ' εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμῳ. ὄθεν ἀσθενοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὔσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Γάλλβας μετὰ τῶν ἁμ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἔνθα τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους διῆλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχίμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

[59] Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφίσματος πολέμησας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάζων ἦσθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων, καὶ περιπέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. περὶ τε Γάδειρα τὸν πορθμὸν ἐτέρων περὼντων ἔκτεινεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας ἔς τινα λόφον ἀπετάφρευσε, πληθὺς τε ἔλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἄπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν

πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβέβηκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχθεσθαι ὥς δι' ἀπορίαν ληστεύουσί τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν. 'τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον,' ἔφη, 'καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει: δώσω δ' ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἁγαθὴν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικιῶ, διελὼν ἐς τρία.'

[60] οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήεσαν οἱ προσέτασεν ὁ Γάλβας: ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ πεδίον ἐκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθών. ὥς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὥς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, θεμένους δ' ἀπετάφρευε τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινὰς ἐσπέμψας ἀνείλεν ἅπαντας, ὁδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστει ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνείλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστία μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιών, οὐκ ἀξίως δὲ Ῥωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὧν ἦν Οὐρίατθος, ὃς μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἡγήσατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γενόμενα ὕστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Λευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος ὢν, ὀλίγα μὲν τινὰ τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὀλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὢν ὁμοῦ τι Ῥωμαίων: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιорκοῦντα διὰ κέρδη. μισούμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

[61] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομήσεως, ἀλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἄγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβὼν, ἅπαντας ἔχων ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέπεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔς τι χωρίον, οἱ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: ὧδε γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἔπεμπον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμόν αἰτοῦντες ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἤδη. Οὐρίατθος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγὼν, τότε συνὼν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεμίμησε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας, ὅσakis τε αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαντες ἐπιθοῖντο, καὶ ὥς ὅδε πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐπιорκιῶν Γάλβα καὶ Λευκόλλου διαφύγοιμεν. οὐδ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου, ἂν ἐθέλωσι πείθεσθαι.

[62] Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι γενομένων, ἡρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὥς ἐπὶ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὥς δύνανται, κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφυγον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐετίλιος αὐτοὺς δεῖσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπείς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ' ὠκυτάτοις ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ ἅλιν ιστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην

τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὥς δ' εἶκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἑτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὀρμήσας δι' ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποις ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διὰ τε βάρος ὄπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀνομοιότητα. ὧδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογινώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τότε περιφερόμενον ἐς τοὺς τῆδε βαρβάρους ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὀκτῶ ἔτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει.

[63] καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἴ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίνετο.

Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ' Οὐριάθης ἐν λόχμας ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετίλιου αὐτός τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκατέρωθεν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐζώγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἐξωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχυν ὀρῶν, ἔκτεινεν ὥς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἐξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἶπετο τῷ Οὐετίλῳ, συνέτασεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισχιλίους συμμάχους, καὶ λαβὼν, προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐριάθην. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔκτεινεν, ὥς μὴδ' ἄγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

[64] Οὐριάθης δὲ τὴν Καρπητιανὴν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιὼν ἀδεῶς ἐλεηλάτει, ἕως ἥκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππείας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε δ' αὖθις ὑπεκρίνατο φεῦγειν ὁ Οὐριάθης, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὓς ἐπιστραφεῖς ὁ Οὐριάθης ἔκτεινε χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὄρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἐνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ παῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπείγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχεύμαζεν, οὐ θαρρῶν οὐδαμοὶ προΐεναι. ὁ δ' Οὐριάθης τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιὼν ἤτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

[65] ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἑαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον κατωρθωκοτων, φειδοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐλληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας, οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἥκεν ἐς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππείας ἐς

δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὐπω μάχης ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειεν, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίαθρος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλνομένων τισὶν ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιποὺς. τοῦ δ' ὑποστρατήγου συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὐθις ὁ Οὐρίαθρος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὄλῳ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἠκροβολίζετο, πειρὰν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους αἰεὶ τοῖς γυμνοῖς περίστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ' ἱππέων αὐτός, οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται δευτέρος ὁδε τὸν Οὐρίαθρον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτόν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διώκων ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς. καὶ ἐχειμάζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε, διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοῖντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὔλου.

[66] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίαθρος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν, Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλοὺς, ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολέμον ἄλλον οἶδε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντῖνον ἡγοῦνται, μακρόν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον. καὶ συνάξῳ καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἑν μετ' Οὐρίαθρον. Οὐρίαθρος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐτέρῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοῖντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἡσώμενος ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοῖντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημειᾶ τινα ἥρπασε: τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βασιτανῶν χώραν ἐλήξετο, Κοῖντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιτέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

[67] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοῖντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίους. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίῃν τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκην ἡπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος: καὶ τὸν Οὐρίαθρον ἐξακισχιλίους ἀνδράσιν ἐπιόντα οἱ μετὰ τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας ὑπέστη τε γενναίως καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὥς δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφῆκτο, καὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὠχύρου μέγα, καὶ προεπεχείρει τῷ Οὐρίαθρῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἀτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐρίαθρος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τρισχιλίους τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατοπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τῷδε, ὀλίγων μόλις αὐτὸν ὑφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιος τε, ὁ Λαλίου κηδεστής,

λαμπρῶς ἤριστευε, καὶ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν· ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρα θαμινὰ ἐπιών, καὶ οὐ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν Σερουλιανὸν ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.

[68] τότε δὲ ἡδὴ τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἱ τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ συνεπεπράχσαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστράτευεν ἐς Κουνέους, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσιτανοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὐθις ἠπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λήσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐθอรύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουλιανὸς τὴν τε λείαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἷλεν Εἰσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐρίατθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἐτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν ἄλλαις· αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο. καὶ Κοννόβαν μὲν τινα λήσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβὼν, καὶ φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου,

[69] τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίατθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἅμα ἔφ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ρίψαντες ἔφευγον. τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουλιανοῦ, τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίατθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς κρημνοὺς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίατθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν· Οὐρίατθον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ πάντας ἧς ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Οὐρίατθου πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαῦσθαι, χαλεπώτατός τε Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσία καταλυθεῖς.

[70] οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγ κείμενα· ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Σερουλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπίων, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον ὃ τι δοκιμάσειεν· ὥς δ' αὐθις ἠνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἔκρινε λῦσαί τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὐθις Οὐρίατθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπίων Ἄρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐρίατθου παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίατθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπητανίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων. ὅθεν ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μὲν τινα φάραγγα ἀφανῆ τὸ πλεον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπιέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λοφου δόξαν παρῆιχε πολεμήσοντος. ὥς δ' ἦσθετο τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονότων, ἐξίππευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὁξέως οὕτως ὥς μηδ' αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων ἐς Ουέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεῖς τὰ ἐκείνων ἐδίηου.

[71] καὶ ζήλω τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάτθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ληστήρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπένω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρᾶς, ὅσῃν ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὁξέως, οἷα δὴ ληστήρια, μεθισταμένους δυσεργεῖς ἡγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχροὺς οὐ καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν· ἐς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐς ἐκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσιν διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδήηο τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα, συμμαχομένους τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναναιρουμένων, καὶ οὐ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεσῶν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη μεθ' ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων· καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένοις συνεγίνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.

[72] καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντων ὄμῃρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Λήθην μετῆι, πρῶτος ὃδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἐτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθὼν, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἀρπασάντων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρους, οἱ εἰσιν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὀπλισμέναις καὶ οἶδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαίρουσαι τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμालωσίας. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἱ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολλὸν δ' ὕστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βροῦτος κατεστρέφετο αὐθις.

[73] ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἣ πολλὰκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλὰκις δὲ ἀποσταῖσα ἠνώχλει, παρακαλοῦντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλαβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτοὺς ἐς ὃ τι χρήζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων ἦτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ ὄμῃρα ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιάν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων ὅσακις ἀποσταίειν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινόν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἔλῃξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἣ εἴ τις ἄλλη δημοσία παρασκευή, πάντα περιεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐθις οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆι. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν Οὐριάτθου γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνου ζῆλον ὑπὸ ληστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίνεσθαι.

[74] Οὐριάτθος δὲ Καπιῶνι περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὐδακα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἱ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καπιῶνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐριάτθον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὧδε. ὀλιγοῦπνότατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐριάτθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα ἐξεγρόμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἔτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἐξῆν καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὐδακα φυλάζαντες αὐτόν,

ἀρχομένου ὕπνου παρήλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς δὴ τινος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὦπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγὴν: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ' αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καιπίωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἤτουν. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἤτουν, ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπε. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐριάθου καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀθήειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἔμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἔνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγούντων τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμουμένων ἐν οἷσι εἰσὶ κινδύνους καὶ οἷου στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ἠῦρισκον, ὑπερήλγυνεν.

[75] Οὐριάθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ἱερεῖά τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἴλας οἱ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν ἔνοπλοι βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῆνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἄμφ' αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον κατέλιπεν Οὐριάθης, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ' ἐς ἅπαντα πρὸ ἀπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλούντων: ὁ δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἐδίδου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδενὶ πῶ στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὀκτῶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμυγῆς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἐλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἣν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ Τάνταλος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἱκανήν, ἵνα μὴ ληστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.

[76] ἐπάνεισι δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οὗς Οὐριάθης μὲν ἠρέθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, Καικίλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιτεμφθεὶς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουακοὺς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτων, Τερμεντία δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Νομαντία ἔτι ἔλειπον. ἦν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποταμοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὕλαι τε αὐτῇ πυκναὶ περιέκειντο, καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἣ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ' ἄμφι τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τοσοῖδε ὄντες ὅμως ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἠνώχλησαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν Κοῖντῳ Πομπηίῳ [Αὐλῳ] διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππείας ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντία παραστρατοπεδεύων ὄχρετό ποι, καὶ ἱππείας αὐτοῦ μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ἔκτειναν. ἐπανελθὼν οὖν παρέτασεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες, μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος ...

[77] καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσόμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν ἑπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλιάρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτη πεῖρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππείας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἔνοπλοι, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἠγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἦλασεν, ἣν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπήϊῳ. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦς καὶ ὅμηρα αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἣν ἐδήου λήσταρχος ὄνομα Ταγγίνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν φρονήματος ἐν τοῖς λησταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διετίτρων.

[78] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὐθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμόν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πῖεσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχετεύοντας ἠνώχλουν. ἔβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἕως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἐτέροις ἐπιδραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, Ὅπιόν τε χιλιάρχον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἠγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς τῷ τε Πομπήϊῳ σύμβουλοι παρήσαν ἐκ Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις 'ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις' διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοί τε καὶ ἐτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἔκαμνον, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἔνιοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σῖτον οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἕως οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐπεξήσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοῖς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἔκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς.

[79] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τοσοῖσδε συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων ἀνεξεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἥρος προσδοκῶν ἥξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ δεδιὼς κατηγορίαν, ἔπρασεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες ἤδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργία καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερόν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν 'οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθήκας ἐτέρας Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας', λάθρα δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἐμελλε ποιήσιν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὅμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἤτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ἤτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὧν

μέρος αὐτίκα ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνέμενε, παραγενομένου δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπίλιου Λαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν διάδοχον, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχύρας τε καὶ ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων γενομένης, ἡρνεῖτο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἤλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπὸ τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱπάρχοις καὶ χιλιάρχοις αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντῖνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Λούσοντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐργασάμενος ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὅστιλιος Μαγκίνος· ἀνέξευξεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

[80] ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις συμβαλὼν ἡττᾷτό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι Νομαντῖνοις ἔρχονται βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροί τε καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι, δείσας ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεὶς οὔτε κατεσκευασμένον οὔτε ὠχυρωμένον, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντῖνων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλούντων εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο εἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντῖνοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις, οἱ δ' ἐν ᾄστει πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὥς ἐπὶ αἰσχίσταις πάνυ σπονδαῖς, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγκίνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἔσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντῖνων: ὁ δὲ Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὁδε τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ θριάμβου φιλοτιμίαν ἐξήσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, Οὐακκαίων κατεψεύδετο ὥς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντῖνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἣ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἔπεισεν.

[81] κατέλαβον δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννας τε καὶ Καϊκίλιος, οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶνδε παισμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἰβηρία γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἕτερον ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορεῦον Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν ἠγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν Οὐακκαῖοι τοῖς Νομαντῖνοις παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάξευξιν τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβὼν, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὥς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὠχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγγυτο καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ' αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανεῖσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἐξεῖλεν Αἰμίλιος: καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὥς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ

βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύουσιν ὥδε περιέσφωζε.

[82] μακρᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὕσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ῥωμαῖους ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἦπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ἐφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησκον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δέ, Αἰμίλιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἡσσωμένοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναζεγγύναι: χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθεόντες ἐπέσπευδον ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο πρὸ ἔω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης καὶ φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἄσιτοι τε καὶ κατὰκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

[83] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον. παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ιδιώτης ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεξημιούτο: Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐδίκασον καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίητο πρὸς Μαγκίνον, ἐπεδείκνυν: ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγόν, ὡς ἄργον καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ κἀκεῖνον ἡσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους: ὅθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ' ἐχάλεπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ' ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τῶνδε κριθεὶς καὶ πάλοι. Μαγκίνον δ' ἐγνώσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνους, ἄνευ σφῶν αἰσχροῦς συνθήκας πεποιημένον, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὅμοια χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκίνον μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς Νομαντίνους: οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ' ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ μικρὰ δηώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[84] ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνους, μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἠροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἐλόντα αὐθις ὑπατεῦειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἔτι νεώτερος τῆς νενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεῦουσιν ἡλικίας: ἢ οὖν βουλὴ πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὐθις θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθις ὑπατεῦων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο, στρατιάν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθέλοντάς δέ τινας, ἔκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἰδίαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὓς ἐς Ἱλην καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων Ἱλην.

πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδούς ἄγειν ἀδελφιδῷ Βουτέωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἴβηριαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσῃ πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.

[85] ἔλθων δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἐταίρας καὶ μάντις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερεῖον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθῆναι. καὶ σκευὸς οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐς δίαιταν ἔχειν οὐδενὶ πλὴν ὀβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματός ἐνός. τὰ τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὠριστο κρέα ζεστά καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπεῖπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ὁδεύοντας ἡμίονοις ἐπικαθέζεσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾷ ἔφη παρ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κὰν τοῖς ἀλείμμασι καὶ λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἤλειπον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὥς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρῆζουσι τριβόντων. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀθρόως, εἵθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὢν καὶ δυσχερὴς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθῇ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔτοιμα.

[86] οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἡγειρέ τε καὶ καθήρει, καὶ τάφρους ὠρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα ὠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐς ἐσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα μὴ τις ὥς πάλαι διασκιδνῶτο, ἦγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεί, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἐκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι. περιῶν τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰπέων, τὰ δὲ βαρύντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεῦοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἰπέων ἐτέραν ἵλην περιτρέχειν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διήρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

[87] ὅτε δ' εἴκασεν ὁξὺ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφυλακὰς δέ, ὥσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διήρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονούσιν. οὐδ' ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι περισκοπῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὁρμήν, ἐς ὃ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἐχորτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἔκειρεν ἔτι χλωρόν. ὥς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ

συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων: 'οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανάσιν ὥς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτῆνη καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερὴς τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἀγών: ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδές.' εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελεῖ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεζήτει τότε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντίνοι τὰς τροφὰς ἐωνοῦντο, κείρων ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.

[88] ἐν δέ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντίας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἔκρυσαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἐτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερόν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἠνώχλουν. ὁ δὲ Ρουτίλιον Ροῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἴλας λαβόντα ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ροῦφος μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἶπετο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπήδα, ἔνθα τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππέας μῆτε διώκειν μῆτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ δόρατα θεμένους ἐστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἶπετο κατὰ σπουδὴν, καὶ ὥς ἤϋρε τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἑκατέροις παρὰ μέρος ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προστιθέντας ὀπίσω καὶ ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας ἐς τὸ πεδίον περιέσωσεν: ἀναζευγνύοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορος τε καὶ ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων διὰ τὸ δίψος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσων, ὧν τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ ἠύρισκετο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.

[89] καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρεσπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Νομαντίνην χειμᾶσων, ἔνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρθας ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ Μασσανάσσου υἱόνος, ἄγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομένους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας. αἰεὶ δέ τι δηῶν, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἔλαθε περὶ κόμην ἐνεδρευθεῖς, ἦν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα πηλοῦ περιεῖχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κόμην ἐπὶ ὁρῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ σημεῖα ἔξω καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιίππευον οὐ πολλοί. τούτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κόμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἐστῶς ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους, τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν

ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κώμης ἐκδραμόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.

[90] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας δύο στρατοπέδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαντίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ὑπερώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν λιμῶ. φρούρια δ' ἐπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν ... ἐπιγράψας ἐκάστοις οὗς ἔδει πέμπειν. ὥς δὲ ἦλθον, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐπιδιεῖλεν: εἴθ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστω μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεῦειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἢ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἢ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τοῦτο διήρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἕκαστον. καὶ προεῖρητο, εἴ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμοι, σημεῖον ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ἰψηλοῦ, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες αὐτὸς τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὥς δ' ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῶ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐτέραν τάφρον ὥρυσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ὠκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα χωρὶς τῶν ἐπάλλεων. πύργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῶ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτειχίσαι, χῶμα αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἴσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, ὥς ἂν εἴη καὶ τότε ἀντὶ τείχους.

[91] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅδε πρῶτος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιτειχίσαι πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν: τὸν τε Δόριον ποταμόν, συμφερόμενον τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρησίμον ἐς τε ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ' αὐτὸν κολυμβηταί τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάνθανον, ἢ ἰστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κώπαις κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, ζευξαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάνυ ροώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῶ δύο περιθείς ἀπήρτησε καλωδίους δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐξ ἐκατέρου φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγότα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὔτε διανηχομένους οὔτ' ἐπιπλέοντας οὔτε ὑποδύνοντας εἶων λαθεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὗ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδεὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμιγνυμένων μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι γίνοιτο ἕξω: οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

[92] ὥς δ' ἡτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλοι, ταῖς δ' ἐπάλλεσι παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτειχισμα πᾶν, οἱ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔμελλον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι μηνύσειν αὐτῶ τὰ γινόμενα, κατὰ δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι γίνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἰρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὔσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς ἐξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν

ἥμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, εἴ πῃ δεήσει, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἔμελλον, ὅτε χρεῖα γένοιτο, καὶ τούτοις ἐφεδρεύειν ἕτεροι μύριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστοις διετέτακτο: καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξῆν. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθεῖη.

οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο:

[93] οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλὰκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη κατὰ μέρη, ταχεῖα δ' αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἢ ὄψις ἦν, σημείων τε ὑψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων, καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδόντων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἐξοτρυνόντων, ὥστε τὸν κύκλον ὅλον εὐθὺς ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερῶτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήει.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἔτι προσιοῦσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὐτ' ἐπικουρίας:

[94] Ῥητογένης δέ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντίνος, ὃ Καραύνιος ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, ἄριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεῖ διήλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτὴν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, δεόμενοι Νομαντίνους συγγενέσιν οὗσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ἦν εὐδαίμων, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεςτῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων, ἧς οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντίνους ἐσπουδάκεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνήγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὀγδόης ὥρας πυθόμενος ἐξήλαυνεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐζώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' τὴν Λουτίαν φρουρᾷ περιλαβὼν ἤτει τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεισάντες προσῆγον αὐτούς, ἐς τετρακοσίους γενομένους: ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὐθὺς ἅμ' ἔφ' τῆς ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[95] Νομαντῖνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε ἄνδρας ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἴρητο μαθεῖν εἰ μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὐτούς. Αὖρος δ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν ὥς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε κακοῦ. 'διὸ καὶ μάλιστα,' εἶπεν, 'ὃ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σέ, τοσῆσδε ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, φείσασθαι γένους εὐψύχου τε καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιланθρωπότερα τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἄρτι πειρώμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὥς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί, τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρια κελεύοις, ἢ μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι.' ὁ μὲν Αὖρος ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἥσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἔνδον

ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγγχειρίσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὅλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὦν ἀπαγγεληθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὀργὴν ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀηθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡγριωμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διωκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[96] μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μὲν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἔψοντες ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἔψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις τῶν νοσοῦντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἡγριωμένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθριωμένοις δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἔνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἕτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ' ὑπερεβάλλοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἡμέραν ἤτουν ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.

[97] τοσόσδε ἔρωσ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ' εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οἷα μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οἷας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑποστάντων, οἷον δ' ὄντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἕξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προυκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικώτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἰὼν θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναι τε δυνατόν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἔργα πολλὰ, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν: οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρῶντο, ἕτερος ἐτέρως: οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξήσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χωρίον, δυσόρατοί τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὀφθῆναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπου μεστά, ὠδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἦδε καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε, φοβεροὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἕκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

[98] ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἐλὼν στρατηγὸς ὁδε Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὐπω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνώκωτων, αὐτός, εἴτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἄκρος ὦν ὀργὴν καὶ φιλόνηκος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἴθ' ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι,

τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίνεσθαι κακοῖς· καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανόν τε καὶ Νομαντῖνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντῖνων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὑποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου.

[99] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπῶν τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπῶνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ἡρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Γάλλας, Κίμβρων δ' ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμουμένης τὸν δεῦτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἐπεμπον ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὅπῃ δύναιντο καταθήσεσθαι. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δεΐδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους, Τερμησὸν δέ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπειθῇ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην, ἐξ ἐρυμοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἑαυτήν, καὶ τοὺς Κολενδέας ἅπαντας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπέδοτο.

[100] πόλιν δ' ἐτέραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον ὄκουν μιγάδες Κελτιβήρων, οὓς Μάρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης, ὤκικει πρὸ πάντε ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐλήστευον δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι· καὶ κρίνας αὐτοὺς ὁ Δεΐδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἔτι παρόντων, ἔφη τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέαν χώραν αὐτοῖς προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζομένους δὲ ὀρῶν ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἥκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριουμένους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐνεδρευομένους ἔσω παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραφόμενος αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοίῃ πόσῃν χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δεΐδιος ἔκτεινε πάντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Δεΐδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιτεμφθεὶς ἔκτεινε δισμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγῇδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὁρμῶν τὴν βουλὴν ὀκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς αἰτίους.

[101] τοσάδε μὲν ἡῶρον ἄξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε πρὸς Ἰβηρας αὐτοὺς γεγόμενα· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίinna, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διηρημένων, Κόιντος Σεργώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίinna στάσεως αἰρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανάστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμῃς καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τᾶλλα ὧν ἐς θρασύτητα περιώνυμος, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρατηγούς, Καικιλίον τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ

στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, ἵνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, ἐξωθοῖεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὔσης. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασιωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Περπέρναν δ' ἔκτεινε μάχῃ Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

[102] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἵρεθεις Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν. καὶ τινα αὐθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούιος Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γαίου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπὶ κλην, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἢ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.

Αννιβαικη

ὅσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλὼν, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε πολέμων, ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἕως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοί τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβα γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδήλωται, συγγράφῳ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

[2] Ἀμίλχαρ ὃ Βάρκας ἐπικλησὶς ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατὴρ, ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδίωκετο, καὶ δεδιὼς ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἰρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῷδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαροῦς ἔργου. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίνεται Καρχηδονίους ὅρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν· καὶ τότε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίνεται, ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκᾳ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνειν θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνηρήκει.

[3] τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβήρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὅδε, Βάρκα μὲν υἱὸς ὢν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τάδε συγγράφω, γίνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηρσι· τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε καταφρονούντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἠγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλές ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιον τε Καρχηδονίους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι παίσας, τό γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παῖς ὀρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὐ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκευάζε τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθείς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὃ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβάς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἠβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ

Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέλυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[4] Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρική γραφὴ δηλοῖ: ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδοὺς Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρρηναῖα ὄρη διέβαιναν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐνακισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενος, τοὺς δὲ πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, δίδωκε τὴν χώραν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀλπεία ὄρη, καὶ μηδεμίαν μῆτε δίοδον μῆτε ἄνοδον εὐρών ἀπόκρημνα γάρ ἐστιν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐέβαινε κάκεινοις ὑπὸ τόλμης, κακοπαθῶν χιονος τε πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ κρούους, τὴν μὲν ὕλην τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν δὲ τέφραν σβεννὺς ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦδε ψαφάραν γιγνομένην σφύραις σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδὸν ποιῶν ἢ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐντριβῆς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου. τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπουσῶν ἠπείγετο μὲν, ἔτι λανθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔκτω δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἀναστάσεως μηνί, πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν κατέβαινε.

[5] καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασίᾳ, πόλει Κελτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξελὼν, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαξεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἡριδανὸν τὸν νῦν Πάδον λεγόμενον ἐλθὼν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τοῖς καλουμένοις Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δ' ὕπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπύθετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὁδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι καταλιπὼν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ὅθεν ὁδεύων τε καὶ συμμάχους ὅσους δύναται ἀγείρων ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον Ἀννίβαν. καὶ Μάλλιον μὲν καὶ Ἀτίλιον, οἱ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ὥς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἔτι στρατηγεῖ ὑπάτου παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἵππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ζεύζας ἐπέρα, '6' τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἢ δεῦτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὁρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥς ἄμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχη λαμπρᾷ χρώμενον. ὁ δέ, ὥς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ δι' ἄμφω δυναμένοις ἀπατάσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις: καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιϋόντα τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτεην ὁρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρόνιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὢν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἅπαντες ἐς μάχην ἦξειν. ποταμὸς

δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἔω, χειμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὔσης καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆγεν.

[7] παράταξις δ' ἦν ἐκατέρων ... τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζοὺς· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἕως αὐτός τι σημήνη. γενομένων δ' ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὁδμήν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καίπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τόλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπῆδων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλινον ἥδη. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐσκεδασμένων δ' ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἅτε πεζοὺς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν χιόνα τήξαντος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρὺν μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὄπλα ἐδύναντο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τρωθεὶς διαφθαρῆναι, μόλις δ' ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντία, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδον.

[8] οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ἥδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδον ἥττηντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ Ἀννιβίου, στρατιάν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὡς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἥδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σαρδόνα κάκεινῃν πολεμουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δ' ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρόνιον αἰρεθέντες ὕπατοι, Σερουίλιός τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὃν ὁ μὲν Σερουίλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἰρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσέ, Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἱππεῦσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἣν καὶ μόνῃν ἂν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννίνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτὴν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδίωκε μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν, ἔμοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἡθῶν τῶν ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι· καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἔτι νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικὴν.

[9] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὁμοῦ διήρηντο· Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τῷ ἥρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδήου τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ

προύβαιναν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνυ ἔδεισαν, οὐ παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ ὁμῶς ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήνιον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ιδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησάν τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἐς τὴν Πλειστινὴν λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαιναν ὀξέως, οὐ διαναπαύων τὴν στρατιάν. δέει τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἀπειροπόλεμος τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ δημοκοπίας ἡρημένος, ἠπείγετο Ἀννίβα συμπλεκῆναι.

[10] ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὀρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὅρος μὲν τι καὶ λίμνην προβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλούς δὲ καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἅμα ἔφ' σμικρὸν μὲν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ χαρακοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὔρους ὄντας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ' ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τοῦ τε ὅρους καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτός τε ἀνῆρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δισμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἔς τινα κώμην ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἀξίων ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὅπῃ θέλοιν. ὥς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, εἶχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαιναν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἤδη τῶν γιγνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδον στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου, καὶ τετρακισμυρίοις ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἤδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

[11] Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὅρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐξήταζεν εἴ τις εἴη περίοδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ' ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δι' αὐτῶν ὁμῶς ἔπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νύκτωρ τὸ ὅρος περιεῖναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ' αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ' ὅτε δύναιντο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστώτων ἐκατέρων, πάνυ προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν ᾤφθη τε καὶ ἠλάλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ' εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχιλίοι μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τό τε τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὥπλιζον, ὅπλων μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καταφέροντες, ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο: δικτάτορά τε, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἵλοντο Μάξιμον.

[12] Ἀννίβας δέ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον αὐθις ἐτράπη, καὶ

τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε περιήλανε πολλήν. Σερουίλιος δ' ὕπατος ἀντιπαριῶν αὐτῷ κατήεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν: ἔνθα τὴν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἕως ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὥς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ἡρημένου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει, πολλάκις ἐκείνου προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ' οὐδένα εἶα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικείμενος. ὁ δέ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὐθις περιῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ρούφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὥς ὁκνοίη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινούκιος ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ δόξας πλεόν ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αἰτιώμενος οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νικῆσαι. καὶ ἡ βουλή, ἐπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη τοῦ Φαβίου, ἴσον ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.

[13] οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἑκάτερος εἶχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχῃ διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ' Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκουφίσε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμνησίνας τῆς διαβολῆς: ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὦν εὐχερὴς οὐδ' οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὐθις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντί, τοῖς δ' ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδῶς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

[14] στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφῳ καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὥς ἦσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε μὲν ὥς οὐ ποτε πρότερον: οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ' ἥλπιζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὧδε δ' ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτερίσειαν, βούς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν, τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾶδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δᾶδας ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἔσβεσε, καὶ σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ' εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βούς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἃ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων

ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀφειδῶς καὶ βιαίως, εἴτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὐθις ἀνεπήδων.

[15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι πῦρ πολλὸν καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἵκαζεν εἶναι τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενος· οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεῦγειν αὐτὸν ὥς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὥς ἐκεῖ ληψόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὥς εἶδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἄνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάβοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνόμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ἦσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτὸς τε περιῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειχθείς, ἡ σίτου πλήρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχείμαζεν.

[16] ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἵπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὐφιδόν. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἑξ μηνῶν ἐφ' οὓς αἰροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι Σερουίλιος τε καὶ Αἰτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπανήεσαν, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆει, γίνονται δέ τινες ἐν τῷδε τῷ χειμῶνι Ἀννίβα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν αἰεὶ τὰ γινόμενα Καρχηδόνιοις ὑπερεπαίρων, τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν ἤτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώπτοντες τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικόντων οὐκ αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοίη, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ' ὅσης δύναιτο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δηῶτο πᾶσα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν.

[17] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἥττης τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὥς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἄθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες ἔνδον ὄντα παρ' ἐαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἰροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολέμησαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκοπίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχνούμενον. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες ἐξίσοντας ἐδέοντο κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δηουμένης. οἱ

δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαυγία προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμύριους ἱππέας δ' ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κώμῃ τινὶ καλουμένῃ Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὐ ποτε φέρων ἀργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοῦσης ἐξέτασσε συνεχῶς ἐς μάχην, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετὰθοιντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθεῖεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προὔκαλειτο τοὺς πολεμίους.

[18] γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν ὑπομένειν ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ, Τερεντίου δ', οἷα δημοκόπου, μνημονεύειν ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐξιοῦσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ὁξέως. τούτοις Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν προσετίθετο Σερουίλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ὑπάτος ἔτι παρών, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὅσοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἡγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν ἐτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἢ ξυλγεομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύς. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἰδὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὁδεύοντι ἤδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐπανήει μὲν, αἰδούμενος οἰωνοῖς ἀπειθῆσαι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν ὧσιν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφηρνημένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγανάκει.

[19] Ἀννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐσδραμών, παρόντων ἔτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἡτιᾶτο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανεράν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὀκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἢ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τοῖς ἔνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερουιλίου, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασεν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ' ἦσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν 'οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέτακτο, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκεσαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαίῳ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, χιλίους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἔχων ἱππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοίῃ. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι:

[20] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μὲν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὖρον ζοφώδη τὸν ᾧ χρόνον ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιπνέοντα, προὔλαβεν ὅπῃ κατὰ νότου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμελλεν εἶξειν: ἔπειτα ἐς ὅρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγῶδες ἱππέας προενῆδρευσεν καὶ ψιλοὺς, οἷς εἴρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ, κατόπιν γίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἄνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ

τοῖς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄλλα ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέζωσεν, οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημαίνει. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιάν κάκεινος ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσαν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναιντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἄνωνα: τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἶχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίου τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοι τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἐτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφῆδρευεν ὅπη τι πονοῦμενον ἴδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσωσιν ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα θάσσωσιν ἐπέλθοι.

[21] γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἑκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέθεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς προγεγεννημένης ἥτης, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φαλάγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλλήλων κατήρχον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους αἱ φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος τε καὶ πόνος ἦν πολὺς ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων ἑκατέρων. ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἱππεῶσι κυκλοῦσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ὀλιγώτεροι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες ἀντιπαρῆγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναντες ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἠγωνίζοντο ὅμως ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ βαρβαρικῇ, νομίσαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.

[22] Διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ σημεῖον ἐπῆρε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ φανερά ὥρεγον ὥσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες, καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα παρεῖλεν, ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὡς ᾤετο, τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἔστησεν ὀπίσω: οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδεῖν αὐτομόλους ἐν ὧσι πολεμίων, οὐδὲ ὑπώπτευεν ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις ὀρῶν, οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἦν ἐν τοσῶδε πόνῳ. σπεῖραι δ' ἕτεροι Λιβύων προσεποιήσαντο φεύγειν ἄχρι τῶν ὀρῶν, συναλαλάξασα μέγα. σύμβολον δ' ἦν ἡ βοή τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ τε ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις μετὰ κονιορτοῦ φερόμενον: ὁ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. τὰ τε βέλη Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πάντα ἀμβλύτερα διὰ τὴν ἀντιπνοίαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῇ, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ' ἀφίεναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἐθορυβοῦντο.

[23] τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὀρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσι οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρώτους ἀνήρουν ὧν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους, ἀρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδων ἀφειδῶς: καὶ φόνον

εἰργάζοντο πλεῖστον οὗτοι μάλιστα, ἅτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τό τε κακὸν ἦδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων. οὐδ' ἐπιστρέφαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου: οὐδ' ἐπεγίνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς ἠνώχλει, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ' εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακοσίους εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ' ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἠγούμενοι κεκυκλῶσθαι, τραπέντες ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξήρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἠγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον διέδραμε: καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὅσον ἄριστον ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

[24] καταθορόντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεζομάχουν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηροῦντο, περιτρέχοντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅτε μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντες καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὅτε δ' ἐπιπλήσσοντός τε καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νενικηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ', ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰμίλιος καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος περιῆσαν, πολλὰ δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει: ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεσον αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοί, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μὲν, ἔνθαπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα: καὶ σύμπαντες οἶδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν: οἱ δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἶδε οἱ δισχιλίοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὕλας.

[25] τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ὑπὲρ ὥραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρῶν, οὔσης δ' ἔτι νῦν αἰοδίμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ: ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ὥραις πεντακισμῦριοι, καὶ ζώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελευτήσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξίαρχοι τε ὅντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατός τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἦδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβᾳ πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

[26] Ἀννίβας δὲ νικῆν ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρσι, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθεῖσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπήγει, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνηρημένους ὥμωξε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὐ χρῆζειν ἑτέρας τοιαῦδε νίκης. ὁ καὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἡπείρου

βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίων κάκεινον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐσπέρας ἐλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρόνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὕπνου καὶ κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμμένους ἐπειράτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διέδραμεν.

[27] ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτικά ἄλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἰκέτευσαν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ληξαίποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἡλευτέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἄστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὥς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαυδιόν τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἵππεις, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὃ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παραφύλασσειν.

[28] Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν ἄστει λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγείτο Γναῖος Σεμπρόνιος, ὀρκώσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἀλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστος ἰδίῳις χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἡξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοσαῖσδε συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσοῦσδε βλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τῷδε τῷ ἐλέφ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὄν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἑκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἔτι κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιланθρωπίαν, τὸ δ' ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν εἴη, πρὸς τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρόνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δ' ἔστι μὲν οὗς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ' οὗς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνῆρει, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεαταῖς τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἠνάγκασε, πατέρας τε υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων ὑπεροπίας ὁμῆς.

[29] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετρήνιοι μηχανήματα προσῆγεν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τόλμῃς μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τὰς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἦσσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδρίζομένων. ὀλιγώτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἄννων ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρεῖους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννωνος ἐφεώρων ἀλύπως ὥς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνήσκοντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ' ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλεν ὁ Ἄννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερριμμένους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνῆγον, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους κατήγαγόν τε καὶ συνώκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

[30] τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἱ ἐμισθοφόρου Ἀννίβα, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσοῦσδε ἐτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφίσιν αἰτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ τοῖς ὁμοεθνεσίν, ὅτε πλησίον Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοιεν, ἀναμινύμενοι μετέμειθον αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πιστόν, ὑποπτευόμενόν τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτόν. κάκιον οὖν ἔπρασεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

[31] Ἀργύριππα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἣν Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καὶ τις ἔκγονος εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολός τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἄξιος, Ῥωμαίων περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἦτταν ἡττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. τότε δ' αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ῥώμην διυπεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὐθις ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτόν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς ἤλατο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριππα ἐτέρων ἐνδόντων εἶλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὅσους ἤνρε Λιβύων, φρουρὰν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

[32] Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κωνωνεύς ὧδε προῦδωκεν. κυνηγετὴν εἶθιστο ὁ Κωνωνεύς, καὶ φέρων αἰεὶ τι τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιούῳ συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε ἐγεγένητο. ὥς δὲ ἐν πολεμουμένην χώραν, νυκτός ἔφη δεῖν κυνηγετὴν καὶ νυκτός φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτός οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυσεν ἐν λόχμῃ τινὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δι' ὀλίγου, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι, θώρακας ἐνδοθεν ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ'

ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκευασμένους. κάπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθείς ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συννεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοιξάντας αὐτίκα διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνυνον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἔτι φρουρουμένην ἐπολιόρκει.

[33] ὧδε μὲν Κωνωνεὺς Τάραντα προὔδωκε: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἦλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ἠυπόρουν, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ἠυπόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρεπάνους ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέοντες ἄφνω συνετάρασσον αἰεὶ τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήεσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνευμᾶ ποτε λάβρον ἐθεάσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δᾶδας ἡμμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆσδε τῆς πείρας περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν, χωρὶς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσση μέρους: οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἄννωνι τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.

[34] λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντινοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντινοῖς δ' ἐκώλουν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἕως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιον θαλασσαν, ὀρύζαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχόν τε ἀγορὰν, καὶ τριήρεσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμῶν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκείνοις ἀφηροῦντο: οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχῆσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῶν τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπάσας. πρεσβευομένων δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὅσους εἶχε Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυνεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἄννωνι ἀνέφξαν. καὶ Θούριοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι: ἢ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Βρεντέσιον λαθοῦσα διεπλευσεν.

[35] Μεταποντῖνοι δ', ἐξ οὗ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα ὤχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἀννίβᾳ προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δέει μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ

Ἀννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οἳ Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἔτι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὢν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδιδούς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἕς τι χωρίον ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστει. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἶπετο μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουιος ἐξίππευσεν ἐς ἐκείνους, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεις τῆς προδοσίας καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ πάντων πλὴν τριῶν, οὓς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιησάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ζῶντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχυρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνὸνδρουμένον ἀγάμενος ὁμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὅσα Ῥωμαῖοις ἔπεμψεν.

καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐσώρρευε,
[36] Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι Καπυαίοις ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν Ἄνωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαῖους λαθόν, οἱ δ' ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβάν ἐγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπυαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὀδυρομένοις δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔφη πολὺν ἔχειν σῖτον ἐν Ἰαπυγία, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὅσας κίς θέλοιεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑποζύγια μόνον οὐδ' ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδία ἔπεμπον ἀχθοφορήσοντα τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰαπύγων Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενδέων, οὓς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντος ἀπάντων κατεφρόνουν.

[37] συνέβη δὲ Ἀννίβαν μὲν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἄνωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ' ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγούνοιτο ὑπάτοι, Φουλουίου τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀππίου, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἷα ἀπαρασκευοὺς διαφθεῖραι, καὶ τὸν σῖτον Βενεβενδεῦσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἀρπάσαι, καὶ Καπύην ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιήσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ' ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπυαίους πολιορκουμένους αἱ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἥ τε ὅψις ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα· ἐν ᾧ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτειχίῳ μονομάχια, προκαλουμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀρίστων. καὶ τις Καπυαῖος, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίᾳ Κλαυδίον Ἀσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοῖς Καπυαίων τείχεσιν ὁ Ἀσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ἵππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ρύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὀρμῇ, καὶ διυπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς

ἐτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους.

[38] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ' ἣν ἐς Λευκανοὺς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην. προσβάλων δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς, μηδ' ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ἢ σῖτον ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτειχίσιν πάντῃ περιλαμβάνουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κάκεινους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτὸς τι Καπύης μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πείραν ἔλθειν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σραδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιήνος ποταμοῦ.

[39] καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἰκανόν· ὁ γὰρ εἶχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν, πολεμίου δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε σφίσις ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσαν, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπήδων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ δρόμῳ. βοῆς δὲ παμμιγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιήνος ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δὲ τι πολίχνιον Ῥωμαῖοι ποτε ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς Ἀλβὴν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχιλίοι δρόμῳ διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ ὠπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρου. τοσῆδε προθυμίᾳ βραχὺ πολίχνιον ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἀποικιῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνῃ, οἷόν τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις ἢ Πλαταιέων ἔδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

[40] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἀππίος μὲν Καπύῃ παρέμενε, κάκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἐλεῖν Καπύην, Φούλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἐτέραις ὁδοῖς ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλήκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιήνα. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν γέφυραν εὐρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρόδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας ἱππέας ὑπολιπὼν, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀνιήνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδήουν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβήσαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγελλτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ οὐ πολλή, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθὼν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρμημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δ' ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὥς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας, εἴτε, ὥς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο· οὐ γὰρ ὁ γε σὺν

Φουλουίῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξίωμαχος, ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

[41] ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ Φούλουιος ἐσπερας τείχους μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανεν ἐγεῖραι, τάφρον δ' ὀρυζάμενος καὶ διαστήματα ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν ἀντὶ τείχους ἡσύχασεν, ἐς τε λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερόν ἐπεμψε λαθὼν ἰππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἡσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλουίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διὰ τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναιτο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δε ῥωμαΐζοντας βοᾷν ὅτι Φούλουιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τότε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν: οἷτε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἀδόκητος ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε ῥωμαΐζόντων ἀκούοντες ὅτι παρήγγελται φεύγειν ἐς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ' ἐγίνοντο.

[42] Φούλουιος δὲ αἰεὶ τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἴθ' ὑπ' οἰκείας τότε συνέσεως, εἴτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσὼν, εἴτε παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθὼν, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὀξέως ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐς τὸ λόφον ἀγούσαις ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐχ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ' Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεῦων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μή τις ἔφοδος ἐξωθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηδρόμει μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δᾶδός τε ἦπτε καὶ πῦρ πανταχόθεν ἡγειρε, καὶ καταφανῆς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβαλόντες, εὐμαρῶς οἷα ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφήν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσειόντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ πάνυ ἡγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπῆδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρα περιῆν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν αἰεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανάς:

[43] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθὼν ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνήθους, ἐρωμένην τε εἶχεν ἄγριος ἀνὴρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ' ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανήει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον ἅμφω καρτερῶς,

ἐπειγόμενοι χειμῶνος ἐλαῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἕως Ἀννίβας ἡρεμεῖ. Καπυαῖοι δέ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλείπουσάν καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων, ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς, Ἄννωνι ἐτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὅσους ἡῦρον αὐτομολοῦντας, χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον· Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφείλοντο μόνον. εὐφορος δ' ἐστὶν ἐς σῖτον ἢ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πᾶσα· πεδιάς γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπανῆκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιήρητο.

[44] ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἐθίσας ἀεὶ τι λήζεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγωνὸς καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἤλγει τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβρίζοντων συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν, ἐκάστοτέ τινας ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσήγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτοῦς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισιαῖται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

[45] Ἰαπύγων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλαπία, Λιβύων ὑπηκόῳ, δύο ἦσθην ἄνδρες τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντες, ἀλλήλοιν δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρῳ. τούτοις Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ἡρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἤκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡγείρετο τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἔπειθεν ὁ Βλάτιος τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ συμφρονῆσαι μόνῃς, μὴ τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βίᾳ λαβόντων, ἀνῆκεστον. ὁ δ' ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε τοῦτο Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν λέγοντος· ὁ καὶ τέως ἄρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγον τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγορῶ διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν ἐσομένῳ. Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρῖψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ' ἐχθροῦ πιστεῦσαι ῥαδίως ἀξίων, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεπτόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθόν, 'οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τὴν πατρίδα·' ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνυνε.

[46] καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισσάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. 'τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, 'τὸ νῦν ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ τις ἦν, ῥύσεται με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ τοιῶνδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγορῶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγεννημένῳ, κινδυνεύων ἔτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, αὐθις ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ' ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ

δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τότε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,’ ἔφη, ‘χρηστός ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι δυνατός ἦν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;’ ἃ μοι δοκεῖ προῖδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ’ ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπειθῆναι τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ὑπεκρίνετο συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἤτει μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὀκνήσας ἔφη, ‘διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπὶ τι τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν μὴνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν πορρωτάτῳ καὶ στρατιὰν ἄξω λαβών: ἔστι γάρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ: σὺ δ’ ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιτηρεῖν.’

[47] ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθὼν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ’ ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁδὸν ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν υἱὸν ὄμηρον, ἱππέας ἤτει χιλίους, μεθ’ ὧν ἠεῖγέτο κατὰ σπουδὴν, τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρόν οὐχ ὀρῶν, εἵκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἤδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας οὖν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρῳ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καταφρονῶν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθών, καὶ ‘νῦν μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ’ αὐτοφῶρ στρατιὰν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει.’ καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβὼν τινας, ἐπανῆγεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὐπω τοῦ Βλατίου πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δ’ ἔνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Λιβύων ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύλασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ’ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου μόνας εἵασεν ἀνεῶχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνας μέρος ἅπαν εἶχεν ἀνυπόπτως: τὰ δ’ ἐντὸς ἐξετετάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεωγμένας, ἦσθη νομίσας προλαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὁ δ’ ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμόντας, ὠθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομὴν διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγοι δ’ αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.

[48] καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει: καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἐσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπέιπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρήγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἔω, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ’ εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἷα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιήει, κατασκεπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπελπίζων, ἕως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἴτε προιδόμενος εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλούμενος αὐτούς. οἱ δ’ ἐπιπτον ἤδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες: καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ’ ἐς τι χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναθορόντες αὐτὸ τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[49] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδήουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετώκιζεν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετώκιζον· ἔς τε τὴν Ἀννίβου ἔτι ὑπήκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε εἶλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὀλίγων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἦρα γυναικός, ἥς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγουσι τὰς μηχανὰς ἧ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρουρεῖ. Τάραντα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὐκαιρον ἐς πολέμους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

[50] Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν, ὥς ἔμαθεν εἰλημμένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κάκειθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Κλαυδιδίῳ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἐλὼν, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κρισπῖνος ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν δέ τινα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδὼν, καὶ δόξας ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἠγεῖτο, θυμικὸς ὢν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικὸς αἰεὶ. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Λιβύων φανέντων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν οὐραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἤρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὥς ἐπομένων αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοντισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὥς εἶδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὥς στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὥς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιελὼν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ ὀστὰ τῷ παιδί προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον:

[51] Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγίδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεῖοι. ἄρτι δ' εἰλήφεσαν Κρισπίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἅπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγίδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσιν, αὐτοῖ δ' ὀπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὥς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσιν ἔμελλον, αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθῆκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι περιεστῶτας ἄνωθεν ἐβαλλόν τε καὶ κατετίτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆσδε πείρας ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεῖς ἀπεχώρει.

[52] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίῳ αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, ὠδοποιημένα πρότερον ὑπὸ

Ἀννίβου, δῶδενε δύο μηνσίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας ἐξ διῆλθεν. ἐσέβαλέ τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππέας δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἑλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλόντων, οἱ ὕπατοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ' οὐπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικώς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξας περὶ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὐπορον ἤλατο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερριμμένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις συντασσομένους ἔτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπήλλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβεν.

[53] θεὸς δέ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γενόμενον: στρατηγοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ ἑκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ' ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε κάκεινους συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαψιλοῦς ἐκράτουν ἑκατέροι. οὕτω παραλλάξ ἢ πόλις εὐτυχῶν καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειράτο. Κελτιβήρων δ' ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ' ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.

[54] ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσσηδε δι' ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυῖα δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πονοῖς ἀτρύτοις ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπήκουον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ὥς ἐτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφιζομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ' ὧν σῖτός τε ἦν καὶ στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος αὐτὰς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνας στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσὶ κατέδυσσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἐξήκοντα δ' ἔλαβεν: αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διέφυγον ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενός τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκώς, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιορωμένου, συνιδὼν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἤδη Βρεττίων ὥς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὐπω γενησομένων κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πάνυ πολλὰς, τὰς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετῴκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὥς βουλευούσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλοὺς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος διέφθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

[55] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ γίνονται μὲν ὕπατοι Λικίνιός τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννίβα περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὐ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς

ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρήσας τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὀκνοῦντας, ἥρεθη στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. ἔνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Λοκροῖς ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου: καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάζας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημινίῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν. Πλημίνιος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὕβριν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐκλιπών, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσποτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν ἔδωσαν Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν: ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λείπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

[56] τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἑξ ἑπ’ αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείων ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πεσινοῦντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἔνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶνδε τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνεχθῆναι. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν, ἣ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἣ ἔφερεν αὐτό, ἰλὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ σαλευεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἔψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἐλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν, μοιχείας ἔγκλημα ἔχουσαν ἔτι ἄκριτον, καὶ δι’ ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὔσαν, ἐπιθειάσαι τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδήσασθαι τῇ μίτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἔσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχίστης δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε, Ῥωμαῖοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευε τὰ Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπὶ κλῆν, ἐπεπόμφεσαν, υἱὸν μὲν ὄντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίου ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρώτου κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὧδε μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι’ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.

[57] ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουράς οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δ’ ἐξέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἑνοπλος παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίων ἐχόντων αὐτῇ: ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις. ἡτῶτο δ’ ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνούμενων δ’ ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. “ἴνα δ’,” ἔφη, “μηδ’ ὑπονοήσθε,” τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὅπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίοις μάλιστα εὐνοὺς ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῇ

φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετῴκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὐκαιρον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθεμενος.

[58] Καρχηδονίων δ' αὐτὸν μετακαλούντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πείραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδόκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν Ἰβηρία, ἐγνώκει δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὅμως ἔπεσθαι, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλὰς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης. τῶν δ' ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὥς ἄλλοτρίων καταφρονῶν, ἔγνω διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλουτίσας, εὖνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροὺντας ὀφόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναιτο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαζεν. τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἴκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουροὺς, σφαγὴ τε ποικίλῃ καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἐαλωκυίαις, ἐγίνοντο.

[59] αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὖ γεγυμνασμένους, ἔπειθε πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἶποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὤκνουν. ἀθροίσας οὖν τοῦσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὥς δὴ τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκῆψων, περιέστησε τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίῳι ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὥς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἡδύνοντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνειργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας, τοῦ μὴ τοιοῦσδε ἄνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους ἐς τετρακισχίλιους καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

[60] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπὼν. οἱ δὲ Πετηλῖνοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν κατασφάζαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἀνήγετο, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλὰκις συναγαγόν, τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὥς πολεμίους: ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρεῖα χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὥς πολεμίων.

[61] Ἀννίβου δ' ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττιῶν δὲ μόνων, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγέννητο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ ὅπλα, εἴ τινα ἦν ἔτι χωρὶς ὧν Ἀννίβας ἀφήρητο: ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὥς οὐδ'

ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν
ἔθνων ἡγεμονίας ἀπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οἷα θεράποντας,
ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης
ἐσβολῆς.

Λιβυκή

Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοίνικες ᾤκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρός τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὥς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζουσι, Διδῶ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἥς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἔφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδέοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ἠδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτου· μάλιστα δ' ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἂν πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν ὃ τι ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθεντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμόντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἓνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Βύρσα ὀνομάζεται.

[2] χρόνῳ δ', ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, ναυσὶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἤδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ἥ τε ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξιώμαχος τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικὴν. ἑπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδῶ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἐς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγούντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δευτεραί τε σπονδαὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις αἶδε διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτὰς τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγούντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔγνωσαν. αὐθις δ' ᾤκισαν ἰδίους ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, ὥς εὐκαιρον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ χωρίον. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἢ Ἰβηρικὴ, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλὼν ἔπραξεν, ἢ Ἀννιβαϊκὴ· τὰ δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ γενόμενα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἥδε συνάγει.

[3] ἦρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἐλόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥήγλον, ὃς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἱ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους

στρατηγὸν ἦτουν, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνην στρατοπεδεύων ὥρα καύματος περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὁδοιορία κακοπαθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνθθεν. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ ἐσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διεῖργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίσας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικῶντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆσδε μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν: ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἤγεν, ὀλίγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἐξωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὕπατος γεγονώς, αἰχμάλωτος ἦν.

[4] τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἢ ἐπανήξοντα: καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥήγλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐς λύμην ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθερίζαντες ἐν γαλεάγρα κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούση διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππῳ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε: Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Λακῶνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἔδωκε τήνδε εὐπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην εὐπραγήματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδῆλωται.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες, δ' ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ὄντες ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχέκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς συμμαχίαν ὥς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφῆκαν: ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιεν: οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δ', ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλήστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας: τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολὺ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αἰτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεῦειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδῶ ποινὴν ἔδωκαν. καὶ τότε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐνεγράφη.

[6] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὕτην κατὰ μέρος ὑπῆγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίοις ὄρος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν. καὶ τάσδε αὖ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν

ήγουμένου. διαβάντες δέ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἐτέροις τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρία καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιός τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλοιον ἀδελφῶ, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένῳ θήσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἔπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος υἱὸς ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἐμβάλων ὥς ἦκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῶτο συμβούλῳ περὶ πάντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τοῦδε πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιπεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἡξίου πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὥς ἀναστήσῃ Ἀννίβαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίους δίκην ἐπιθήσῃ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

[7] τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἄρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις καὶ πορθουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Λίγυάς τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν χειροῦσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων· οἱ δὲ ᾤοντο Καρχηδονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὄντας ἐφεδρεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλουμένους οἰκοί, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου· ἐθέλοντάς δέ, εἴ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔτι οὐσι χρῆσθαι. τριῆρεις τε ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἤπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.

[8] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθους ὢν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τινὰς ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα. ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενεῖους ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἴρητο χωρὶς ὅπλων ἔπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ' αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράψας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἦκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιτο καλλίστοις. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὅπλων ἐρήμους, καὶ ἐς τοῦσδε ἐκείνοις προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιῆν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις ἄλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἰδόμενος· οἷς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.

[9] Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγωνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Λιγυστινὴν ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτῷ μεθ' ὧσων δύναιτο ἄλλων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβα τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε

Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἡγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ ξένους ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντα ἐγύμναζε, διακοσίους σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης.

[10] Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῇ. Μασσυλίων δ' αὖ, γένους ἀλκίμου, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῶ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστῳ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἡγγύησε τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὢν. ὥς δ' ἡλλύθησεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ μειράκιον. Σύφαξ δὲ κνιζόμενος ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ παιδί τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνι διαπλεύσαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους ἰόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέγα ποιούμενοι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἀσδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγῶν συνετίθετο καὶ ὁδε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λανθάνων, ὥς ᾤετο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὑβρισμένοι ἀμφοῖν, ἡγεῖτο δ' ὁμως τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδῶν Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποὺς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναιτο.

[11] ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πάτρώαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἱππέας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργον ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὐθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἶδε, καὶ πόα χρησθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροποτοῦσιν. ὃ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γεύεται, ποιηφagῶν αἰεὶ, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιούτους ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ θήρας ἢ λεηλασίας ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν· ἅπερ ᾤετο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου ὅου γὰρ ἡγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν, ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τῷδε πολεμεῖν ἔστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντᾶν.

[12] Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολὺ, μετὰ δὲ ἁμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύοντο· Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆρχε, καὶ ἱππικὸν μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. ὅθεν ῥαδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄχυρά ἀνεπήδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδνη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύπτετό ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δὲ ποτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολέμιων περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐστρατήγει λανθάνειν ὅποι ποτε εἶη. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ' ἡμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ καθ'

ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ὃ τι περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν, ληξομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ' ὠφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

[13] καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονίοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῇ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων: κέλῃτες τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατιὰν ἤγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ἵππεις δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἄλοράν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαι τε Μασσανάσσην καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαιεν. ὃ δ' οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἑξαπατώμενος, ἀντενεδρεύων δέ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων. καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Σκιπίων καταχθεις ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτήν. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀπέιχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεις ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

[14] Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἴτε δέισας εἴτε ἄπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήψατό τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα: Σκιπίων δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔπεμπεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεῦσαι. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπειθε τὸν ἵππαρχον Ἄννων ἀπέμψαι τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μή τι πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σιγῇ, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ἔψεσθαι. Ἄννων μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἤγεν ἐπιλέκτους ἵππεις Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λιβύων τι πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἄννων ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχείας εἶπετο ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Λιβύων γενομένων, ἡ τε πλείων ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἱ ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπῆντα τῷ Ἄννωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς φίλος ἐπανιόντι, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

[15] Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἔσκαπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ'

αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου. πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφαττον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὐθις ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπιστραφεὶς πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Λιβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν.

[16] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκη κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐξευγμέναις πύργον ἐπιθείς, ὅθεν τριπλήχι βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤφειε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχε θραυομένων τῶν νεῶν, χρώματα δ' ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριοῖς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων, δρεπάνοις τε περισπῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρώματα ὑπετάφρευον, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρήγον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκοῦς· ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπήδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάξειαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπίφορον. ὅθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνοὺς οὕτως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίστατο.

[17] Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἀσδρούβου. ἔτι δ' ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἑκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκῶς μέχρι νῆές τε ἕτεραι ναυπηγούμεναι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιτο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διαιτᾶν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐδικαίου μήτε Ῥωμαίους Λιβύης μήτε Καρχηδονίους Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νήσους ἔχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθῆ, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἔφη συμμαχήσειν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπεῖρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, τὴν τε Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιώσκειν ὑπισχνούμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν ἂν ἐθέλῃ. ἔφερε δ' ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοίῃ τῶν θεραπευτῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχνουμένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἔδωκε τιμὴν τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἔδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσση, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἡλεγξεν.

[18] Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανερώς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ῥωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σῖτον πολλὴν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἴλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἔκτεινεν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἄλλην πολλὴν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρήσαν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, καὶ νῆες εὐτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε ἔγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὁρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ

ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

[19] Ὡνήδῃ νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε, καὶ ἠπόρει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιρούμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύννους γενόμενος εἶπε:

τόλμης καὶ ταχυτήτος ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσωμεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα δ' ἐν τῷδε πλεονεκτήσομεν, μάθετε ἤδη. ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκπλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων: ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένη τῇ στρατιᾷ χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἄθρόα, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύουσι δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμέν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰσόμαχοι, τόλμη δὲ καὶ εὐτυχία προύχομεν. καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς δῶ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἷς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἢ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἦν ἀρέσκη, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρᾷ.

[20] συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, 'ὁ μὲν καιρὸς,' εἶπεν, 'εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβερώτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν σκότῳ. φθάσομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευμάτα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆές εἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτοις Ἀσδρούβας μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολήσειε τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ παντὸς ἴωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἦν ἄρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐξίη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θρασύτατῃ: τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης' προπέμψω πορρωτέρῳ κυκλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθῇμεν, ὑποδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φίλους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ' ἐπικρατοίημεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῶντο.'

[21] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὀπλίσαι τὸν στρατὸν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμῃ καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικόν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὀφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἡρέμα τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμεινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἔως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν ἄθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπων. οἱ δ' εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ οἱ Λίβυες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὕπνου, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς

τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουον, οὐδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γιγνομένων εἰδότες. ἀναπηδῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνήρουν. τοῖς δ' ἦν ἡ τε βοή τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερώτατα ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοί τε εἰληφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπερησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἐκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὥς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦντο: ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἱππέας, οἱ κύκλῳ περιεστῆκεσαν, ἐμπίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον.

[22] Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβα, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω πολὺν ἐργά ζεται φόνον. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα μαθὼν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἤδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δ' εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῇ παρασκευῇ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεζεύγνυε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπὼν, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανίοντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.

[23] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺν μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἅμφι τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμῦριοι: καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχιλίοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανίοντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνῆρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὅπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μιᾶς τῆσδε νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλὼν ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Λιγυστίνων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

[24] καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἀσδρούβας δέ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ' ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδάν κατέφυγεν, ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει: πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὥς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἄνωνα τὸν Βουμίλχαρος εἵλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλήζετο ἐς τὰς τροφάς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὓς εἶχεν, ἅμφι τρισχιλίους ἱππέας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὥς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπῆγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὠπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξίοντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτόν τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα, καὶ τὰς οὐσας

ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριήρεις ῥαδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἰρήσειν.

[25] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προύπεμπέ τινας τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι στρογγύλοις πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαι τε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἥπτετο τοῦ πόνου. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύοντο, καὶ καμουῖσαι περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀπιούσαις δ' αὐταῖς αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαι τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ὅτε βιάζοντο, ὑποχωροῦσαι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰ δαψιλῆς, Ἴτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λιμώττοντες ἐλήστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι, πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφόρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς ληστρικὰς ἐκώλυν. οἱ δ' ἔκαμνον ἤδη σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

[26] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ἤτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορώμενος περὶ τινι ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἐκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρόα ἠφίεσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπήεσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδὼν, ἔτετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς· ὁ δ' ἀντεπῆλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἄμφω γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἔνθα τις αὐτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν· ὁ δ' ἀπεσεῖσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτόν τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τῷδε ἤτησε παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

[27] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσυλίου καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπήεσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιούμενοι τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασιλεία τοῦ Σύφακος παραδιδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἕτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικὸς, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγούμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτήν, ἐπανιών πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτός, ἐν Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἄρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἤρετο Σύφακα· 'τίς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον ὄντα μοι καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὕς ὥμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;' ὁ δ' εἶπε, 'Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἧς ἐγὼ ἦρων ἐπ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρις δ' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἰκανὴ ἅπαντά τινα πείσαι πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. αὕτη με καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας

φιλίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τότε συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆσδε εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ ἡγρή γάρ, ὑμέτερον γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον· φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἃ βούλεται μεταγάγη. οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὴ τὸ γύναιόν ποτε ἔλῃται τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς φιλόπολις.'

[28] ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἴτ' ἀληθεύων εἶτε ζηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μὲν, συνετόν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπῆγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷόν τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κύρος ἐχρήτο, Λαλίου δ' ἀφικομένου, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι. παραιτουμένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγουμένου, τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βία τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. ὥχετο οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προύθηκεν, ἥ πιεῖν ἥ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκοῦσαν. οὐδὲν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον. ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῇ δεῖξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἔπινε τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἤκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρᾶς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἡξίουں περισώζειν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

[29] Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἔπεμπε τινα πρὸς Ἄννων τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀξίων αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄνωνα κοινωνῆσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνύς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίωνι σύνεισιν Ἰβηρες ἄκοντες, οὓς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι διαφθέρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ἐς μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργει, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπῆλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς πιθανὸς ὢν ἐντυχεῖν ἐκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλούς, ἡμέραν τε συνθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Ἄννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ κίνδυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησμοῦ· καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἴ πού τι λάβρον ἠῦρισκε πῦρ, κατέπαυεν. καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ἱερὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι διεγνώκει,

[30] ἰππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίου θεράπων Ἰβηρ, ὑπονοήσας τι περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότη, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγγετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρριψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. αἴσθησις δ' ἦν

Ἄννωνι μὲν ὀξεῖα πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκεῖμενον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀφίκετο. ὥς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἵκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν, ὥς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Ἀμίλχαρ μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἕξ, Ἄννων δ' ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολιορκουσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δέ, χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης, ταύτην μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἰπῶνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακάυσας ὥς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ληζόμενος.

[31] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοις πάντως ἂν ἐνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξιν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψιν ἕως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχάς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τειχῶν ἐκτὸς ἐστάθμευον ὥς ἔτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθέντες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὡσάκις συνθοῖντο καὶ παραβαῖεν, ὅσα τε Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἔν τε Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσις ὑπεδείκνυνον ἔσσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις ἐκτετραχωμένης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδεές ἐπεξήρσαν, ἐπιπλευσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄννωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας.

[32] ἐφ' οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλὴ συμβούλους ἔπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὧν ἔμελλε κρινεῖν τε καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειε συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβη, Μάγωνα μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Λιγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὀρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὤμνουν. Μασσανάσση δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγίδα χρυσὴν ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

[33] γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυεργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιτο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους

ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λιβύης κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπὶ τε ὤνῃν ἵππων περιέπεμπε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχλίους ἱππέας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἱ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγίνοντο Μασσανάσσου, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτέυσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους διέδωκε τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δε καὶ Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνάστης ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ' ἐβιάζετο. νάρκην δ' ἐνήδρευσεν ὧδε. ἀγορᾷ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὥς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ' ἔδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἔπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

[34] οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δε ὁ δῆμος ἄρτι τὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένοι, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος, οὐπω τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνестροφότων, ἀγορὰν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παραινούσης μὴ λύειν συνθήκας ἄρτι γεγεννημένας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέμφοντο ὥς ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἡξίου πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἥτει δίκας ὥς φίλους ἀμαρτόντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἕως ἀφίκοντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μὲν Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προύπεμπον δύο τριήρεσιν· ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἔπεισαν, ὁρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβων τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξήλαντο τῆς νεῶς ἤδη λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

[35] ὣν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτι παρήσαν, ἐκέλευον ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὥς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο· Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναύαρχῳ, πυθόμενῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, 'οὐδὲν ὅμοιον,' ἔφη, 'ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς.' μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὠνείδιζε τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὥς οὐκ εὖ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένη, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοι τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν νεθ' ἧς ἔχει στρατιᾶς.

[36] ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτοῦς ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου τὸν στρατὸν Ἀννίβα, καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει· Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἵργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐποροῦντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ

τῆς γῆς ἀσπόρου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἵππομαχία γίνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν ἧ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτει· καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἕως αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν ἰσχυρῶς τε ἀπορούμενον καὶ περιμένοντα ἀγορὰν φερομένην, νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμον χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας αὐτήν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμος ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβὼν, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐξώγησεν ἐτέρους τοσοῦσδε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[37] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναίτο διαθέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβῆς καὶ παιδείσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔτι οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀνοητοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἀμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδούμενός τε καὶ φίλος ὢν ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκείθεν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς αὐθις ἐς τοιάσδε συνθήκας ὥστε Καρχηδονίους τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίοις ἀγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἥρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν ἢ ἂν ὀρίση Σκιπίων, ποινὴν τε τοῦ ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τὰδε μὲν ἦν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισσώζετο,

[38] Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλή τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δήμον ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τὴν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγούμενη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγούς σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος· ὁ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιησαί τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐθελῆσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῷδε προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαι τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. βοῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἐζήτουν Ἀσδρούβαν περιόντες. ὁ δ' ἔφθασε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ κάκειθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν ἐξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἄννωνος, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἀνήρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.

[39] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβα λῦσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρίναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἔλυσεν τὰς ἀνοχὰς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσὼν εἴλε, καὶ πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεζεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκοποὺς ἐπιπέμψας, οὓς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβέ τε καὶ οὐκ ἔκτεινεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὀπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιάν γυμναζομένην ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσεν φράζειν Ἀννίβα περὶ ἐκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἡξίωσεν ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους

ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθεῖν, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῖεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νήσων ὧσων ἄρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίους. ὁ δὲ ‘πολύ,’ ἔφη, ‘κέρδος Ἀννίβα τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος.’ καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπειλησάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀνεξεύγνυνον ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

[40] πόλις δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυῆς ἐς στρατοπεδείαν, ὃν ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἔπεμπέ τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ’ αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνδρῶ διετελεῖ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὀλιγον καὶ θολερὸν ἔπινον ἐπιμόχθως. ἀθεράπευτοί τε καὶ ἄσιτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὣν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἅμα ἔφ’ ἑκατομυρίων ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ’ ἤχθετο μὲν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιο συνιῶν ἐς μάχην, ἐώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένον. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. ἴσθη δὲ πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ’ ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερῶτατα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες· τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμείχαστο πάντα καὶ σφενδονῆται Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τούτων δ’ ὀπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοι τε καὶ Λίβυες. τρίτοι δ’ ὅσοι ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἶποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον δεδιόσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἡ δ’ ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

[41] οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ’ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δ’ Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἕτερος δυνάστης ἱππεῦσιν ἐξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ ὅδε τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβα, λόχους δ’ ὀρθίους ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ἵνα δι’ αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχερῶς διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ’ ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ προμάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ ξύλα παχέα διπήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρωμένα, ἔμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγελλτο δ’ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιτο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετετάχαστο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· τοὺς δ’ ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κερασιν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὁδὸν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἐτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρῶτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείναιαν οἱ πεζοί. παρ’ ἑκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαὶον Ὀκταουίῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἦσθην αὐτός τε καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἀμφ’ αὐτοὺς ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι

πονούμενον ἰδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας τετρακισχίλιους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ὥλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[42] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισπέρχων ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὄψει τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονθήκεσαν ὡς ἂν ἐλθόντες τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἣ καὶ πρότερον τῶνδε τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλειόνων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, πόσω ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζε τε καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς ὀλιγότητος· ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, ὥς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτόθεν ἐστὼς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χεῖρους ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκάτερος τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερεπῆρεν, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἡ δούλην εὐθύς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ὧν ἐπεκράτουσιν, Σκιπίων δ' ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ' ἀναχώρησις ἔστιν ἀσφαλῆς, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐκλεία.

[43] οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνήεσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ' ἀντηγεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατήρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων· περιθέοντες δ' αὐτούς οἱ Νομάδες ἵππεῖς ἐσηκόντιζον ἀθρόως, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας· οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιαύσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀπλίσεως, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἕως ὃ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικούς, ὀπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους, ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτός τε αὐτὸς ἀποβάς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιρωσκότων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἶδε ὑπεχώρουν.

[44] καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρᾶς θηριων, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίγνετο μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην· ὁξέως δ' αὐτούς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες ἦσαν, ἐπὶ μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκάτεροις. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τὸν χιλιάρχον ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων· Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ λαιὸν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἅμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρήγε μεθ' ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ

στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγῶνα συνιόντων, ἕρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ ὀξέος ὄντος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

[45] μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὥρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχύτερας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοῦ, Σκιπίων μὲν Ἀννίβου τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὀπίσω τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβάς ἕτερον ἵππον αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἱππέα τὸν ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἦκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὀρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον· οὐδὲ παριππεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου στήναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐθις ἐς πείραν ἔλθειν ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογνόνους οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔτι καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίσας Ῥωμαίοις ἄτε διώκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθῦμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο αὐθις ἐς μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφίσι παρόντων οὔτε ἀκοντίων ἔτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιρούντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ καὶ φεύγουσιν εἶποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

[46] καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἱππέων Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστῶς, προσδραμὼν ἡξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πείσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκουσιν, ἐλπίσας ἐργάσεσθαι τινα παλινδιώξιν. πρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἔτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν Μασσανάσσου καὶ Ἀννίβου συνεστῶτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠκόντισε βαλὼν, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥρμα, τόν τε ἐπελαύνοντά οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέα βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐθις οὐδ' ὥς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππέα καὶ ὃδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἕτερον δ' ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἔδεισε περὶ τῇ Μασσανάσσει, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο· καὶ ἤρρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὐθις ἐπὶ ἵππου φερόμενον ἐτέρου, τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὁ τε ἀγὼν ἦν ἴσος αὐθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρτερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγούς ἑκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κἀκείνους ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἐκόντες καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ἥτερ ἐώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ τύχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτούς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.

[47] ὁ δ' ἐπανήει πεφραγμένος Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺν πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καταβεβηκότων: ὅθεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερῶς περιεγίνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχόν, ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, αἰεὶ τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νύξ ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ' εἴκοσιν ἱππέων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανῦσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ἥ ὄνομα Θῶν, ἔνθα Βρεττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὦν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἐνὸς ἱππέως, ὃ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευεν. σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἦκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητόν, ἔνθα τι μέρος ἦν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπων δ' ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

[48] Σκιπίων δε νίκην ἀριστὴν νενικηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπιμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοί, χρυσίου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀργυρίου δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐλέφαντα εἰργασμένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἐδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐχειροῦτο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Λιβύῃ μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τοῦτ' ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν δισχιλίοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δ' ἔτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἰβηρες ἠὲ τομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

[49] οὐπῶ δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ξενολογοῦντι ἔτι Κελτοὺς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δέ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων, στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἵππους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἔπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουιον, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἡσσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὃν ἡγοῦντο Ἄνων τε ὁ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος: οἱ τὸ κηρύκειον ὑψηλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πύρας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὠρεγον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἱκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἤκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ προκαθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελεύοντων ὃ τι θέλοιεν, Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν:

ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἄννωνι τῷδε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἔμφορες, καθαρεύειν ἁμαρτημάτων ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε: τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὓς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρίς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρή δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἀπάντων, οἳ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἤτησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὤμνουν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν αἰετὰ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πείσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπειθείας ἢ εὐβουλίας, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοι ἢ ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἣ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐκούσιον ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶνδε ὁμνῦναι τε καὶ ὀρκοῦν πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥωμην, ἔτι δ' ὄντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκόντας ἁμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἔβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑμῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ λιμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φρονῆσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλήθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

[51] εἰ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις. ἐφ' ἣ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἔλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν αἰσθωνται διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς ἐχθρὸς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πόλις, ἡ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασσι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἰππικῷ, καὶ ὑπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης τοσῆσδε ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφήριστον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασσι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὧν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προπεπονηόσι κακῶς. ἃ χρή θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ τύχης ἄξια πράσσειν, τὰς τε τοῦ δαιμονίου μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις συμφοραῖς διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα ἦ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιεπαινα πάντα.

[52] οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἳ τοσὴνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἢ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἁμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγῶναι. βεβαιότερους τε εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς νενουθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδονίοις ὑμᾶς ὁμότητα καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι: τοῖς γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ

φιλόανθρωπόν ἐστιν. οὐδ' εὐκλεές, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσὴνδε καθαιρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ περισώζειν. ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἀξίωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑμᾶς ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἂν ἄρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσὸν λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους.

[53] τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μετασυστάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὥς δ' ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὧδε:

ἐστὲ μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερώς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὥς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μὴδ' ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἂν, εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρεσπονδηκότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἀμαρτόντων, ἢ τε πόλιν ἀπέλυσεν, καὶ γὰρ καταχθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέπεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρεὶ δ' ὑμᾶς καταγινώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἃ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

[54] δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἣν τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδῶτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἡρπάσατε πρόην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ: ἐν δ' ἐξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγωνα χρεὶ Λιγύων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φρουράς ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὄμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ μήτε ξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἔτι, μήτε Μασσανάσῃ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπὸ γε τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἴχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Λιβύην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἣν ἀρέσκη ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δέ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Λιβύης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἣν ἐθέλῃτε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ῥώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὄμηρα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παῖδας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὄμηρα.

[55] ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας

κινδυνεύειν περί πάντων, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἔχουσι, τοσήνδε οὔσαν, ἡπεύθουν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τὸν σῖτον οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἑκάστον τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἡπεύλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ' ἔγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἤδη πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιότων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ τόνδε ὑπ' ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἡπεύλει, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογνόντας.

[56] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σῖτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου σεσωρεῦσθαι, ὁλκάδας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ναὺς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνεμός τε καὶ χειμῶν τὰς ναὺς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογνόντες ἀπάντων ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔπεμπε τοὺς συμβουλευσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκεκριμένα. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβόν, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ὕπατον ἐφεδρεῦειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.

[57] οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἥδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἢ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν: οἱ σύμβουλοι δ' ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἔτι σὺν ὀργῇ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἤδη, καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἄλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὑπαναστὰς δέ τις τῶν Σκιπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν:

οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὁμότερα πράξωμεν, οἱ Καρχηδονίοις ὁμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζουσιν: ἃ μὴδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον, ἣν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἣ καὶ νήσων ἥρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς, ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχίμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δέ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερῶτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκᾳ δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περὶ τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς

ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπονώτατον, ὃ πάντα ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμούς.

[58] ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων 'οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, οὐδ' ἄγνοῶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τῶνδε παραβῆναι: ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ποιοῦντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προῆλθον, εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ἡμῖν τῶνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τοὺς τε αὖ μετ' ἐκείνους περιουκοῦντας ἡμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ Καμπανοὺς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς σπονδὰς ὕβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυνιτῶν γένος τρις μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρονήσαν, ἔτεσι δ' ὀγδοήκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἔναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβα προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνη ζημιώσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὥς εὐσεβὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νουθετεῖν.

[59] τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλάζωμεν τὴν φύσιν, ἥ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἢ πόλις αὕτη; δι' αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔτι φειδοῦς ἀξία. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀλλ' ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὧν νῆές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οἷς ἰσχύουσι, παραδιδόασι, καὶ τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ πόλεων ἀπασῶν ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἥρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν ἔτι λιμώττοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Σκιπίων ὁ πολεμήσας κριτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶνδε καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαινῶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεταβολήν, οἷς εἰσὶν ἔτι νῆες, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλαὶ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ ἤδη στρατιὰν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐτέρους ἄγει πολλοὺς, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλοὺς. καὶ ἦν ἀπογνώσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀφειδῶς ἅπασι χρήσονται. χαλεπώτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονόν ἐστιν.

[60] ἃ καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ βραδυνόντων συνθήσεται. εἰκὸς δ' ἐκείνον καὶ τάδε ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον, ὃς οὐδ' ἐς Λιβύην ἡμᾶς ὁρμωμένους παρῶξυνέ τε, καὶ στρατιὰν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ῥαθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα μὲν ἡγεῖται

καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιδε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δ' αὖθις ὡς ἀποστῆναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερόν ἐστι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὕστερον δ' αἰεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἄλλις δὲ κακῶν ἕξουσιν καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἱ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν αἰεὶ.

[61] εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδέξεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσιν, τί καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἣν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ ναῦς ἤρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσιν τε θεῶν φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσση δ' ἔχειν δώσομεν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρή στερροποιεῖν οὐδ' ἐκείνον ἀμέτρως, ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔριν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίων κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ' ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ' ἢ φυλάξουσα στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει· πολλῆς γάρ, ὥς ἐν πολλοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις, δεησόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσοῦσδε Νομάδας; οἱ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἰσχυόντων αἰεὶ δεινὰ πείσονται, ἣν δ' ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἔσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ ἐπίφθονοι, χώραν τοσὴνδε καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχοντες. ἃ καὶ αὐτά μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις. πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ.

[62] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου Λέντλου συγγενῆς τοῦ τότε ὄντος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαδέξεσθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως:

τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὃ ἄνδρες, χρήσιμον· καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρή τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ' ἡμῖν καιρὸς ἐς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ Κάρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστι τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ' ἀμετρίας μοι δοκᾷ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνουβρίζουσιν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχῳσιν, εὐθύς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς αἰδὼς οὔτε λόγος ὄρκων· οὓς οὗτος ἀξιοῖ περισώζειν διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν, ἵνα δῶσί ποτε δίκην τῆς ἀσεβείας οἱ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, αἰεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ παρῶρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἔδρων. ὧν τὰ ἀλλότρια

ὕμῃν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἵνα εἰδῇτε πάντας ἐφησθησομένους Καρχηδονίους, εἰ δίκην δοῖεν.

[63] οὗτοι Ζακανθαῖους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἔνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἥβηδὸν ἔκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὗτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπήκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ λαβόντες, καὶ ὁμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεῖα συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεῖα ἀπέπνιξαν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπionτα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀχερραῶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχωσαν. Μᾶρκόν τε Κορνήλιον ὕπατον ἡμέτερον ὄρκους ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Λιβύην ἐκ Σικελίας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ Ῥῆγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοῦς. ὅσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεῦων ἢ παρορκῶν ἐς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰς τε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶ συστρατευσαμένους κατακαίνων, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὅτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἄσθη. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύραις ἐπέβαινον, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις μονομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἑναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ὤμνουν, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρήσαν, ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ τὰς ναῦς ἡμῶν διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδεον. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὁμότητα περίεστιν.

[64] τούτοις οὖν τίς ἐστὶν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ' ἐτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ' ἡμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφη Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἢ δεξιὰ. ποία; τίς σπονδὴ, τίς ὄρκος ὃν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν; μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησὶν, αὐτοῦς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁμοτητα, φησὶν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησώμεθα τοὺς ὁμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ' ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νενικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, σκεψώμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δῶμεν, εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι. διαφέρει δὲ τούτοις ἑκάτερον ὧδε. μέχρι μὲν συντίθενται, παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλα, πρόφασιν αἰεὶ τίνα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι: τὰ δ' ἀμφύλογα εὐπροφάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβήσεται, ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὅ τι ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἐτέρως δοκεῖ, τὰς γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν: εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται Καρχηδονίοις χωρὶς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίοις οὖσι περὶ τῶνδε κρῖναι, τὴν γνώμην εἶπον, ἣν νομίζω συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει.

[65] τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἶπεν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα παρ' ἐκάστου ψήφον ἦται, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον. ἐγίνοντο

οὖν αἱ συνθῆκαι, τρίται αἶδε, Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐναγαγέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὐνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε ὡς ἄρκοῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφελέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν: εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ τότε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονισμόν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς φόβον ἐς αἰεὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ποτε ἐξυβρίσειαν ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνία. καὶ τότε οὕτω φρονῆσαι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐξείπε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξυμμένοις κατὰ Ῥόδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλανε θριαμβεῶν, ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

[66] καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἅπαντες, ἡγούνται δὲ σαλπικταὶ τε καὶ λαφύρων ἄμαξι, πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἴτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα. βόες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσδε λευκοί, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἡγούνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδούχοι φοινικοὺς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς καθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένοι τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσὴν ἐπικείμενοι: ἴσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ᾧδης καὶ μετ' ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι οἵμαί Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δέ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδῆρην περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ θυμιατηρίων πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασιν, ἐφ' ἄρματος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἔστεπται μὲν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ' ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων, καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηόρων ἐκατέρωθεν ἦθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιὰ κατὰ τε ἵλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα: οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπὶκείνται. καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μ ἐν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν: ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἰστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

[67] καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεῦτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνοιο σπονδὰς. καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπέβαινε γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένη ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο συμπράσσειν ὅσα δύναιντο

Μασσανάσση. οὕτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονίων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συνθήκαι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἱ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδὼν εἰρηνεύουσα ὁμολῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἔκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

[68] καὶ εὐθύς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωζμῖαι, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ' ἐκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξη καὶ ἀρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἄνων, τῶν δ' αἰρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀνίβας ὁ ψᾶρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ὃ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων· οἱ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἑτέρων Ἰβήρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιούντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνοῦμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβυας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἡγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπῆλθον ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὁμοίως εἰρητο Μασσανάσση βοηθεῖν ἀδύλως. καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἷδε τῷ Μασσανάσση ὅσα προειλήφει, μετὰ τέχνης, ὧδε. εἶπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἤκουσαν, ἵνα μή τι ὥς ἐν δίκῃ Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας διέστησαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐς διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἡμφισβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἣν Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ' οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψειν ἐς δίαίταν, διέτριψαν δὲ ἕως εἴκασαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρθαι.

[69] καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἑτερους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἱ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἡξίουσαν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπώπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἥδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρήζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὅσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήεσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ἠῴητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔφραζον οὐ ζήλου μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσσηδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὐ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσσεσθαι πρὶν ἐξελεῖν Καρχηδόνα. ὧν ἡ βουλὴ πυνθανομένη ἔκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔχρηζε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ γνώμῃ λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιοῦν, Καρχηδόνα εἶναι, ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε· Ῥωμαίων ἐκδiciaτωνμένων ἥδη.

[70] Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψήφον ἐπὶ νηγεκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαι ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικίαν, ἀξίων καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ὁ βοηθάρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν δῆμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύσειαν. Γολόσση δὲ καὶ ἐπανιόντι Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσδε ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὀρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφίμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοὶς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις, Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευσεν. καὶ πλησίασασιν αὐτοῖς Ἀσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τι τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτομολίαν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ἐξακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγων, ἕως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπορία. τότε δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς: ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

[71] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἐς χειρὰς ἥξειν, Σκιπίων δ' ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἐλὼν, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Λευκόλῳ Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτήσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπέμψε, καὶ τῶν παίδων τισὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἔφ' τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγωνὸς ἔτη, ἱππεύων δ' ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνὸν τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος, εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντων μακροβιώτατοι. αἴτιον δ' ἴσως ὅ τε χειμῶν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὑφ' οὗ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαῖον ὥσπερ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἰνδοῦς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἦδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν αἰεὶ. ὀλίγος τε ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφή πᾶσιν ἀπλὴ τε καὶ εὐτελής. ὁ μὲν δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβάς ἵππου διεκόσμηε τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πληθος: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῷδε πολλοὶ προσεληλύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεάτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις ὕστερον, ἀγῶσι συνενεχθεῖς ποικίλοις, οὐποτε ὦδε ἡσθῆναι: μόνον γὰρ ἔφη τόνδε τὸν πόνον ἄφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἑνδεκα. ἔλεγέ τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θεᾶν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθράκης.

[72] γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ' ἡοῦς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων

ἐκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὤφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἶα φίλον ἐκ πάμπου περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτούς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσση τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἴβηρίαν ἔχων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανήει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυνθανόμενος ἅμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ' ἦλθον μὲν, εἰρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσοῖτο, λῦσαι τὴν διαφορὰν, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων εἴη, καὶ παροξύναι.

[73] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἴτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθουν, καὶ ἱμάντας ἐψοῦντες ἦσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἕκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινήσιας ἔργων καὶ ὥρας ἔτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἓν χωρίον καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους. τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων οὐδεὶς οὐτ' ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὐτ' ἐξεκαίετο ξύλων ἀπορία. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολὺς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνοῦσιν ὁδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις σώμασιν. τό τε πλεῖστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὀρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσση, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐσενεγκεῖν, τοὺς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μιᾶς πύλης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθ' ἓνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε συνειδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας ἐπέπεμψε, οἱ οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, οὔτε ὄπλον ἔχοντας ἐς ἀμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἔκτειναν. ἕκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι ἀμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρουβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

[74] τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπεσόντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτόν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἔτι ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γεγόμενα. ὧν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν· αὐτίκα

γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπήγγελον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρεῖαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὥς δ' ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβα τε τῷ στρατηγῇσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐφήπτο τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες. ἐς τε Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἱ κατηγοροῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγοροῦν δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥς ἀμυναμένων αὐτὸν ὀξέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὥς δὲ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἥσσαν ἐξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύεσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἠπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνώκεια πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, 'εἰ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσετε Ῥωμαίοις.' ζητούντων δ' ἐκείνων ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ἱκανόν, οἱ μὲν ᾤοντο Ῥωμαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σικιπίωνος ὠρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσση τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γ ἥς μεταστῆναι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γινῶναι σαφῶς ὅ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὐθις ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

[75] οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαψιλεῖς, ἐξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίαν ἄρα καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἱ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὁρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνέ τε τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐπὲρ εἰώθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγούς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξέπεμπον, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Λεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνησώρινον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὥς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ' ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἡμιολίαις, ἀφράκτοις δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, ἀρίστους ἅπαντας· ὥς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ προὔπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὥρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

[76] Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἥ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι' ἐνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφερε τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἀπορία τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλεία προσφάτῳ τοσσηδε νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἐτοίμους, οὐ σῖτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνενηνεγμένον,

οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὥς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσῃ. πρέσβεις οὖν ἑτέρους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον αὐτοκράτορας, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, τὰ παρόντα διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶνδε, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὀμηρεῖαν παράσχωσι καὶ τᾶλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἕξιν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσῃν ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα: ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

[77] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευν, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ βεβαία τὰ ὀμηρα παρέχοντες: οἷα δ' ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσῶδε, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ᾧ μὴδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδῇ προλαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἦγον ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἱ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιώδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτοντο καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῶδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐκώλουν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένεον, δεδακρυμένα τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορῶσαι. αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἔκοπτον ὥς ἐπὶ πένθει: ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὀμηρεῖαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ συνθήκῃ τῶνδε τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατεμαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μὴδὲν αὐτὴν ὀνήσειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους: ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὀμήρων ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τοιαύδε τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὑπατοὶ διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ.

[78] διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἔνθα πάλοι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κάκει πρέσβων ἐκ Καρχηδόνης, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων, ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὅπλοις τε ἐπισήμοις ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἔφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημῆναι σιωπὴν, ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίαν πρέσβεις προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἀλλὰ περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρῆζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἔλεεινὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνηκῶν τε περὶ τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνης αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογίᾳ δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας,

ἀλλ' ἐς σωφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς ὀξύτης ἔστω. κράτιστοι δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἐλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὐέλπι ποιοῦνται τῷ μὴδὲν ἐς ἄλλας τύχας ἀμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν

ὕμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων:

[79] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν ἀτυχημάτων ὅσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφῆρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὅμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλοι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ' ἐτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν: καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὄρκος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κάκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο: ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθομεν, τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβῆσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐλεεινοὶ τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθὲς ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσση πεπολεμήκαμεν: πολλὰ γε πλεονεκτοῦντι: καὶ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ' ἔχων καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέσπα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον: καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἐτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχεεν: εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἱ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἐτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπῃ θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν ἔδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν ζημιῶτε, ταῦτα προυτείνομε ν, ἐπιδέδεικται σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρεῖαν αἰτοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ δόγματός ἐστιν, ἣν παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὅμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἔαν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κекτημένην ἃ ἔχομεν.

[80] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρῖνος δ' ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε: 'τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι, πρεσβεύσασιν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὃ δὲ ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προεῖπομεν τὰ ὅμηρα παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τῆς τε ταχυτήτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς: τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε: πάντα ὅσα δημόσιά τε καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἡμῖν παράδοτε.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν μὲν καὶ τοῖσδε ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμνυοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. καὶ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιός τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν παρελάβανον εἴκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν,

καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἄπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχιλίους· καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἦν λαμπρά καὶ παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἶποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἄριστοι ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξιν. ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ Κηνησῳρῖνος ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτερος τοῦ συνάρχου ἀναστάς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

[81] 'τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔς τε τὰ ὅμηρα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρὴ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόσπῃτε γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συγκλήτου κέλευσμα: ἐκστήτε τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας, ὁγδοήκοντα σταδίου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι.' οἱ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῆς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλὰ τε καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ ἔκφρονες ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μῦσος πρέσβων διερεθίζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κεφαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπερρήγνυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνδρευνέμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατῆφεια ἦν οἷα νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὑπάτοι φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύσαιντο ἀγανακτοῦντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ ἀνάγκη. ὁ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι: παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἀκούουσιν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλὰ. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κάκεινοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε παμμιγῆς καὶ ἑλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζόντων ὁμοῦ τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρῦσαι.

[82] τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσήει μὲν οἶκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δ' ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔληξαν, αὐθις ἦν σιωπὴ. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἑναγχοῦ διεφθαρμένων, ξενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηνται τὸ ἄστυ ἔνοπλοι ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἵπποις, Μασσανάσσης δ' ἐχθρὸς ἕτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβου μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὐθις ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ᾧ Τιγίλλας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν:

[83]

εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος,

ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογία, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Λιβύης ἄρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὅτι πλείστης, περὶ ἡγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἴχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὁμωμοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὄρκων, ὁμόσαντος ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐς ταυθ' ὃ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγινώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρόην εἵπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ἡτεῖτε· αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἅμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατώτερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἅπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτής· τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὃ ὕπατοι, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρές ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὁμηρα ἡτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγάγομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ἡτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὧν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἐκόντες μεθιένται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἥθει καὶ τρόπῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὁμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἔασειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι ἢ προαγορεῦσαι, ἐν δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνας αὐτῆς κατασκαφὴν, ἣν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;

[84] τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίεμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐστὶ λοιπόν, ὁδυρόμεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἱκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπὲρ τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησιμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνωκισμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὀνόματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπὲρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, οὓς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλυσθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ εορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημιῶν ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἔλεος· φατέ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἱ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι, φείσασθε πολιτικῆς ἐστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι Καρχηδόνας, οἱ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν προτιθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον, ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἡπείρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλασσοβιώτοις, ὧν ἅπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἰρετωτέραν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐκλεσετέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔατε τὴν οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ.

[85] δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν αἰεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε: μὴ δὴ, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνᾳ ἔτι ἔχουσιν τε καὶ μὴ ποτε μνησικακήσαιεν ὑμῖν μηδὲ παισὶν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τὴν εὐκλειαν ὑμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρὰ τε πρώτοις ὑμῖν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάρους, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἐτέρους: καὶ οὐδεὶς πῶ κατέσκαψε πόλιν χεῖράς τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσιν. προφέροντες δ' ὑμῖν ὀρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἐς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι. βραχὺ δ' ὁράτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν: ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ἐπιγίγεται.

[86] τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δῆλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδῶσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσάμενου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε:

περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἤδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὥς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ, τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ὑμῶν, ὧ Καρχηδόνιοι, γίγνεται, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἦδε, μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελίᾳ τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπωλέσατε: ἐς τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφήρησθε. ἐν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλῆξεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μάλιστα, ἵνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἀλόντες ποινὴν ἡμῖν ἔδοτε Σαρδώ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοὺς ἀφηρέθητε διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τοῦ πλεονος ὀρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυεργίαν.

[87] ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ἠὔξησέ τε καὶ καθεῖλεν: ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἴστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὧν ἐπεμνήσθη, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡπειρῶνται τότε κἀκεῖνοι γενέσθαι. ὁ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτούς. εὐσταθέστερος γάρ, ὧ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ ἐν ἡπείρῳ βίος, γεωργία καὶ ἡρεμία προσπονῶν: καὶ μικρότερα μὲν ἴσως τὰ

κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τέ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ γῆ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκινδυνον ὥς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασιλεία ὡς ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μέγιστα ἐγένοντο τὰ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἐτέρων.

[88] ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι διαφερόντων: ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπιδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἥς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλοῦντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμνηνέσκησθε τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἶχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἴους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμειεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρικοδομημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ὑμῖν ἐστίν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύναισθε; πάθος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἥς οὐκ ἐνὶ μετασχεῖν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος ἔλεγχος, ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονθήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφηρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακεῖτε, δεῖ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶνδε καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον εἰργασμένων. καὶ τί ἔτι φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημμένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, μόνα δ' ἐξήρησθε Λιβύης ἃ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, φέρετε, καὶ ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Λιβύην, ἣν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάντες, ἥς ἀπέστητε.

[89] μηδ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἐστίας καὶ ἀγοράς καὶ τάφους: ὧν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίοις θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. ἐστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγοράς ἐνὶ καὶ μετελθόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κάκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἔσται πάτρια, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες ἡλλάξασθε Λιβύην, τὰ τε ἐπικτήτα ὑμῖν τότε γενόμενα νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ μάθοιτε ἂν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθεῖητε ὅτι καὶ Ἀλβὴν ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποικοι προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετῴκισαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔτι χειρόνακτες πολλοὶ θαλασσοβίῳτοι. καὶ τούτου πεφροντικαμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως ἐπιμηνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠραίων διάθεσιν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρῇ: οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δ' ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὃ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ

προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἑάσειν Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν: Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγούμεθα.

[90] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἡσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων ἐπεῖπεν: 'ἂ μὲν ἔδειπείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν, εἴρηται: τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἅπιτε οὖν: ἐστὲ γὰρ ἔτι πρέσβεις.' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔσεσθαι προορῶντες, ἤτησαν αὐθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν 'τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὀρῶμεν: οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔτι λέγοντες ἀπολεισθαι: δεόμεθα δ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν 'ἐσμὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἔτοιμοι ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι Καρχηδόνας, εἰ δύναιτο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναῦς ἕως ὁδεύοντες ἅπιμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὧν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἃν ἄρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφίκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.' οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν: τῶν δὲ πρέσβων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.

[91] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὅποτε ἤξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχοντο, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο: οἱ δ' ὑπήντων ἔτι προσιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὀρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἕκαστον, ὡς εἶχε τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνῶμωζον ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανώμωζον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιπίπτοντες ἄθροοι, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσόνδε ἔφασαν, ὅτι χρή τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν δίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥδοποιούν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θάσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσηλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνήδρευον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιεστῆκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων: καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοή τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπήγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι παραιτούμενοι, αὐθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώπα. ὡς δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεῦειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠγάλαξαν ἐξαίσιον ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

[92] καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἦν οἷστρος ἄλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσί φασι τὰς μαινάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ἠκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλευσάντας περὶ τῶν ὅπλων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλεον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν

πόλιν. ἔτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς, οἳ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἢ πόλις ἐνεπέπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὥς ἄσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὠνείδιζον ὥς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι δυναμένους. ἔτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀπλοθήκας ἰόντες ἔκλειον, ὀρῶντες κενάς· οἳ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ὠδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὥς ἀπίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκδεδομένας. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀνεκάλουν ὥς ἔτι παρόντων, τοὺς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὥς δέον μῆτε ναῦς μῆτε ἐλέφαντας μῆτε φόρους μῆτε τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανεῖν σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὀπλισμένη. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀργὴν ἀνέκαιον αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὁμήρων, οἷά τινες ἐκ τραγωδίας ἐρινύες ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ' ὀλοολυγῆς ἐκάστω, καὶ τὴν ἑκδοσιν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσai καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν· ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὥς θεῶν ἀμυνομένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὀλίγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

[93] ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐνηφισατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγούς δὲ εἵλοντο τῶν μὲν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ὃ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχοντα δισφυρίων ἤδη σύνοδον ἀνδρῶν· καὶ τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος μὴ μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνὲς χάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδέ, ὣν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἡδίκηθη Ῥωμαίων δέει, νῦν ἀναφέρειν. ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἕτερος Ἀσδρούβας, θυγατρίδους Μασσανάσσου. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους, αἰτοῦντες αὐτῆς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἵνα πρεσβεύσειαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐπὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης ὅτιοις παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εὐρύχωρον ἦν, ἐγένετο· εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαύομενοι καὶ σῖτον αἰρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὄρω τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικά βέλη χίλια, σαρνία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πενκακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὅσους δυνηθεῖεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἐτέρων ἀπορία.

[94] καὶ οἳ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, οἳ δ' ὑπατοὶ τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ὄκνω, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὖσαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι, διέμελλον ἔτι καὶ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθούντων. ἃ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἄπτεσθαι, ἐτόλμησεν ὥς ἐπὶ δὴ τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα, ὄντας ἀνόπλους, οὕτω σαφῶς εἰπὼν τὰ τῆς γνώμης. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἐώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὁμως δ'

αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἔφη τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, ὅταν αἰσθῇται δεομένων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἴ τινος ἤδη δέονται. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὥς δυσμεναίνοντι, ἀπεκρίναντο προσπέμψειν ὅτε δεηθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνυ ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Λιβύης ἦν ἔτι πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβα, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορὰν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπε. ὀλίγων δ' ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεῖσων ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προσήεσαν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

[95] ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χερρονήσῳ τι μάλιστα προσεικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διεῖργεν, εὖρος ὦν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἐχώρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ... ἀπλῶ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἡπειρον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῶ τείχει. τούτων δ' ἕκαστον ἦν ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετράροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ' ἦν ἐκάστου τείχους τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν τροφῶν, ἵπποστάσια δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς ἦν τετρακισχιλίοις ἵπποις, καὶ ταμειᾶ χιλοῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαῖ πεζοῖς μὲν ἐς δισμυρίους, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. τοσῆδε παρασκευῇ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἡ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνη καὶ ταπεινὴ, καὶ ἡμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

[96] οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἀλύσεσιν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις ἀνείτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νήσος ἦν, καὶ κρητῖσι μεγάλαις ἢ τε νήσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διεῖληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἱ κρητῖδες αἶδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεπονημένων, καὶ ταμειῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηρετικά σκευή. κίονες δ' ἐκάστου νεωσοῦ προὔχον Ἰωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποιήτο τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ' ἡ νήσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα ὁ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανὴς ἢ τῶν ἔνδον ἢ ὄψις ἢ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τεῖχος τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι, αἱ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

[97] οὕτῳ μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἢ τότε, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἤεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγγώσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τεῖχη· Κησωρῖνος δὲ κλίμακας ἐκ τε

γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελῇ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ' ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν, ἕως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καινοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμία παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἅμαχί λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὐθις ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὀπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένον, ὠχύρουν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρίνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης· καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ὑλοτόμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ὅπλα τε πολλά, Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἱπάρχου, προσπεσόντος, ᾧ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὅμως τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμίων καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλὼν, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι ταύτη·

[98] Κηνσωρίνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθυομένην ἐξακισχιλίους πεζοῖς, ἡγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρετῶν, ἡγουμένων καὶ τοῖσδε ναυάρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὡς ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρεταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἤδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπασάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ᾠκοδόμουν. οὐκ ἄρκούσης δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ ἤδη γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότευκτον καὶ ὑγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπηρσαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα 'οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, ἀρχεῖα δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὁρμὴ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὐπω τελέως ἐγληγερμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν· καὶ γάρ τι πεδῖον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἐτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικειμένων οἰκιῶν ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ θρασέως ἐπεπῆδων. Σκιπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον εἴλε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν τότε ᾠκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελὼν, καὶ στήσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἶα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

[99] κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέος ὕδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσε. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γίγνοιτο πνεῦμα

ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου εἶλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων· εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἔμελλον γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἰστία, καὶ πλησαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐώθειτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνησωρῖνος μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὥχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανίλῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο· καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέσπων. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμὼν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.

[100] ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠχύρου, τεῖχός τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεῖς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσιν ἀγοράν· τραπείδ' ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίους τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, ξυλευόμενός τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων. ἡγεῖτο δ' αἰεὶ τῶν προνομευόντων χιλίαρχος ἕτερος παρ' ἑτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἵππαρχος ὁ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος τε ὢν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος μικροῖς καὶ ταχέσι, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἴη, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχμας ἢ φάραγξιν, ὅπῃ τι ἀμελούμενον ἴδοι, ἐφίπτατο ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὥς τις αἰετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα· ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπεφάνετο. ὁ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων αἰεὶ συντεταγμένους ἤγε τοὺς πεζοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν ἵππων ἐπιβεβηκότας· ἐν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδῖον, ὃ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τότε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἐτέραις ἴλαις ἱππέων αἰεὶ περιήει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀποσκιδνάμενον ἢ ἐξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

[101] ὅθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχειρεῖ μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου τοῦδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ἠῤῥετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι χιλίαρχοι κατὰ φθόνον ἐλογοποιοῦν ξενίαν ἐκ πατέρων εἶναι Φαμέα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε πάππον. Λιβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρούρια, ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλίαρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἶκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ πρὶν ἢ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδεὶς. τοσαύτῃ δόξᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίους δι' ὀλίγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτός ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινείῳ· καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούντων ἐς ἑκπληξιν τῶν ἐν ἅστει Καρχηδονίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἔνδον συνείχε· ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἱππέων ἴλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπήγε μετὰ δάδων ἡμμένων, προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἐμπεσουμένων παρέχειν αἰεὶ, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι

κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τότε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι προσεγίνετο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἐλόντος καὶ τῶν Σκιπιῶνων, ἐς οὗς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

[102] Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐδυσχεραίνεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκρημνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγέννητο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἐς τι ρεῦμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἄλλου καιροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρουβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ζῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἡξίου στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐγείρει, ἵν' εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπειλῆσεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαιναν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τᾶλλα ὧν ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐξ ἐκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐρήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ρεῦμα ἐν τάξει· δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διηροῦντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἔκτεινεν οὐδ' ἀμυνομένων ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἱ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

[103] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἄμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὄσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπήγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἴτ' αὐθις ἐπιόντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἰρητο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἥσσον τοῖς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἔφθασαν διελθεῖν τὸ ρεῦμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπεῖραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ρεύματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων, ἕως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον, ἠπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἅπασι δι' ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τωσῶνδε καὶ σημείων τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἱππέων ἴλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἔφη ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολεῖσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὤδευε, δεδιότος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοὺς δύο χαράδρα διεῖργεν, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς

ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὥς οὐπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὥς εἶδε τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἤδη κυκλου μένοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοῦς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας.

[104] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισώσαντα τοὺς ἐτέρους, μέγα ἠλάλαξαν ἠδόμενοι. καὶ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὃ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι· ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρήνει θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. ὁ δ' ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος εὐρών ἔχρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλιάρχοι, τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφορούντων, ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἤδη δεδιδῶς τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ῥωμαῖοις δ' ἀναζεγγύνουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα ἐπέκειτο Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταῖσμα θορυβούμενοις· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων, καὶ τινα καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

[105] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδύσσοντας αὐτῇ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ὥστ' ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτενξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρμὴν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τούτοις μὲν ἔχαιρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλὰ, γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα εὐοκίτας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἤει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὥς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα.

[106] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, ᾧ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρώαν θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ' ὠκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ' αἵτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, ἀάμπαν ἀσθενῇ Ῥωμαῖοις

ὕπολιπόντα. ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὖρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷδ' ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὖρωστίαν αὐτοῦ: πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παίδων γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, οὐποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετὲς δὲ παιδίον ἐνενηκοντούτης ὧν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν δὲ Μασσανάσσης ὧδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐτεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἑτέρας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὥς ἔμελλεν ἀρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος, Μικίπῃ μὲν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὧν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κίρτην ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσση δέ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ' ἡλικίαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβα δέ, ὃς νεώτατος ὧν ἦσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφύλογα.

[107] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ περιουσίαν Μασσανάσσου διεΐλε τοῖς παισὶ, καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο· ὁ δὲ τὰς Φαμέου μάλιστα ἐνέδρας, αἱ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστελλεν. ἐν δὲ τινι χειμασίᾳ Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρῶδουν ἀλλήλοις, μέσσην ἔχοντες ἄβατον χαράδραν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιὼς δ' ὁ Σκιπίων μὴ τις ἐνέδρα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἴη, προῖων κατεσκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας ἰδὼν ἀντιπροΐει μεθ' ἐνὸς φίλου. ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ' ἐνὸς καὶ ὅδε φίλου. καὶ ὡς ἡδὴ κατακοῦειν ἐδύναντο ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προελήλυθεν. 'τί δὴ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς δύνασαι;' ὁ δέ, 'τίς ἐστίν,' ἔφη, 'μοι σωτηρία, Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, Ῥωμαίων δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;' καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, 'ἐγγυῶμαί σοί,' φησιν, 'εἰ πιστὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἔσσεσθαι.' ὁ δ' ἐπῆνεσε μὲν ὡς ἀξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, 'κρινῶ' δ', ἔφη: 'κἂν δυνατὸν ἡγῶμαι, φανερόν ἐσται σοι.'

[108] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διεκρίθησαν, ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος αἰδοῦμενος τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ γενομένην, αὐθις ἐς Νέφεριν ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τροφὰς ἐπαγόμενος. πλησιάσας δ' ἔθετο χάρακα καὶ ὠχύρου καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ στρατείᾳ παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοῖ μείζονι ἐγίνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ ἄλλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ', ὡς εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ λύσαντες ἡῦρον: 'ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι: σὺ δ' ἐλθε μεθ' ὅσων βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δεχέσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον.' ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνῆκε δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μὴ τις ἀπάτη παρ' ἀνδρὸς γένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας: εὐελπὶν δ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ἔπεμπε, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας δοῦναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὀρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὰ πρέποντα ποιήσειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν οὐδ' ἐπαγγελίας: ὁ γάρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκεῖμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔφη πιστεύειν δεξιουμένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἱλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπὶ τινα σκέψιν ἐτέραν, εἶπεν: 'εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἔτι τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν: εἰ δ' ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὅσους πείσαιμι ὑμῶν, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, τῶν δ' ἱλαρχῶν οἱ μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡἷτομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἰππέας: τοὺς δ' Ἄννων κατεκώλυσεν, ὃ Λεῦκος ἦν ἐπὶ κλησὶς.

[109] ἐπανιόντι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἡγήμουν ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' Ἀσδρούβαν ἔψεσθαι προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένον, ἀνεξεύγνυνεν αὐτίκα δι' ἑνδεῖαν,

ἐπτακαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔχων. τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις ἐχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων τὸν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβὼν δέ τινας καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδίον ἠπειχθὴ τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, προέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ἠυφῆμον τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἠῤυχοντο ὕπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὥς μόνον αἰρήσοντα Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἦδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε, Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἰρήσειν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλον. ἡ δὲ βουλή Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπῆναι, Φαμέαν δ' ἐτίμησαν ἀλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἵππῳ χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς μυρίας, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἐντελῇ. καὶ ἐπήλπισαν περὶ πλειόνων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ὑποσχόμενος ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον.

[110] ἦκε δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὕπατος ἅμα ἦρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκίνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν· οἱ Καρχηδονιοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἐτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς εἶλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαζεν αἰτιωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἰππάγρετα μετῆλθεν, ἡ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιωτῶν τυράννου κατεσκευάστο καλῶς, μέση δ' οὔσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσιν· ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπλούτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τό γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεῦον οὐκ ἦνυε, δις δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἰππαγρέτιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχοῦντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχεύμαζεν.

[111] οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδον ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρεῖττους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἰππάγρετα, Βιθύας τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομάς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ Γολόσσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἐώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπῆρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπήρσαν, κρατυνόμενοί τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ὕβριστικά ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἐς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προὔφερον τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δις γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος ἐς Ἰππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὔσης καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτονόμους Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῦ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφισι μεθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον υἱὸν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἔχσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερῶς ὥς οὐκ ἐλλειψόντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐφρόνουν

ὀπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠϋζοντο. ἐπῆρτο δ' ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δις κρατῆσαι Μανιλίου: τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσση προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἠπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπ' ἀδοκῆτῳ, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθοις κατέβαλον.

[112] ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομένης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δῆμος ἤχθητο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος: οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἅπιστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύῃ χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμητο ὑπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστῆκει δ' ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων 'οὐ γάρ πω δι' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι ἀγορανομίαν μετῇ, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἥρετο. παρὰ νόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλή τοῖς δημάρχois ἐπέιθετο λῦσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἐν αὐθις ἀναγράψαι, οἷόν τι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λύοντες ἐν χρείᾳ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἀλόντων περὶ Πύλον, ἔφασαν: 'κοιμιάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον.' οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀγορανομίαν μετιὼν ἦρητο ὑπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τις τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῆσδε τῆς στρατηγίας τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι: καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἐθέλοντάς δ' ἄγειν ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκιμάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὗς ἔλαβεν οὕτω παρὰ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

[113] ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει: Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκίνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνη, μέρος τι τοῦ τεύχους ἀμελούμενον ἰδὼν, οὗ κρημνοὶ προύκειντο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποιήσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μὲν, καὶ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνῆλθον εὐτόλμως: οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέφξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοί τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης, ὃ τε Μαγκίνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὢν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμιλος ἅμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐβοηδρόμουν ἀνοπλοῖ τε καὶ γυμνοῖ. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δειλίην

ἐσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἅμ' ἔφ' πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

[114] Σκιπίων δ' ἐσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἔγραφε, τὸν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἵχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνεληλύθεσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας Ἰτυκαίων: ὅσοι δ' ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τριῆρεις καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἐς τε τὸν Πίσωνα ἱππέας ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνίγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἐστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰδ' ἔπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος, ἅμ' ἔφ' τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μὲν, οὓς μόνους εἶχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὖσι, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι' ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ῥοθίῳ τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσai καὶ μεστὰι πανταχόθεν ὀπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ἡσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμάλωτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσai: μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκῖνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἔπεμψε 'καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος', αὐτὸς δ' οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδροῦβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἄγοντες καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.

[115] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὐκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὀρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἄλλο τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οἱ τῆς λείας χάριν ἐπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεζέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἰοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορρωτέρῳ σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὗτοι, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἐτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχάς: πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὦν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζων οὐποτε κρατήσιν τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσῃ, συνήγαγεν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς ἐπέπληξεν ὧδε.

[116]

ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὠφέλιμον δ' ἡγούμενος προαγορεῦσαι. ἴστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε: καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἃ

αἰσχύνομαι· ληστεύετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν εὐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφᾶν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἔτι, οὐ νενικηκότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὗ κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ῥαστώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν οὕσας ἐώρων, εὐθύς ἂν ἐκόλαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθηναι ἐτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφήμι τῶν μέχρι νῦν γεγονότων. ἤκω δὲ οὐ ληστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὐδὲ χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον ἐξεργασόμενος. ἅπιτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὅσοι μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' ἐξιούσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτην στρατιωτικὴν τε καὶ ψιλὴν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ὠρισμένος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὄντα διαθήσονται, καὶ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ταμίης ἐπιμελησόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἐν ἔστω παράγγελμα κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος· πρὸς γὰρ τότε κατευθεύοντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε προθυμίας ἀμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. χρή δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφήν ἐς τὸν πρόποντα καιρὸν ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οἷσει πολλὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν.

[117] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ εὐθύς ἀπῆλαινε τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν. καθαροῦ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπεύραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μᾶς διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρά, τῷ τείχει παρευγμένον· ἐς ὃ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρους περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀποφητί, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἄνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτὸς τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὥς τῷδε πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγῆναι, τοσοῦτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἦνυσεν, ἐς δὲ τινος ιδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίους ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρά, καὶ πυλίδα κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τετρακισχιλίοις, καὶ φυγὴ ταχεῖα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀλούσης. βοή τε ἐγίγνετο ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων 'τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρά, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὥραιον ἔγεμεν, αἵμασιαις τε καὶ θριγκοῖς βάτου καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετοῖς βαθέος ὕδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατάπλεων ἥν' ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερὲς ἦ στρ. ατῷ δῶκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καί τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο.

ἀνεzeugνυε δῆ.

[118] καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγόν, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα Ῥωμαῖοις ἔμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλῶττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοῖα σιδηρίοις ἐξεῖλκε καμπύλοις, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα, καὶ πάντα ἔμπνους ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνη τῇ μάχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἀφηρημένον ἐμίσουν: καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκειαῖς τοσαῖσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὧν ἤδη περιδεῖς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιῆλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔξων, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχειρήτος.

[119] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὃν τῇ προτέρᾳ κατελειοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευεν αὐτὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὀρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐργαζομένῳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἐτέραν ὥρυσσε τάφρον ἴσην, οὐ πολλὴ τῆς προτέρας διασχών, ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἐτέρας περιθεῖς ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὅλον ὄρυγμα τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ξύλοις ὀξέσιν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁρώσῃ καὶ τεῖχος παρικοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν δωδέκα ποδῶν χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπέκειντο τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἡμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ ὕψους. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πύργος ὑψηλότητός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύλινος ἐπέκειτο τετράροφος, ὅθεν καθεώρα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶν ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰξ ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον αἰρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τότε τὸ χαράκωμα.

[120] καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπίμηκες, ὅθεν ὁρμώνενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφηρεῖτο Καρχηδόνιους, ὅση κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῷδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἢ Καρχηδὼν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγίνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἰτίον: ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ξένων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπιόντων, μόνη τῇ τῆς Λιβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μὲν ποτε καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὥραϊον εἴη, τὰ πλεονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφηρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομιδὴν, ἐπιπόνως ἥσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δέ, ὅσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεῖν μὲν ἢ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα

τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἐτόλμα, περιφέρων δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσὶν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ἀλλ' οὔτε διηνεκῶς οὔτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὥς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρὰ τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἐκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὅθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐθελοκινδύνως ἠπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπετασμένοις τοῖς ιστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν ἔτι τῶν τριήρων ὀλκάδας φερομένας ιστίῳ καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέροιεν αἱ νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὓς ἐς μάχην ἐπέιλετο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεφρόνει· ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

[121] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἔσπλουν αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύοσιν τε ἀφορῶντα καὶ οὐ πᾶν πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλείσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχου μακρόν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὓσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊὼν δ' ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν. ἔχου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τὸ μὲν ἄνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὥς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου· προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπεῖξει τοσοῦδε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἔδειςαν, καὶ στόμα ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὥρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἷ' μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσσον δ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, ἔνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πᾶν λανθάνοντες· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐψυχίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἅπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὥς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἐτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα ἀνέφξαν περὶ ἔω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριηρετικάῃς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβερῶς.

[122] Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ἄφνω γινόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν ὥς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἡμελημέναις τε ὥς ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ' ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι. νῦν οὖν ἄλῶναι γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδὸνὰ τότε μὲν ἐς μόνην ἐπίδειξιν ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθᾶσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τᾶλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὥς ἐν τῷδε λοιπῷ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦς, πληγαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίγνετο παρ' ἀμφοῖν μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τὰ σκάφη τῶν Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς

ναυσὶ μεγάλαις οὖσαις ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτρη πρύμνας καὶ ἐξέκοπτε πηδάλια καὶ κώπας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἐλύπει, εὐμαρῶς τε ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιπλέοντα. ἀκρίτου δ' ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὔσης, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς δειλὴν τρεπομένης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν, οὗ τι κατὰ ἦτταν ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπερτιθεμένοις.

[123] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν προλαβόντα ἐς ἄλληλα ὠθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείζους ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἔσπλουν ἀφήρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐμποροῖς ἐς διάθεςιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ παρατείχισμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τότε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορία λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὠρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους ἦν ῥάδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἐστώσαις εὐμαρές, αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαι τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίνοντο· ὅθεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷδε τὰ ὅμοια ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιεν, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων, μέχρι νῆες Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἱ φιλία Σκιπίωνος εἶποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀψάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσίᾳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγγρίμψαιεν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπῶμεναι κατὰ πρύμναν, αὐτῆς τε ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρύμναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τὸν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὀρῶντές τε καὶ μιμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελευτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.

[124] Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχειρεῖ τῷ χώματι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐκαιρὸν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοῖς οὖν το παρατείχισμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλοῦμενοι, νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ γῆν 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος' οὐδὲ ναυσὶν ἄλιτενῆς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα, ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δᾶδας ἔφερον, οὐχ ἡμέμενας ἵνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἢ μὴ τις ἂν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένεον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἅτε γυμνοὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης· οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες οὐκ ἀνίσταν, ὥσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβουμένους. ἐκπληξίς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐ πρὶν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δεῖσας ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἕξω περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιεν τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ οὗς ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἕως οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν

ἐχθρῶν δεδιότες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξένεον αὐθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεία.

[125] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν σφᾶς ἔτι μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος ὥκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἐποίουν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανὰς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοῖς πύργοις, δᾷδὰ τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῖον ἐν κώθωσι καὶ πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἔστιν οὖς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ δρόμος ὑφ' αἵματος πεπηγὸς ὑπογύου τε καὶ πολλοῦ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὥς δ' ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς αὐτὸ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἰσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

[126] χειμῶνος δ' ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἐτέρωσε ἐτέρους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδρούβαν φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἠπείγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπεν. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνας ἠπείγετο: ὅθεν ἐς Νέφεριν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρώχαζεν, αἰεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπiléκτους ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἐτέροις ἐκ μετώπου τρισχιλίοις, ἀριστίνδην καὶ τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγόμενοις, ἐπέβαιnen ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότες τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκνοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ βοῆς οὔσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προεῖρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἔνδον γενομένων αἰσθησις ἐγίνετο ταχεῖα, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ Λίβυες, οὐχ ὅσους ἑώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺν πλέονας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχων σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὥς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἐπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἄλῶναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφερις ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πολιορκηθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάνυ κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τότε μάλιστα συνη ἔνεγκεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνας ἄλωσιν. ἦδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Λίβυες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρουν. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Λιβύης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος προσεχώρει ἢ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἢ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας ἤδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διὰ τε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν χειμῆριον οὔσαν.

[127] ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δ' ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τόδε τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεστραμμένων, ἔλαθε Λαίλιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθών. βοῆς δ' ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἤδη καταφρονοῦντες ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Κώθωνα τείχους, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδὲν τε ὥς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ πλεόν ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διενυκτέρευσε μεθ' ἀπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτέρους ἀκμήτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχίλους, οἱ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ τό τε ἄγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δῶμα αὐτῷ χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἕως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐτράποντο.

[128] Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἢ σπουδῇ: τὸ γὰρ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἐξώροφοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρώτας τῶν οἰκῶν κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δ' αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενωπῶν ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὥς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ἄνω, ἕτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσὶ, καὶ ζώντων ἔτι ριπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἢ αἰχμὰς ἄλλας ἢ ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων: καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ πιμπράμενον ἐτέροις ὁδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν' εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

[129] ἄλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὄψις ἐτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομηματα οὐ διαιρουντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἄθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ὁ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺ πλείων ἐγένετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἄθροοι νεκροί. ζῶντές τε ἕτεροι, πρεσβῦται μάλιστα καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖα, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμίφλεκτοι, φωνὰς ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἕτεροι δ', ὥς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὕψους μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὠθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπῶντο ῥηγνύμενοί τε καὶ κατασπασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη: λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἀξίναις καὶ κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλον τε καὶ ὠδοποιοῦν τοῖς διαθέουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὥς ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἦν τε ἄνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχοντα τῆς γῆς ἡσπαιρον ἐπὶ

πλεῖστον: οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἐπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἐκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδρων ἐκόντες: ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδὴ, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοῦ καὶ σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἔνθους ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.

[130] καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἐξ ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἵνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ἀηδοῦς, Σκιπίωνος δ' ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος ἀύπνου, καὶ σῖτον οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἰρουμένου, μέχρι κάμινων καὶ παρειμένος ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ, τὰ γινόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πορθουμένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον ἐβδόμῃς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια: τότε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ὅθεν οἶδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνῃς συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ ἐξήεσαν αὐτὰς μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχίσματος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογνόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων ἀρρένων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς αἰεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, διὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὥς δὲ ὁ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθήρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.

[131] κὰν τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν: καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ' ὥς εἶδον, ἤτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεῶν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένην, κατακοσμήσασθαι τε ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένην τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος: 'σοὶ μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ᾧ Ῥωμαῖε: ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας: Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οἱ τε Καρχηδόνοιο δαίμονες ἀμύναιτο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων.' εἴτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρέψασα εἶπεν: 'ὦ μαιρὲ καὶ ἄπιστε καὶ μαλακώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τότε τὸ πῦρ θάψει: σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβον ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνοιο ἡγεμών; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τῷδε ᾧ παρακαθέζη;' τοσαῦτ' ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρριψεν.

[132] ᾧδε μὲν φασι τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὥς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν: ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν ἑπτακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασαν

ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆσδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν ἴσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμη δὲ καὶ προθυμία πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἥ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιηρημένη τρισὶν ὁμῶς ἔτεσιν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῶδε καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔννους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, “ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὁλόλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.”

Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ ‘καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος’ ὃ τι βούλοιο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα, ἐς τάνθρωπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδίει.

[133] καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει: Σκιπίων δ', ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μὲν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἅπασι, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀμαρτόντων, ναῦν ὀξυτάτην κοσμήσας λαφύροις ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγωγῆσεν ὥς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τὴν περισσὴν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἄρει καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ διαζωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἔκαie κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[134] οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧσται ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπῆδον καὶ διενυκτέρευον μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἠδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὥς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβῳ γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ' ἄρχοντες ἐτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οἷαν οὕτινα πρότερον ἄλλην νικῆν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς πατρασιν ἐς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἔναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν: πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ἦδεσαν, διὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὧν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐθις ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ἀλλήλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδὼν κατέσκαπται: ἐλεσχίνευόν τε δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα περιηρέθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἕτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφηρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς, τό τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὥς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὥς ὠρύξαντο ἕτερον ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. καὶ

τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὕψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὀρῶντες ἄρτι γιγνόμενον ἀλλήλοις διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις, πανταχοῦ διαθεοντα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν,

[135] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ θυσίαι τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγοντο κατὰ φυλήν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.

δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἔπεμπε διαθησομένους Λιβύην μετὰ Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων συμφέρον: οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπειπον ἅπασι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα: ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπειπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχίκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἀπάσας: καὶ ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, χώραν ἔδωκαν ἐκάστη τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίοις τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιπέμπειν ἔκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὃ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνενηνόχεσαν ἐς Λιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἀνδρισκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἦγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

[136] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, Γαῖου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληροῦχος ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἐξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ: χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις, ὁπότε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὑπ' ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολλὸν ἰδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράψασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλούντων, συνέτασεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ' ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν θάσσον ἀνηρέθῃ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὃ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνώκισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτατῶ μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνώκισαν αὖθις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς

ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.

ἐκ τῆς Νομαδικῆς

“ὅτι Βομίλχας κατηγορούμενος ἔφυγε πρὸ δίκης, καὶ Ἰογόρθας σὺν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐς τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας εἰπὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ὠνία πᾶσα, εἴ τις ὠνητὴς αὐτῆς εὐρεθείη.”

Mai script. vet. n. coll. t. II .

[2]

“ὅτι Μέτελλος ἀνεξεύγνυν ἐς Λιβύην τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις αἰτίαν ἔχων παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ βραδυτῆτος ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὠμότητος· σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐκόλαζεν.”

Val. .

[3]

“ὅτι Μέτελλος Βαγαίων ἀνήρει τὴν βουλὴν ὅλην ὡς τὴν φρουρὰν προδόντας Ἰογόρθα, καὶ τὸν φρουράρχον Τουρπίλιον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον οὐκ ἀνυπόπτως ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπαπκέτεινε τῇ βουλῇ. Θρᾶκας δὲ καὶ Λίγυας αὐτομόλους λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰογόρθα, τῶν μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέτεμνε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν μέχρι γαστρὸς κατώρυσσε, καὶ περιτοξεύων ἢ ἐσακοντίζων ἔτι ἐμπνέουσι πῦρ ὑπετίθει.”

id. ib.

[4]

“ὅτι τοῦ Μαρίου ἐς Κίρταν ἀφικομένου πρέσβεις Βόκχου παρήσαν, οἱ πεμφθῆναι τινας ἐς λόγους Βόκχῳ παρεκάλουν. καὶ ἐπέμφθησαν Αὐλὸς τε Μάλλιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ὁ ταμίης, οἷς ὁ Βόκχος ἔφη Ῥωμαίοις πολεμῆσαι διὰ Μάριον· γῆν γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς Ἰογόρθαν ἀφείλετο, πρὸς Μαρίου νῦν ἀφηρησθαι. Βόκχος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνεκάλει, Μάλλιος δ' ἔφη τὴν γῆν τήνδε Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι Σύφακα πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ δοῦναι Μασσανάσση δωρεάν, δίδοναι δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰς δωρεὰς ἔχειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἕως ἂν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλόγως μεταγνῶναι· Μασσανάσσην τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας Ἰογόρθαν κατακαίνοντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον γενέσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ἔτι εἶναι δίκαιον οὔτε τὸν πολέμιον ἔχειν δωρεάν ἢν ἔδομεν φίλῳ, οὔτε σὲ δοκεῖν Ἰογόρθαν ἀφαρεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν τάδε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλεξεν.”

Urs. .

[5]

“ὅτι ὁ Βόκχος ἐτέρους ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, οἱ Μαρίου μὲν ἔμελλον περὶ εἰρήνης δεήσεισθαι, Σύλλα δὲ ἵνα συμπράξειεν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ληστευθέντας δ' ἐν ὁδῷ τοὺς πρέσβεις τούσδε ὁ Σύλλας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ξενίζει μέχρι Μάριον ἀπὸ Γαιτούλων ἐπανελθεῖν. παρήνει δὲ Βόκχον διδάσκειν ὅτι χρὴ Σύλλα πείθεσθαι περὶ πάντων. ἐνδιδούς οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰογόρθα προδοσίαν ὁ Βόκχος, ἐς μὲν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπ' ἄλλον στρατὸν περιέπεμπε ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς γείτονας, οἱ ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐώων Αἰθιόπων διήκουσιν ἐς τὸ Μαυρούσιον ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἄτλαντα, Μάριον δ' ἡξίου Σύλλαν οἱ πέμψαι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. καὶ Μάριος μὲν ἔπεμπε τὸν Σύλλαν, Ἄψαρα δὲ Ἰογόρθα φίλον, ἐν Βόκχῳ καταλελειμμένον ἐφορᾷ τὰ γινόμενα, αὐτὸς τε Βόκχος καὶ Μαγδάλης φίλος Βόκχου, καὶ τις ἐξελευθερος ἀνδρὸς

Καρχηδονίου, Κορνήλιος, ἐνήδρευσαν ὧδε.”
id. ib.

ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς

“ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνα τοῦ πολεμήσαντος αὐτοῖς πέρι πάντων ἐπολυπραγμόνουν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ σφίσιν ἐνθύμιος ἦν ὅλως πονουμένης ἔτι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῦ Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν περικαθήμενοι, καὶ καθιστάμενοι Σικελίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ Φίλιππος ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία μείζονος, οὐδέν τι προπαθὼν, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρέσβεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ξενοφάνης, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συμμαχήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ σύνθοιτο κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. συμβάντος δ’ ἐς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ ὁμόσαντος, πρέσβεις τε ἀντιπέμψαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοῦ Φιλίππου, Ῥωμαίων τριήρης ἔλαβε τοὺς ἐκατέρων πρέσβεις ἀναπλέοντας, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκόμισεν. ἐφ’ ᾧ Φίλιππος ἀγανακτῶν Κερκύρα προσέβαλεν, ἥ Ῥωμαίοις συνεμάχῃ.”

Υ. .

“ὅτι ἐνήγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ Σιβύλλεια εἰς τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα: “αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδόνες Ἀργεάδῃσιν, ὑμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος. ἤτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσι τ’ ἄνακτας θήσῃ, ὁ δ’ ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει, δμηθεὶς δ’ ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ’ ἀνδράσιν ἐνθάδ’ ὀλεῖται.”“

Μαί .

“ὅτι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου πρέσβεις, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλέως, δῖς, ἔνθα περ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεψομένας ἐκάλουν, συνήλθον ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου. Σουλπικίου δ’ εἰπόντος οὐκ εἶναι κυρίου περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τι κρίναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν κρύφα ἐπιστέλλοντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς Φιλίππῳ, ἢ μὲν βουλὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἔπεμπε συμμαχίαν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ κατέλαβον Ἀμβρακίαν, ἣν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον αὐτῶν Φίλιππος ἀποπλευσάντων ἀνέλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις αὐθις συνήλθον, καὶ πολλὰ φανερώς ἔλεγον, ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ διαφερόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς δουλείαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἐθίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος θαμινὰ πειρᾶσθαι. ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ μὲν Σουλπίκιος ἀντιλέξων ἀνίστατο, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεκράγεσαν τοὺς πρέσβεις εὖ λέγειν.

[2] καὶ τέλος Αἰτωλοὶ τε πρῶτοι κατὰ σφᾶς, ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων, Φιλίππῳ συνέβησαν, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μηδετέρους ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φίλους. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτ’ ἔλξηεν ἡ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς ἀλλήλους πεῖρα πρώτη, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὐδέτεροι βεβαίους, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ εὐνοίας, ἐδόκουν πεποιῆσθαι.”

Υ. .

“ὅτι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Φίλιππος μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στόλον

ἐπαγγείλας, Σάμον καὶ Χίον εἴλε, καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀττάλου γῆς ἐπόρθησε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεπείρασε Περγάμου, μὴ φειδόμενος ἱερῶν ἢ τάφων, τὴν τε Ῥοδίον περαιάν ἐδήου διαλλακτῆρων οἱ γεγονότων, καὶ ἐτέρῳ μέρει στρατοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπολιόρκει, ὥς οὐδὲν τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις προσηκόντων. λόγος τε ἦν ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σύρων βασιλεὺς ὑπόσχοιντο ἀλλήλοις, Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος συστρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ Κύπρον, ὧν τότε ἦρχεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τέταρτος, ὃ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπώνυμον ἦν, Φιλίπῳ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ Ἰωνίαν.

καὶ τήνδε τὴν δόξαν, ἐκταράσσουσιν ἅπαντας Ῥόδιοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμήνυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίων Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἡτιῶντο Φίλιππον τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μεταγινώσκοντες κατηγοροῦν ὥς καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἀπίστου γεγονότος, ἡξιοῦν τε αὐθις ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐγγραφῆναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' Αἰτωλοῖς ἐμέμψαντο τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ μεταβολῆς, πρέσβεις δ' ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῆς ἐπεμπον, οἱ προηγόρευον αὐτοῖς Ἀντίοχον μὲν Αἰγύπτῳ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, Φίλιππον δὲ μηδὲν ἐς Ῥοδίους ἢ Ἀθηναίους ἢ Ἀττάλον ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον ἀμαρτάνειν. τούτοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίοις ἔξιν καλῶς, ἂν ἐμμένωσιν ἢ συνέθεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνῃ. οὕτω μὲν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαὶ ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡπείγετο, στρατηγούντος Ποπλίου καὶ ναυαρχούντος Λευκίου.”

U. .

“ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ... σῆται, συναγόντων αὐτοὺς Ἑπειρωτῶν πρέσβεων. ὥς δὲ ὁ Φλαμινῖνος Φίλιππον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας ταῖς προειρημέναις ἀποδοθῆναι, ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν ...”

Mai .

“ποιμὴν ὑπέσχετο στρατὸν εὗζωνον ἄξειν ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ τρισὶν ἡμέραις.”

Suid. v. εὗζωνοι.

“ὅτι Λευκίος Κοῖντιος ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογον ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις, οἱ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥοδίων ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου, διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος αἰτῶν βοήθειαν ὥς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ ἐνοχλούμενοι μὲν οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι πολέμῳ Νάβιδος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τυράννου, διεστῶτες δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἠπόρουν, καὶ οἱ πλείονες ἡροῦντο τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο Ῥωμαίους διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Σουλπικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομήματα. ἐγκειμένων δὲ βιαίως τῶν Ῥωμαϊζόντων, οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεχώρουν δυσχεραίνοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα ἐκβιασθέντες συνέθεντο τῷ Λευκίῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκολούθουν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον μηχανήματα φέροντες.”

U. .

“ὅτι Φλαμινῖνος αὐθις συνῆλθεν ἐς λόγους Φιλίπῳ κατὰ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον, ἔνθα κατηγορούντων τοῦ Φιλίππου Ῥοδίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμᾶνος ἐκέλευσε Φίλιππον ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ Φωκίδος, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἀμφοτέρους ἀποστεῖλαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡξιοῦν τὸν Φίλιππον

ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς τρεῖς φρουράς ἃς αὐτὸς πέδας ἐκάλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι: Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Λοκροῖς ἐπικειμένην, τὴν δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ καθάπερ πύλαις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀποκλείουσιν, καὶ τρίτην ἐν Δημητριάδι τὴν Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν ἐφεδρεύουσιν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἤρετο τί φρονοίη περὶ τῶνδε τῶν φρουρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, Φλαμινῖνον ἔφη κρινεῖν, καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν δίκαιον ἡγήται. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπανήεσαν, Φλαμινῖνος δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐς οὐδὲν συμβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις αὐθις ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο.”

U. .

“ὅτι ἡττηθεὶς πάλιν ὁ Φίλιππος περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Φλαμινῖνον, ὁ δ’ αὐθις αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους συνεχώρει, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δυσχεραίνοντων, καὶ διαβαλλόντων αὐτὸν ἐς δωροδοκίαν, καὶ καταγιγνωσκόντων τῆς ἐς ἅπαντα εὐχεροῦς μεταβολῆς, ἡγούμενος δ’ οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν οὔτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι Φιλίππου καθαιρεθέντος ἐπιτολάσαι τὴν Αἰτωλῶν βίαν. τάχα δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς νίκης ἀγαπᾶν ἐποίει. συνθέμενος δὲ χωρίον οἷ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε γνώμην προαποφίνασθαι κατὰ πόλεις. τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλάνθρωπα ἦν, τό τε τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφορωμένων, καὶ τὸ παῖσμα τοῦτο οὐ κατ’ ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ πλεον ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἡγουμένων: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρόεδρος ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὸν Φλαμινῖνον ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλο μῆτε Ῥωμαίοις μῆθ’ Ἕλλησι συνοίσει πλὴν ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.

[2] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὴν Ῥωμαίων φύσιν, οἱ οὐδένα πω τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτόντων, καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἔναγχος, ἐφείσαντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτοῖς ἀποδόντες καὶ φίλους ποιησάμενοι τοὺς ἡδικηκότας. ‘ἀγνοεῖς δ’,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ τοῦθ’, ὅτι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα βάρβαρα τὴν Μακεδονίαν περικάθηται, εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, ἐπιδραμεῖται ῥαδίως. ὅθεν ἐγὼ δοκιμάζω τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἔαν τῶν Μακεδόνων προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, Φίλιππον δὲ ἐκστῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὧν πρότερον ἀντέλεγε χωρίων, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην ἐσενεγκεῖν τάλαντα διακόσια, ὅμηρά τε δοῦναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον, μέχρι δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπικυρώσει, τετραμήνους ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι.’

[3] δεξαμένου δὲ πάντα τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐπεκύρωσε, τὰς δὲ προτάσεις τὰς Φλαμινίου σμικρύνασα καὶ φαυλίσασα, ἐκέλευσε τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ἦσαν Ἑλληνίδες ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, πάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς φρουράς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπιόντων Ἰσθμίων, ναῦς τε ὅσας ἔχει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς καὶ σκαφῶν πέντε καταφράκτων, παραδοῦναι τῷ Φλαμινίῳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐσενεγκεῖν πεντακόσια μὲν αὐτίκα πεντακόσια δὲ ἔτεσι δέκα, ἐκάστου τὸ μέρος ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντα, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχοι. τάδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ προσέθηκε, καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδέξατο ἅπαντα: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ σμικρολογία Φλαμινίου καταφανῆς

ἐγένετο. συμβούλους δ' ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λήγουσι πολέμοις, δέκα ἄνδρας, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἔδει τὰ εἰλημμένα καθίστασθαι.

[4] καὶ τάδε μὲν διετίθετο σὺν ἐκείνοις, αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἐπελθὼν, πληθύνοντος τοῦ σταδίου, σιωπὴν τε ἐσήμηνεν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν: 'ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Φλαμινῖος ὁ στρατηγός, Μακεδόνας καὶ βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐκπολεμήσαντες, ἀφίᾳσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφρούρητον ἀφορολόγητον ἰδίοις ἦθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι.' πολλῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βοῆς καὶ χαρᾶς γενομένης θόρυβος ἥδιστος ἦν, ἐτέρων μεθ' ἐτέρους τὸν κήρυκα καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ἀνειπεῖν μετακαλούντων. στεφάνους τε καὶ ταινίας ἐπέβαλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐψηφίζοντο κατὰ πόλεις. πρέσβεις τε μετὰ χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἳ χάριν ὡμολόγουν, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἀνεγράφοντο. καὶ δεύτερος ὃδε πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

[5] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνεμάχησε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατ' Ἀντιόχου βασιλείῳ, περὼντάς τε ἐπὶ Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διὰ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁδὸν οὐκ εὐμαρῇ παρέπεμπεν οἰκείους τέλεσι καὶ τροφαῖς, ὁδοποιῶν καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσπόρους ζευγνύς καὶ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους Θρᾶκας διακόπτων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἤγαγεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον παρὰ σφίσιν ὀμηρεύοντα ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφῆκεν ὧν ἔτι ὤφειλεν: οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες οἶδε Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ νίκης, ἐπανιόντας, οὐκέτι Φιλίππου παρόντος, τὴν τε λείαν ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, ὧ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεδείχθη ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἀνιόντας ὤνησεν ὁ Φίλιππος.

[6] Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχου πολέμου πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ οὐ ποιεῖν ὧν ὥρισε Φλαμινῖος, ὅτε διετίθετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ Δημήτριος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἐπρέσβευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κεχαρισμένος μὲν ἔκπαλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀμηρείας, Φλαμινίου δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ βουλῇ γνωρίζοντος ἰσχυρῶς. νεώτερον δ' ὄντα καὶ θορυβούμενον ἐκέλευσαν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπομνήματα ἀναγνῶναι, ἐν οἷς ἦν ἐφ' ἐκάστου, τὰ μὲν ἤδη γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ γενήσεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδίκως ὠρισμένα: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέκειτο πολλοῖς. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν ὑπόγυον αὐτοῦ ἐς Ἀντίοχον προθυμίαν αἰδουμένη, συγγιγνώσκειν τε ἔφη, καὶ προσεπέειπε διὰ Δημήτριον. ὁ δ' ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἀντιόχου πόλεμον χρησιμώτατός τε γεγονώς, καὶ βλαβερώτατος ἂν φανεῖς εἰ Ἀντιόχῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέπραξε, πολλὰ ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπιστούμενον καὶ κατηγορούμενον καὶ συγγνώμης ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἀξιούμενον, καὶ τῆσδε διὰ Δημήτριον, ἤχθετο καὶ ἡγανάκτει, καὶ ἐπέκρυπτεν ἄμφω. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ τῶν Φιλίππου πρὸς Εὐμένη μετέφερον, ἀσθενοποιοῦντες ἀεὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐς πόλεμον ἥδη λανθάνων ἡτοιμάζετο."

id. ib.

“ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας διέφθειρεν, ἵνα μὴ Ῥωμαίοις λέγοιεν τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐκτερῦσθαι.”

Suid. v. τετρῦσθαι.

“ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ταχέως αὐξανόμενον τὸν Περσέα ὑφεωρῶντο: καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλία καὶ γειτνίασις, οἷς ἔχθος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐς Βαστέρνας ἀπεσταλμένοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔφασκον ἰδεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν καὶ νεότητα γεγυμνασμένην, Ῥωμαίους καὶ τάδε διετάρασσαν. αἰσθόμενος δ’ ὁ Περσεὺς ἐτέρους ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας δεδιὼς Περσέα ἤκεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ κατηγορεῖ φανερώς αὐτοῦ, παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις δυσμενὴς γένοιτο αἶε, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰκείως ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα ἀνέλοι, καὶ Φιλίππῳ τε παρασκευὴν τοσὴνδε κατ’ αὐτῶν συναγαγόντι συμπράξει, καὶ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκλύσειεν αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεργάσασαιτο ἕτερα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀμέτρως θεραπεύει, Βυζαντίοις τε καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς συμμαχήσας, καὶ Θράκην κατακτῶτο, μέγα ὀρμητήριον, καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς διαστασιάσειε βουλομένους τι πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

[2] ‘καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων,’ ἔφη, ‘φίλων καὶ συμμάχων Ἀβρούπολιν μὲν ἀφήρηται τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀρθέταυρον δ’ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δυνάστην καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐπιβουλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους ὑποδέδεκται.’ διέβαλλε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας βασιλικὰς ἄμφω γενομένας, καὶ τὰς νυμφαγωγίας ὅλῳ τῷ Ῥοδίων στόλῳ παραπεμφθείσας. ἔγκλημα δ’ ἐποίει καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νηφάλιον τῆς διαίτης, ὄντος οὕτω νέου, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς πολλῶν ὀξέως ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀγαπῶτο καὶ ἐπαινοῖτο. ζήλου τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκλημάτων οὐδὲν ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπολιπών, ἐκέλευε τὴν σύγκλητον ὑφορᾶσθαι νέον ἐχθρὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ γειτονεύοντα.

[3] ἡ δ’ ἔργῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα βασιλέα σῶφρονα καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐς πολλοὺς φιλάνθρωπον, ἀθρόως οὕτως ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ πατρικὸν ὄντα σφίσιν ἐχθρόν, ἐν πλευραῖς ἔχειν, λόγῳ δ’ ἃ προὔτεινεν ὁ Εὐμένης αἰτιωμένη, πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ Περσεῖ. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἀπόρρητον ἔτι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιούμενοι, Ἀρπαλὸν τε πεμφθέντα παρὰ Περσέως ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Εὐμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τινὰ πρεσβευτήν, βουλομένους ἐς ὅσιν τὸν Εὐμένη διελέγχειν, παρόντος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐ προσήκαντο, μεταστάντος δὲ ἐδέξαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε πρῶτον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενοι πλέον πολεμεῖν βουλομένους ἤδη Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ καὶ Ῥοδίοις μᾶλλον ἐξηγρίωσαν: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ τὸν Εὐμένη δι’ αἰτίας εἶχον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δέους αἴτιον τοσοῦδε πολέμου γενόμενον. καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτοῦ, μόνου βασιλέων, ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν τοῦ Ἥλιου πεμπομένην οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

[4] αὐτὸς δ’ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανιὼν ἐκ Κίρρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέβαινε θύσων, καὶ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχίον ὑποστάντες ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς αἰτίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν Περσέως πόλεμον ὥς οὕτω κεκριμένον προσελάμβανον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς φίλους βασιλέας, Εὐμένη καὶ Αντίοχον καὶ Ἀριαράθην καὶ Μασσανάσσην καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου, περιέπεμπον, ἐτέρους δ’ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Ἡπειρον καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους, ὅσας δύναιτο προσαγαγέσθαι: ὁ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐτάραττεν, ἠδομένους μὲν τῷ Περσεῖ φιλέλληνι ὄντι,

ἀναγκαζομένους δ' ἐνίους Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμβάσεις χωρεῖν.

[5] ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀπορῶν τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί παθόντες ἐκλήθονται τῶν συγκειμένων καὶ πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτοῦ περιπέμπουσιν ὄντος φίλου, δέον, εἰ καὶ τι μέμφονται, λόγῳ διακριθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ὅσα Εὐμένης εἶποι καὶ πάθοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Θράκην κατακτῶτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοι καὶ παρασκευὴν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντος ἀνδρός. ὁ δ' αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐτέρους, οἱ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπαχθέντες ἔλεγον ὧδε:

τοῖς μὲν προφάσεως ἐς πόλεμον, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, δεομένοις ἱκανὰ πάντα ἐς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐστίν. εἰ δ' αἰδεῖσθε συνθήκας οἱ πολλὸν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτῶν λόγον ἔχειν, τί παθόντες ὑπὸ Περσέως αἵρεσθε πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι στρατιὰν ἔχει καὶ παρασκευὴν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ταῦτα καθ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κεκτῆσθαι βασιλέας κωλύετε: οὐδ' ἄδικον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τὰ περίοικα, καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύοι. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευσε καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἐναγχος ἀνεκαίνισεν.

[6] ἀλλ' Ἀβρούπολιν ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐπιδραμόντα γε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀμυνόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσε Περσεὺς, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνενεώσασθε, οὐπω διαβάλλοντος Εὐμένων. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἀβρούπολιν καὶ πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τῶν συνθηκῶν, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτε συνετίθεσθε, δίκαιον ἐφάνη. Δόλοψι γὰρ ἐπεστράτευσεν οὔσι τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμὸν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσει. δίδωσι δ' ὅμως, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ὑμᾶς τε καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν. ἔκτειναν δ' οἱ Δόλοπες οἷδε τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν αἰκισάμενοι, καὶ ζητεῖ Περσεὺς τί ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐδράσατε τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοιαῦτα πράξαντας. ἀλλ' Ἀρθέταυρόν τινες ἀνελόντες ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διέτριβον. κοινῷ γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ, καθὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ἐτέρωθεν φεύγοντας ὑποδέχεσθε. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθε, ἐξεκέρυξεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης.

[7] Βυζαντίους δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐτέρων συνεμάχησεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάλοι ὑμῖν ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις ἐμήνουν, καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμφεσθε μέχρι τῆς Εὐμένων διαβολῆς, ἣν οὐκ εἰάσατε τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἐς ὅσιν αὐτὸν ἐλέγξει. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ γενομένην προσγράφετε Περσεῖ, πόσων Ἑλλήνων, πόσων δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' Εὐμένους πρεσβευσάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷς πᾶσιν ἐχθρός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὧν. Ἐρέννιον δὲ τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν ὅτι Περσεὺς, Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ὑμέτερον καὶ πρόξενον, εἴληφεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς φαρμακείαν, ὥς ἀναλῶσαι τὴν σύγκλητον δι' αὐτοῦ δυνάμενος, ἢ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους εὐμενεστεροὺς ἔξω διὰ τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους; ἀλλ' Ἐρέννιος μὲν ἐψεύσατο τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα διδούς, Εὐμένης δ' ὑπ' ἔχθρας τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ὥκνησεν ἐγκαλέσαι Περσεῖ, ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι κεχαρισμένος καὶ φιλέλλην, καὶ σωφρόνως ἀντὶ μέθης καὶ τρυφῆς ἄρχει. καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὑπέσθητε ἀκροάσασθαι.

[8] τοιγάρτοι τὴν ἐκείνου διαβολὴν αὔξετε καθ' ὑμῶν ὥς οὐ φέροντες σόφρονας καὶ δίκαιους καὶ φιλοπόνους γείτονας. Περσεὺς δ' Ἐρέννιον μὲν καὶ Εὐμένην, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι, προκαλεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν ἐς ἐξέτασιν καὶ

κρίσιν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἀναμιμνήσκει μὲν τῆς ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίας καὶ βοηθείας, ἧς ἐπιγιγνομένης καλῶς ἡσθάνεσθε, αἰσχρὸν δὲ παρελθούσης ἐπιλαθέσθαι, προφέρει δὲ συνθήκας πατρῶας τε καὶ ἰδίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑμῖν γενομένας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὐκ ὀκνεῖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς οὓς ὠμόσατε αἰδεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν ἀδίκως ἐς φίλους, μηδ' ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθαι γειτνίασιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ὥς Εὐμένους, καὶ ὑμῶν ἄπτεσθαι φθόνον ἢ φόβον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ σῶφρον, φεῖδεσθαι γειτόνων ἐπιμελῶν, καὶ ὥς Εὐμένης φησίν, εὖ παρεσκευασμένων.

[9] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοιαῦτα εἶπον, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐκύρουν. καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκ μεν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τριάκοντα ἄλλαις ἐξίεναι. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι Μακεδόνων ἐκήρυττεν. καὶ θόρυβος αὐτίκα μετὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπίφθοнос ἦν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ὥραις ἐλαυνομένων τοσῶνδε ὁμοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑποζύγια εὐρεῖν ἐν οὕτῳ βραχεῖ διαστήματι, οὐδὲ πάντα φέρειν δυναμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδῆς οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανον ἐπὶ τοὺς σταθμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀνεπαύοντο ταῖς ὁδοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ παίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. πάντα τε ἐγίγνετο ὅσα εἰκος ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ τοιῷδε κηρύγματι: αἰφνιδιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο διὰ τὰς ἔτι πρεσβείας.”

U. .

“ὅτι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὁ Περσεύς, εἴτ' ἐπιγελῶν Κράσσω καὶ τωθάζων αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἀποπειρώμενος ὅπως ἔτι φρονήματος ἔχοι, εἴτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν τε καὶ παρασκευὴν ὑφορώμενος, εἴθ' ἑτέρῳ τῷ λογισμῷ, προσέπεμπεν αὐτῷ περὶ διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο ὧν ὁ πατήρ Φίλιππος οὐ συνεχώρει: ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑποπτος ἦν ἐπιγελῶν καὶ πειρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας οὐκ εἶναι διαλύσεις αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειε Ῥωμαίοις: αἰδούμενος δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἥττης κατῆρξαν, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἐμαρτύρησεν ὥς ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὴν συμφορὰν γενομένοις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ὥς πρώτων τραπέντων. καὶ τούτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν.”

id. .

“τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἀμφοτέροι περὶ σιτολογίαν ἐγίγνοντο, Περσεύς μὲν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἄλωνεούμενος, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.”

Suid. v. ἄλωνεούμενος.

“ὃς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε τοῦ πόνου, ἐξηκοντούτης ὧν καὶ βαρὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πιμελής.”

id. v. πιμελής.

“τότε δὲ ἔθει τις δρόμῳ δηλώσων τῷ Περσεῖ λουομένῳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀναλαμβάνοντι. ὁ δὲ ἐξήλατο τοῦ ὕδατος βοῶν ὅτι ἐαλώκοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.”

id. v. ἀναλαμβάνειν b.

“ὅτι Περσεὺς ἀναθαρρῶν ἤδη κατ' ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν, Νικίαν καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον, οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν καταποντισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῶν νεῶν ἐπετόμφει, περιποιήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα,

συνίστορας ἡγούμενος αἰσχροῦ φόβου καὶ ἐτέροις ἐξαγγελεῖν, ἀπέκτεινεν ἀθεμίστως, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε εὐθὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὤμος καὶ εὐχερῆς ἐς ἅπαντας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιές οὐδ' εὐβουλόν οἱ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ πιθανώτατος ἐς εὐβουλίαν καὶ λογίσασθαι δεξιὸς καὶ εὐτολμότατος ἐς μάχας, ὅσα γε μὴ σφάλλοιο δι' ἀπειρίαν, ἀθρόως τότε καὶ παραλόγως ἐς δειλίαν καὶ ἀλογιστίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ ταχὺς καὶ εὐμετάθετος ἄφνω καὶ σκαιὸς ἐς πάντα ἐγένετο, ἀρχομένης αὐτὸν ἐπιλείπειν τῆς τύχης. ὅπερ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, μεταβολῆς προσιούσης ἀλογωτέρους γιγνομένους ἑαυτῶν.”

Val. (hinc Suid. v. Περσεὺς Μακεδῶν).

“ὅτι Ῥόδιοι πρέσβεις ἐς Μάρκιον ἔπεμψαν, συνηδόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων [Περσεῖ]. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐδίδασκε Ῥοδίους πεῖσαι πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥώμην διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Περσεῖ. καὶ Ῥόδιοι πυθόμενοι μετέπιπτον ὥς οὐ φαύλως ἔχοντος τοῦ Περσέως· οὐ γὰρ εἴκαζον ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ταῦτα Μάρκιον ἐπισκῆπτειν. ὁ δ' ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τάδε καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ δι' ἀτολμίαν ἔπραττεν. Ῥόδιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ὥς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐτέρους πρὸς Μάρκιον.”

U. .

“ὅτι Γένθιος βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν ἐνὸς ἔθνους προσοίκου Μακεδόσι, Περσεῖ συμμαχῶν ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, ὧν τι καὶ προειλήθει, ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Περπένναν καὶ Πετίλιον ἔδησεν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος οὐκέτι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἔπεμπε ὥς ἤδη καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεωμένον. ἐς δὲ Γέτας ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, καὶ Εὐμένους ἀπεπείρασεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, εὖ μὲν εἰδὼς οὐ λησόμενα ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους, ἐλπίζων δ' ἢ πράξειν τι αὐτῶν ἢ τῇ πείρᾳ διαβαλεῖν τὸν Εὐμένη. ὁ δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφη, τάλαντα δ' ἤτει τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, τῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας χίλια. καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἤδη Γετῶν αὐτῷ προσιέναι μισθοφόρους μυρίους ἱππέας καὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς πυθόμενος, αὐτίκα τοῦ Εὐμένους κατεφρόνει, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν οὐδὲν αἰσχύνῃν γὰρ φέρειν ἀμφοῖν, τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως οὐ προδώσειν, ἀλλ' ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καταθήσειν μέχρι γένοιτο ἢ διάλυσιν, εὐμετάβολος ἤδη καὶ μικρολόγος ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ἐς πάντα γενόμενος. ἐνὸς δὲ ὧν ἤλπισεν ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, Ῥωμαίοις Εὐμένους ὑπόπτου γενομένου.

[2] Γετῶν δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον περασάντων, ἐδόκει Κλοιλίῳ μὲν τῷ ἡγεμόνι δοθῆναι χιλίους χρυσοὺς στατήρας, ἱππεῖ δ' ἐκάστῳ δέκα, καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα πεζῶ· καὶ τοῦτο σύμπαν ἦν ὀλίγῳ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων χρυσίου. ὁ δὲ χλαμύδας μὲν τινὰς ἐπήγετο καὶ ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἵππους ἐς δωρεὰν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, καὶ στατήρας φερομένους μυρίους, καὶ πλησιάσας μετεπέμπετο Κλοιλίῳ. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας, εἰ φέρουσι τὸ χρυσίον, ἤρετο, καὶ μαθὼν οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀναστρέφειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς πυθόμενος, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντος θεοῦ, κατηγορεῖ τῶν Γετῶν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὡς φύσεως ἀπίστου, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μὴ θαρρεῖν δισμυρίους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποδέξασθαι, μόλις δ' ἔφη μυρίους, ὧν καὶ νεωτερίζοντων

κρατῆσαι δύνασθαι.

[3] ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις εἰπὼν ἕτερα τοῖς Γέταις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦτει, τὸ χρυσίον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν. τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας ἔγεμε, φροντίζων χρημάτων τῶν πρὸ βραχείας ἐς θάλασσαν μεθειμένων. ὁ δὲ Κλοῖλιος τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἰδὼν ἦρετο μετὰ βοῆς εἰ τὸ χρυσίον κεκομίσασι, καὶ βουλομένους τι λέγειν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ. ὥς δ' ἔμαθεν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφήρητο καὶ τῆσδε συμμαχίας, πολλῆς τε καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐλθούσης. ὑπὸ δ' ἀφροσύνης, ἐν Φίλα χειμάζων καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων πολὺν Θεσσαλίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεχεν, ἢ Ῥωμαῖοις ἐχορήγει τροφάς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπεμπε κωλύειν τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείθεν αὐτοῖς φερομένην.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Παῦλῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχίας τοσῆσδε γενομένῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐφθόνησε τῆς εὐτυχίας. καὶ οἱ τεσσάρων παιδῶν ὄντων τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν ἐς θέσιν ἄλλοις ἐδεδώκει, Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Σκιπίωνα, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἄμφω συνέβη, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν δὲ μετὰ πέντε, ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐδενὸς ἦττον ὁ Παῦλος κατελογίσαστο τῷ δήμῳ. ἔθους γὰρ ὄντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καταλέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἶπεν ἐς μὲν Κέρκυραν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλευσαι μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ Κερκύρας πέντε μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὁδεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, πέντε δὲ ἄλλαις ἐς Θεσσαλίαν παραγενέσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸν στρατὸν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλαις ἐλεῖν Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας παραλαβεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ὀξέως ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχὼν δεῖσαι μὴ τι τῷ στρατῷ συμπέσοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανιόντι. ‘διασωθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐδεδοίkein,’ ἔφη: ‘φθονερὸς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων. ἐς ἐμὲ δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ ἀθρόως μοι τῶν δύο παιδῶν ἀποθανόντων, ἐπ' ἐμαντῷ μὲν εἰμι βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀμέριμνος.’ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ καταθαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἰκτιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν.”

id. .

Ιλλυρική

Ἰλλυριοὺς Ἑλλήνες ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην ἀπὸ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δ' ἐκ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Θρακῶν τῶν ὀρειῶν ἐπὶ Παιονας καὶ τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ τὰ πρόποδα τῶν Ἀλπεων. καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἡμερῶν πέντε, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τριάκοντα, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἴρηται. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὴν χώραν μετρησαμένων ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους.

[2] φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον Ἰλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι: Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὄντας ἐξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξαι τῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. καὶ τότε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθεύοντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει. Ἰλλυριῷ δὲ παῖδας Ἐγγέλεα καὶ Αὐταριέα καὶ Δάρδανον καὶ Μαῖδον καὶ Ταύλαντα καὶ Περραιβὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ θυγατέρας Παρθῶ καὶ Δαορθῶ καὶ Δασσαρῶ καὶ ἑτέρας, ὅθεν εἰσὶ Ταυλάντιοί τε καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐγγέλεες καὶ Αὐταριεῖς καὶ Δάρδανοι καὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Δασσαρήτιοι καὶ Ἀρρσιοι. Αὐταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι, καὶ Σκορδίσκον Παίονι καὶ Τριβαλλόν, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη παρώνυμα εἶναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαιολογοῦσι μεθεῖσθω,

[3] γένη δ' ἔστιν Ἰλλυριῶν, ὡς ἐν τοσῇδε χώρᾳ, πολλά. καὶ περιώνυμα ἔτι νῦν, χώραν νεμόμενα πολλήν, Σκορδίσκων καὶ Τριβαλλῶν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ διέφθειραν ὡς Τριβαλλῶν εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐς Γέτας ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον φυγεῖν, καὶ γένος ἀκμάσαν μέχρι Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου νῦν ἔρημον καὶ ἀνώνυμον τοῖς τῇδε εἶναι, Σκορδίσκους δὲ ἀσθενεστάτους ἀπὸ τοῦδε γενομένους ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὕστερον ὅμοια παθεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ φυγεῖν, σὺν χρόνῳ δέ τινας ἐπανέλθειν καὶ Παιόνων ἐσχατιαῖς παροικῆσαι: ὅθεν ἔστι καὶ νῦν Σκορδίσκων γένος ἐν Παίοσιν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Ἀρδιαῖοι τὰ θαλάσσια ὄντες ἄριστοι πρὸς Αὐταριέων ἀρίστων ὄντων τὰ κατὰ γῆν, πολλὰ βλάψαντες αὐτούς, ὅμως ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ ναυτικοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρδιαίοις ἐγένοντο Λιβυρνοί, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐλήστευον ναυσὶν ὠκείαις τε καὶ κούφαις, ὅθεν ἔτι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κούφα καὶ ὀξέα δίκροτα Λιβυρνίδας προσαγορεύουσιν.

[4] Αὐταριέας δὲ φασὶν ἐκ θεοβλαβείας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ περιελθεῖν. Μολιστόμῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις ἐπὶ Δελφοῦς συστρατεῦσαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τοὺς πλέονας αὐτῶν πρὸ ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὑέτων σφίσι καὶ θυέλλης καὶ πρηστήρων ἐμπεσοντων, ἐπιγενέσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑποστρέψασιν ἄπειρον βατράχων πλῆθος, οἱ διασαπέντες τὰ νάματα διέφθειραν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀτμῶν ἀτόπων γενομένων λοιμὸς ἦν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ φθόρος Αὐταριέων μάλιστα, μέχρι φεύγοντες τὰ οἰκεία, καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν σφίσι περιφέροντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς δεχομένου διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ὑπερῆλθον ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τριῶν, καὶ τὴν Γετῶν ἐλώδη καὶ ἀοίκητον, παρὰ τὸ Βαστερνῶν ἔθνος, ὤκησαν. Κελτοῖς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν ἔσεισε καὶ τὰς

πόλεις κατήνεγκε: καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔληγε, μέχρι καὶ οἶδε τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἐνέβαλον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς συναμαρτοντας σφίσιν, ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ γενομένους, καὶ ἐδήωσάν τε τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ μετασχόντες ἔφυγον καὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐλεηλάτουν. ἐπιστρέφουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἔω, Ῥωμαῖοι, δεδιότες ὑπὸ μνήμης τῶν προπεπολεμηκότων σφίσι Κελτῶν, μὴ καὶ οἶδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπήντων ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ πανστρατιᾷ διώλλυντο. καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων μέγα δέος Κελτῶν ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε, μέχρι Γάιον Μάριον ἐλόμενοι σφῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγεῖν, ἄρτι Λιβύων τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ Μαυρουσίοις ἐγκρατῶς πεπολεμηκότα, τοὺς Κίμβρους ἐνίκων καὶ πολὺν φόνον αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο πολλάκις, ὥς μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι εἴρηται. οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τε ἤδη γενόμενοι καὶ πάσης γῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανῆλθον πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες καὶ παθόντες.

[5] τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκεν Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Κελτοῖς: οὐ μὴν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλ' αὖθις, ἅμα τοῖς Κελτοῖς, Ἰλλυριῶν οἱ Σκορδίσκοι μάλιστα καὶ Μαῖδοι καὶ Ἀρδανοὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέδραμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν ἐσύλησαν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ὅμως καὶ τότε. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἔχοντες ἤδη δεῦτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐς Κελτοὺς πείρας, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πολемоῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐπιστρατεύουσι τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἱεροσυλίᾳ ἡγουμένου Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, ἤδη τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μακεδόνων προστατοῦντες. καὶ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν περιχώρους οὐ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀβοηθήτους, μνήμη τῶν δι' Αὐταριέας ἐς πάντας Ἰλλυριοὺς συμπεσόντων: Σκιπίωνα δὲ Σκορδίσκους μὲν διαφθεῖραι, καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὰς νήσους τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετοικῆσαι φυγόντας, Μαῖδοις δὲ καὶ Ἀρδανεῦσι συνθέσθαι δωροδοκήσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ χρυσοῦ. καὶ τις ἔφη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν συγγραφέων ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις πλεόνως μετὰ Λεύκιον τὰ ἐμφύλια ἤκμασε μέχρι μοναρχίας: καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Ἰλλυριῶν τοσαῦτά μοι προλελέχθω.

[6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ραιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώτῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ καταπλέοντι ὥκηται, διαιροῦσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίους ἐκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται, ὅθεν μὲν ἀρξάμενοι τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὐρεῖν, χρώμενοι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστροῦ μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὅφ' ἐν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, ὁμολόγησα μὲν καὶ περὶ Κρήτης λέγων οὐχ εὐρεῖν τὰς ἀκριβεῖς τῶν πολέμων ἀρχάς τε καὶ προφάσεις, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοὺς δυναμένους τι πλεον εἰπεῖν παρεκάλουν: ὅσα δ' αὐτὸς ἔγνων, ἀναγράψω.

[7] Ἀγρων ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρους ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης τὸν Ἰόνιον, ὃν δὴ καὶ Πύρρος ὁ τῆς Ἠπείρου βασιλεὺς κατεῖχε καὶ οἱ τὰ Πύρρου διαδεξάμενοι. Ἀγρων δ' ἔμπαιλιν τῆς τε Ἠπείρου τινὰ καὶ Κόρκυραν

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Φάρον καταλαβὼν ἔμφρουρα εἶχεν. ἐπιπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον Ἴονιον, νῆσος, ἣ ὄνομα Ἴσσα, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τοῖς Ἰσίοις συνέπεμψαν, εἰσομένους τὰ Ἀγρωνος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα. τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ἔτι προσπλέουσιν ἐπαναχθέντες Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι τῶν μὲν Ἰσίων πρεσβευτὴν Κλεέμπορον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κορογκάνιον ἀναιροῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέδρασαν αὐτούς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ναυσὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζῷ στρατευόντων, Ἀγρων μὲν ἐπὶ παιδίῳ σμικρῷ, Πίννη ὄνομα, ἀποθνήσκει, τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῷ παιδί παραδούς, καίπερ οὐκ οὔση μητρὶ τοῦ παιδίου, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φάρου ἡγούμενος Ἀγρωνι Φάρου τε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦρχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε Κορκύρας⁸ παρέδωκεν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπλέουσιν ἐκ προδοσίας. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταύταις Ἐπίδαμνον ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγοντο, καὶ τοῖς Ἰσίοις καὶ Ἐπίδαμνίοις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἔπλεον. Ἰλλυριοὶ μὲν δὴ τὰς πολιορκίας λύσαντες ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, οἱ Ἀτιντανοὶ λεγόμενοι, μετετίθεντο. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡ Ἀγρωνος γυνὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ἀποδιδόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἄγοντας, καὶ ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀγρωνος γενομένων. οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Φάρον καὶ Ἴσσαν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι, Πίννην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀγρωνος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν καὶ φίλον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν ἀπέχρηται τε τῶν προλελεγμένων, καὶ τὴν Λίσσον μὴ παραπλέωσιν Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι δυοῖν πλείονες, καὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀνόπλοις.

[8] ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐδέχετο, καὶ γίνονται Ῥωμαίοις αἶδε πρῶται πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πεῖραί τε καὶ συνθήκαι· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀφῆκαν ἐλευθέρας, Δημητρίῳ δ' ἔστιν ἃ χωρία μισθὸν ἔδοσαν τῆς προδοσίας, ἐπειπόντες ὅτι ἐν τοσῷδε διδόασι, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἄρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑφορώμενοι. ἡ δὴ καὶ ἤρξεν αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον· Ῥωμαίων γὰρ Κελτοῖς ἐπὶ τριετὲς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οὔσι πολεμοῦντων, ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς ὄντων ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλίζετο, καὶ Ἴστρους ἔθνος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοῦτο προσελάμβανε, καὶ τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστη. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Κελτῶν διετέθειτο, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιπλεύσαντες αἰροῦσι τοὺς ληστὰς, ἐς νεώτα δὲ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δημήτριον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς συναμαρτόντας αὐτῷ. Δημήτριον μὲν δὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα φυγόντα καὶ αὐθις ἐπιόντα καὶ ληστεύοντα τὸν Ἴονιον κτείνουσι, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ Φάρον συναμαρτοῦσαν ἐπικατέσκαψαν, Ἰλλυριῶν δ' ἐφείσαντο διὰ Πίννην αὐθις δεηθέντα. καὶ δευτέραι πεῖραί τε καὶ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο.

[9] τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὔτι μοι πάντα χρόνῳ καὶ τάξει μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν ἕκαστον, ὅσα ἤϋρον, συγγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδόσιν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ Περσεὺς ἦν ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μετὰ Φίλιππον· Περσεὶ δὲ Γένθιος Ἰλλυριῶν ἐτέρων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι συνεμάχει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας ἔδησεν, αἰτιώμενος οὐ πρέσβεις ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν. Ἀνίκιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς λέμβους τε τοῦ Γενθίου

τινάς εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐκράτει τὴν μάχην, καὶ συνέκλεισεν ἕς τι χωρίον, ὅθεν αὐτῷ δεομένῳ ὁ μὲν Ἀνίκιος ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίοις ἐαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ὁ δ' ἐς βουλὴν ἤτησε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔλαβεν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνίκιον μετατιθεμένων ἡξίωσεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Ἀνικίῳ, καὶ γονυπετὴς ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ πάνυ αἰσχυρῶς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιθαρρύνων κατεπτηχότα ἀνίστη, καὶ καλέσας ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν, ἀπιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐς φυλακὴν ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς θρίαμβον ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἤγαγε, καὶ ὁ Γενθίου πόλεμος ἅπας εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἐπεπολέμητο: ἐβδομήκοντα δ' αὐτοῦ πόλεις οὖσας Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος ὁ τὸν Περσέα ἐλὼν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιστειλάσης ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, ἐς Ῥώμην παρῶδευεν ἐπίτηδες, καὶ δεδιόσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο συγγνώσεσθαι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐὰν ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀργυρίον τε καὶ χρυσίον ἐσενέγκωσιν. ὑποδεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων συνέπεμπεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς πόλιν ἐκάστην, ὀρίσας ἡμέραν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι τοῦ στρατοῦ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἅμα ἕξ κηρύσσειν ἕκαστον ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τρισὶν ὥραις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ χρήματα φέρειν, συνενεγκόντων δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διαρπάσαι.

[10] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις διήρπασεν ὥρα μιᾷ: Ἀρδεῖοι δὲ καὶ Παλάριοι, γένη ἕτερα Ἰλλυριῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Ἰλλυρίδα ἐδήουν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ἀσχολίαν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐπιπλήζοντας αὐτοῖς. οὐ μεταθεμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι, καὶ ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν μεταγινώσκοντες καὶ δεόμενοι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὰς βλάβας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἡδικημένοις. οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων δὲ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Φούλουιος Φλάκκος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἄρα μέχρι καταδρομῆς ἔληξε μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡῦρον αὐτοῦ τέλος ἀκριβές. Ἰάποσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων ἐπολέμησε μὲν Σεμπρώνιος ὁ Τουδιτανὸς ἐπὶ κλην καὶ Πανδούσας Τιβέριος καὶ εἰόκασιν οἱ Ἰάποδες αὐτοῖς ὑπακοῦσαι, εἰόκασι δὲ καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ Λευκίῳ Κόττα καὶ Μετέλλῳ, ἀμφοτέρω δ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποστήναι.

[11] Δαλμάται δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν ἕτερον γένος, Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις κατέθειον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἀφικομένους περὶ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίων οὐ προσίεντο. στρατεύουσιν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μαρκίου Φίγλου σφῶν ὑπατεύοντός τε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενου. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι τοῦ Φίγλου παραστρατοπεδεύοντος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐνίκων ἐπίδραμόντες, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατήραξαν ἐς πεδίον πρανεές, μέχρι ἐπὶ Νάρωνα ποταμὸν ἦκεν ὑποφεύγων. ὥς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ἀρχὴ δὲ χειμῶνος ἦν, ὁ Φίγλος ἐλπίσας αὐτοῖς ἀδοκῆτως ἐπιτεσεῖσθαι συνερρηκότας ἡῦρεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὴν ἑφοδὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνήλασεν ὁμως ἐς πόλιν Δελμίνιον, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματέας, εἴτα Δαλμάτας ἐτράπη. οὐδὲν δὲ πρὸς ἐχυρὰν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου δυνάμενος, οὐδὲ μηχανήμασιν ἔχων χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ἥρει τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθέων, ἐρημοτέρας ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον συνόδου γενομένης. εἴτα διπήχεας κορύνας πίσση καὶ θείῳ καὶ στυππίῳ περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον ἐκ καταπελτῶν ἐσφενδύονα. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ρύμης ἐξεκαίοντο, καὶ φερόμεναι καθάπερ λαμπάδες ὅπου τύχοιεν ἐνεπὶμπρασαν, ἕως πολλὰ μὲν κατεπρήσθη, καὶ τέλος ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τότε Φίγλῳ τοῦ Δαλματῶν πολέμου.

χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπατεύων οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοῖς Δαλμάταις ἐνηφίσατο πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμία θριάμβου, καὶ δεχομένων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ὡς φίλον διεχείμασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαλῶνῃ πόλει, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

[12] τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἡγουμένου Κελτῶν, οἱ Δαλμάται οἶδε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἰλλυριῶν τότε μάλιστα διητυχουν, Λιβυρνοὺς, ἕτερον ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν, Πρωμόναν πόλιν ἀφείλοντο: οἱ δὲ σφᾶς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγὺς ὄντα κατέφευγον. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμψε μὲν, καὶ προηγόρευσε τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν Πρωμόναν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Λιβυρνοῖς: οὐ φροντισάντων δὲ ἐκείνων τέλος ἐπεμψε στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, οὗς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν οἱ Ἰλλυριοί. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν: οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ σχολή τότε στασιάζοντι πρὸς Πομπήιον. ἐκραγείσης δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τῆς στάσεως ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ μεθ' ὅσων εἶχεν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου χειμῶνος τὸν Ἴονιον ἐπέρα καὶ Πομπήϊῳ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐπολέμει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦγε τῷ Καίσαρι, περῶν καὶ ὁδε τὸν Ἴονιον χειμῶνος ἄκρου, σπεύρας δὲ πεζοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππείας Γαβίνιος ἦγεν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, περιοδεύων τὸν Ἴονιον. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ φόβῳ τῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονότων ἐς Καίσαρα, τὴν νίκην αὐτοῦ νομίζοντες ὄλεθρον γενήσεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς, κτείνουσι πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Γαβινίῳ στρατὸν ἐπιδραμόντες, χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου καὶ ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων. καὶ ἐς χρήματα τότε μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐκ τοσῶνδε λαφύρων ἔστησαν.

[13] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἡσυχολεῖτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐς Πομπήιον, καὶ Πομπηίου καθαιρεθέντος ἐς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς ἐκείνου στάσεως πολυμερῆ γενόμενα, καταστησάμενος δὲ πάντα ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ Γέτας τε καὶ Παρθυαίους. ἔδεισαν οὖν οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μὴ ἐν ὁδῷ σφίσιν οὖσιν ἐπιθοῖτο, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπσαντες ἐς Ῥώμην ἤτουν τε συγγνώμην τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἐς φίλιαν ἑαυτοῦς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐδίδοσαν, ὡς περὶ ἔθνους ἀλκίμου μάλιστα σεμνολογούμενοι. ὁ δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα ἐς Παρθυαίους σεμνότερον ὁμῶς αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, φίλους μὲν οὐ θήσεσθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα δεδρακότας, συγγνώσεσθαι δέ, εἰ φόρους ὑποσταῖεν καὶ ὄμηρα δοῖεν. ὑπισχνουμένων δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρω αὐτῶν Οὐατίνιον ἐπεμψε σὺν στρατοῦ τέλεσι τρισὶ καὶ ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, φόρους τε ὀλίγους τάξοντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα ληψόμενον. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἡγούμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι γεγονέναι τε καὶ διεφθάρθαι, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ Οὐατινίου κατήκουον, οὔτε ἐς τοὺς φόρους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἐγχειροῦντος αὐτοὶ πέντε τάξεις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν τάξεων Βαίβιον, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς. καὶ Οὐατίνιος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀνεχώρει: ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ τὸν στρατὸν τόνδε καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ὅσων ἦρχον, ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ Καίτιῳ τῷ κτείναντι Γάιον, ὅτε περ καὶ Συρίαν Κασσίῳ, καὶ τῷδε ἀνδροφόνῳ Γαῖου γενομένῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶδε, πολεμούμενοι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, ἐς οὐδὲν ἐσχόλασαν Ἰλλυριοῖς.

[14] οἱ δὲ Παίονες εἰσιν ἔθνος μέγα παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐπίμηκες ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους, Παίονες μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαῖστί

Παννόνιοι, συναριθμούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι, ὡς προεῖπον. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶνδὲ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἰλλυρικά εἰπεῖν. ἔνδοξοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ Μακεδόνων δι' Ἀγριᾶνας, οἱ τὰ μέγιστα Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεργασάμενοι Παίονές εἰσι τῶν κάτω Παίωνων, Ἰλλυριοῖς ἔποικοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας ἐστράτευσε Κορνήλιος, κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας μέγα δέος Παίωνων Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ἐς πολὺ τοῖς ἔπειτα ὑπάτοις ὄκνον ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐλαύνειν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πάλαι τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Παίωνων ἔσχον εὔρεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κληθέντος Σεβαστοῦ, παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παίωνων ἤϊρον.

[15] Ἰλλυρίων δέ μοι φαίνεται χωρὶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἕτερα Ῥωμαίων προῦπακοῦσαι. καὶ ὅπως μὲν, οὐκ ἔγνω· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστὸς, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραφεν, ὡς δ' ἀποστάντας ἐς τοὺς φόρους ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ἐτέρους ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἔτι ὄντας αὐτονόμους εἴλε, καὶ πάντα ἐκρατύνατο ὅσοι τὰς κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἀλπεων, βάρβαρα καὶ μάχιμα ἔθνη, καὶ κλοπεύοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς γείτονα. καὶ μοι θαυμά ἐστίν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι Ῥωμαίων στρατοὶ ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὁδεύοντες ὑπερεῖδον τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οὐδὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, εὐτυχέστατος ἐς πολέμους ἀνὴρ, ἐξήνυσεν αὐτά, ὅτε Κελτοῖς ἐπολέμει καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐχείμαζεν. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡρέθησαν ἐπειγόμενοι, τῆς διόδου τῶν Ἀλπεων μόνης φροντίσαι, ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀμφὶ τε τὰ Κελτικὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ Κελτικὰ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπερθέσθαι. φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἅμα Κελτοῖς αἰρεθεὶς ἄρχειν, οὐ πάσης δ' ἄρα ἦρχεν ἀλλ' ὅση τις ἦν τότε Ῥωμαῖοις Ἰλλυρίς.

[16] ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς πάντα ἐχειρώσατο ἐντελῶς, καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου κατελογίσατο τῇ βουλῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμερῶσαι δυσμάχων ἐθνῶν θαμινὰ ἐνοχλούντων. Ὀξυαῖους μὲν δὴ καὶ Περθεηνάτας καὶ Βαθιάτας καὶ Ταυλαντίους καὶ Καμβαίους καὶ Κινάμβρους καὶ Μερομέννους καὶ Πυρισσαίους εἴλε δι' ὅλης πείρας· ἔργῳ δὲ μείζονι ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ φόρους ὅσους ἐξέλιπον ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀποδοῦναι, Δοκλεᾶται τε καὶ Κάρνοι καὶ Ἰντερφρουρίνοι καὶ Ναρήσιοι καὶ Γλιντιδίωνες καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. ὧν ἀλόντων οἱ ὅμοροι προσέθεντο αὐτῷ καταπλαγέντες, Ἰππασίνοι τε καὶ Βεσσοί. ἐτέρους δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποστάντας, Μελιτηνοὺς καὶ Κορκυρηνοὺς, οἱ νήσους ὥκουν, ἀνέστησεν ἄρδην, ὅτι ἐλήστευον τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἐκτείνε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπέδοτο. Λιβυρνῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφείλετο, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἐλήστευον. Ἰαπόδων δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Μοεντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Αὐενδεᾶται προσέθεντο αὐτῷ προσιόντι, Ἀρουπίνοι δ', οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι τῶνδε τῶν Ἰαπόδων εἰσὶν, ἐκ τῶν κομῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστὺ ἀνωκίσαντο, καὶ προσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς ὕλας συνέφυγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τὸ ἄστὺ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας ἐνδῶσειν αὐτούς· καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν.

[17] μάλιστα δ' ἠνώχλησαν αὐτὸν Σαλασσοί τε καὶ Ἰάποδες οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ καὶ Δαλμάται καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται καὶ Παίονες, ὄντες ἐκὰς τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, οἱ κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὄρη δύσβατα, καὶ στενὴ διόδός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ δυσχερής· δι' ᾧ καὶ ἦσαν αὐτόνομοι, καὶ τέλη

τοὺς παροδεύοντας ἤτουν. τούτοις Οὐέτερ ἐμπεσὼν ἀδοκίτῳ τὰ στενὰ προύλαβε δι' ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἐπὶ διετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. οἱ δὲ ἀλῶν ἀπορία, ὧν εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἐν χρεῖα, φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο. καὶ Οὐέτερος ἀποστάντος τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξέβαλον εὐθύς, καὶ τὰ στενὰ κρατυνάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος διέπαιζον, οὐδὲν δρᾶν μέγα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, προσδοκώμενου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμου, συνέθετο αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν, καὶ ἀκολάστους τῶν ἐπὶ Οὐέτερι πραχθέντων. οἱ δ' ἄτε ἐν ὑποψία ταῦτ' ἔχοντες ἄλλας πολλοὺς ἐσώρρευον, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθεον, μέχρι Μεσσάλας Κορουίνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεμφθεὶς λιμῶ παρεστήσατο.

[18] καὶ Σαλασσοὶ μὲν οὕτως ἐλήφθησαν, Ἰάποδες δὲ οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων, ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄγριον, δις μὲν ἀπεώσαντο Ῥωμαίους, ἔτεσί που ἄγχοῦ εἴκοσιν, Ἀκυληῖαν δ' ἐπέδραμον καὶ Τερρηστὸν Ῥωμαίων ἄποικον ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁδὸν ἀνάντη καὶ τραχεῖαν: οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐδυσχέρανιν αὐτῶ, τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες. ὥς δ' ἀνῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην αὐτοὶ συνέφυγον καὶ προσιόντα ἐλόχων. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε γὰρ αἰεὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἐς τὰς ἀκρωρείας τινὰς ἐπεμπε, οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶ συνέθεον προβαίνοντι διὰ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ καὶ κόπτοντι τὴν ὕλην: οἱ δὲ Ἰάποδες ἐπεξέθεον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιτρεχόντων κατεκόπτοντο οἱ πλείους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάλιν ἐς τὰ λάσια συνέφευγον, τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες, ἧ ὄνομα Τέρπωνος. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας καὶ τούσδε ἐνδώσειν: καὶ ἐνέδωκαν.

[19] ἐπὶ δ' ἐτέραν πόλιν ἐχώρει, Μετοῦλον, ἧ τῶν Ἰαπόδων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ, κεῖται δ' ἐν ὄρει σφόδρα ὑλῶδει ἐπὶ δύο λόφων, οὓς διαιρεῖ χαράδρα στενὴ. καὶ ἡ νεότης ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχίλιους μαχίμους τε καὶ σφόδρα εὐόπλους: οἱ Ῥωμαῖους τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν περιστάντας εὐκόλως ἀπεκρούοντο. οἱ δὲ χῶμα ἤγειρον: καὶ οἱ Μετοῦλοι τό τε χῶμα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκτρέχοντες ἠνώχλουν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους μηχαναῖς κατεπόνουν, ἃς ἐσχέκεσαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ὃν Δέκμος Βροῦτος ἐνταῦθα ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ. πονοῦντος δὲ κάκεινους ἤδη τοῦ τεύχους, οἷδ' ὑπετείχισαν ἐνδοθεν, καὶ τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἐκλιπόντες μετεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ νεότευκτον: οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐκλειφθὲν λαβόντες ἐνέπρησαν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου δύο χώματα ἔχουν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεφύρας τέσσαρας ἐξέτεινον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ περιέπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὰ ὀπίσθια τῆς πόλεως, περισπᾶν τοὺς Μετούλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις προσέταξε περὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη. διὰ τῶν γεφυρῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ὑψηλὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς ἑώρα.

[20] οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τοῖς περῶσιν ὑπήντων τε ἐκ μετώπου κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ ὑπεδρεύνοντες ἕτεροι τὰς γεφύρας μακροῖς δόρασιν ὑπεκέντων, μᾶλλον τε ἐθάρρησαν μιᾶς γεφύρας καὶ δευτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ πεσοῦσης. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη συνέπεσε, φόβος ἤδη παντελεῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαῖους ἐπέιχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπέβαινε, ἕως ὃς Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου καταθορῶν ὠνείδιζεν αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἐρεθιζομένων, αὐτὸς ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔτο δρόμῳ. συνέθεον δ' αὐτῶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Ἴρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ Λούτος καὶ Οὐόλας, τέσσαρες οἷδε μόνοι, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν περῶντος, ἐν αἰδοῖ γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς

ἀνεπήδησεν ἄθρους. καὶ πάλιν ἡ γέφυρα βαρηθεῖσα καταπίπτει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἄθροοι κατεχώννυντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συντριβέντες ἐφέροντο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπλήγη μὲν τὸ σκέλος τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἄμφω, ἀνέδραμε δ' ὁμως εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξεν ἔρρωμένον, μὴ τις ὡς ἀποθανόντος γένοιτο θόρυβος. ἵνα δὲ μὴδ' οἱ πολέμιοι νομίσειαν αὐτὸν ἐνδώσειν ἀναχωρήσαντα, εὐθὺς ἐτέρας ἐπήγνυτο γεφύρας. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα κατέπληξε τοὺς Μετούλους ὡς ὑπὸ γνώμης ἀμάχου πολεμουμένους.

[21] καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμήρους τε πενήτηντα ἔδωσαν, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελέξατο, καὶ φρουρὰν ὑποσχόμενοι δέξεσθαι τὸν ὑψηλότερον λόφον τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετεχώρουν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσελθοῦσα ἡ φρουρὰ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἀποθέσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἡγανάκτησάν τε, καὶ τὰ γύναια σφῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συγκλείσαντες, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπιστήσαντες, οἷς εἴρητο, εἴ τι ἀηδὲς γίγνεται περὶ αὐτοὺς, ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπεχειροῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὶ μετ' ἀπονοίας. οἷα δ' ὑψηλοτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ ταπεινοῦ, συνεχώσθησαν ἄθροοι, καὶ οἱ φύλακες τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέπησαν, πολλὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἑαυτάς τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι φέρουσαι ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνήλαντο, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι τῶν Μετούλων τὴν τε νεότητα πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων τὸ πλεόν τῷ πυρί. συγκατεφλέγη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἵχνος μεγίστης ἐκεῖθι γενομένης. Μετούλου δ' ἀλούσης οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰαπόδων καταπλαγέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἰάποδες μὲν οὖν οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων τότε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκουσαν· καὶ αὐτῶν Ποσηνοὺς ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστάντας ἐπιπεμφθεῖς αὐτοῖς Μάρκος Ἐλουῖος εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδωκε.

[22] ἐς δὲ τὴν Σεγεστικὴν γῆν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δις πρότερον ἐμβαλόντες οὔτε ὄμηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι εἰλήφεσαν· ὅθεν ἦσαν ἐπὶ φρονήματος οἱ Σεγεστανοί. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐπῆει διὰ τῆς Παιόνων γῆς, οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ τῆσδε ὑπηκούου γενομένης. ὑλῶδης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Παιόνων, καὶ ἐπιμήκης ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους. καὶ οὐ πόλεις ὄκουν οἱ Παῖονες οἶδε, ἀλλ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν· οὐδ' ἐς βουλευτήρια κοινὰ συνήεσαν, οὐδ' ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μάχης ἐς δέκα μυριάδας συνετέλουν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι συνήεσαν ἄθροοι δι' ἀναρχίαν. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὰς ὕλας ὑποφυγόντες τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνήρουν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἕως μὲν ἠλπιζεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε τὰς κώμας οὔτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐλυμαίνετο, οὐκ ἀπαντώντων δὲ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη καὶ ἔκειρεν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἐς ὃ διήλθεν ἐς τὴν Σεγεστανῶν, καὶ τήνδε Παιόνων οὔσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Σάου ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πόλις ἔστιν ἐχυρά, τῷ τε ποταμῷ καὶ τάφρῳ μεγίστῃ διελημμένη, διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῆς ἔχρηζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταμείῳ χρησόμενος ἐς τὸν Δακῶν καὶ Βαστερνῶν πόλεμον, οἱ πέραν εἰσὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου, λεγομένου μὲν ἐνταῦθα Δανουβίου, γιγνομένου δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον Ἰστρου. ἐμβάλλει δ' ὁ Σάος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν τῷ Σάῳ Καίσαρι ἐγίγνοντο, αἱ ἐς τὸν Δανούβιον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν διοίσειν ἔμελλον.

[23] διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Σεγέστης ἔχρηζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ· προσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ

Σεγεστανοὶ προσέπεμψαν, πυνθανόμενοι τίνος χρήξει. ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν ἐσαγαγεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὁμήρους ἑκατὸν λαβεῖν, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ταμιεῖω τῇ πόλει χρῶτο ἐπὶ Δάκας. ἦται δὲ καὶ σῖτον, ὅσον δύναιτο φέρειν. ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν πρωτεύοντες ἡξίουσαν δοῦναι: ὁ δὲ ἄσπις ἐξαγριαίνων τὰ μὲν ὄμηρα διδόμενα περιεῖδεν, ὅτι ἴσως οὐ παρὰ σφῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων παῖδες ἦσαν, προσιούσης δὲ τῆς φρουρᾶς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ὀρμῇ μανιώδει τὰς πύλας αὐθις ἀπέκλειον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου, καὶ χάρακας καὶ τάφρους πάντοθεν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀποτειχίσας δ' αὐτοὺς δύο χώματα ἔχου. οἷς ἐπέδραμον μὲν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ πολλάκις, οὐ δυνηθέντες δ' ἐλεῖν λαμπάδας καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἄνωθεν ἐπέβαλλον. προσιούσης δ' αὐτοῖς Παιόνων ἐτέρων βοηθείας, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐνῆδρευσεν αὐτήν: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνῆρέθησαν, οἱ δ' ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι Παιόνων ἐβοήθει.

[24] οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ δὲ πᾶσαν πολιορκίαν ὑποστάντες ἡμέρᾳ τριακοστῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἰκετεύειν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαίνω τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐλέω τῆς ἰκεσίας οὔτε ἔκτεινεν οὔτε ἀνέστησεν, ἀλλὰ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσε, καὶ τῆς πόλεως μέρος διατειχίσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σπειρῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰδ' ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέξεν, ὡς ἦρος ἐπανήξων ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα. φήμης δ' ἐπιδραμούσης ὅτι τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέθορε χειμῶνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τέλος τῆς φήμης ψευδὲς ἦν, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀληθῆ: ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ ἐν κινδύνῳ, τῶν Σεγεστανῶν αὐτοὺς ἄφνω περιστάντων, καὶ πολλοὺς τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἀπωλώλεκε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προελθόντες ἐκράτουν τῶν Σεγεστανῶν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας μετῆι, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, Ταυλαντίους ὁμορον.

[25] οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἐξ οὗ τὰς ὑπὸ Γαβινίῳ πέντε τάξεις ἀνῆρήκεσαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τὰ ὄπλα οὐκ ἀπετέθειντο ἔτεσιν ἡδὴ δέκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς συμμαχήσιν ἀλλήλοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πλείους, ὧν στρατηγὸν Οὐέρσον αἰροῦνται. ὁ δὲ Πρωμόναν αὐθις, τὴν τῶν Λιβυρνῶν πόλιν, καταλαβὼν ὠχύρου, καὶ τᾶλλα οὖσαν ἐκφυῶς ὀχυρωτάτην: ὄρειον γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτῷ περικείται λόφοι πάντοθεν ὀξεῖς οἷα πρίονες. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλεόν ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόφοις διέθηκεν Οὐέρσος φρούρια: καὶ πάντες ἐφεώρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερόν πάντας ἀπετείχιζε, λάθρα δὲ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἔπεμπε ζητεῖν ἄνοδον ἐς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῶν λόφων. καὶ οἱ μὲν, τῆς ὕλης αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλυπτούσης, νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτουσι τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐναζομένοις, καὶ κτείνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι κατέσεισαν ὑπὸ λύγῃ: ὁ δὲ τῆς τε πόλεως ἐς πείραν ἦι τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, καὶ ἐς τὸ εἰλημμένον ἄκρον ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἔπεμπε, οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόφοις ἐπικατήσαν. φόβος τε καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρουμένοις πάντοθεν: μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἔδεισαν διὰ τὸ ἄνυδρον, μὴ τῶν διόδων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. καὶ συμφεῦγουσιν ἐς τὴν Πρωμόναν.

[26] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτήν τε καὶ δύο λόφους, οἱ ἔτι ἐκρατοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁμοῦ περιετείχιζε, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων περίμετρον. κὰν τοῦτω Τέστιμον Δαλμάτην, στρατὸν ἕτερον ἄγοντα τοῖς ἐν Πρωμόνῃ συμμαχόν,

ὑπαντήσας ἐδίδωκεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τεστίμου τὴν Πρωμόναν εἶλεν, οὐπὼ τῆς περιτειχίσεως τετελεσμένης. ἐκδραμόντων γὰρ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ συνελαννομένων ὀξέως, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν συνεσέπεσον, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τούτων ἔνδον ἔκτειναν: οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέδραμον. καὶ σπεῖρα Ῥωμαίων ἐφύλασσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. οἷς προσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι νυκτὸς τετάρτης, καὶ ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σπεῖρα τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀνέκοψε τῆς ὁρμῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης εἶλε παραδόντας ἑαυτούς: τὴν δὲ σπεῖραν ἡ τὸ φυλάκιον ἐξέλιπε διακληρώσας, ἐζημίωσε θανάτῳ τὸ δέκατον, καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δύο. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνου τοῦ θέρους κριθὴν ἀντὶ σίτου τραφήναι δίδοσθαι.

[27] οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Πρωμόνα, Τέστιμος δ' ὁρῶν διεσκέδασε τὸν στρατὸν ἑαυτοῦ, φεύγειν ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ: ὅθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκειν ἐς πολὺ, τὴν τε διαίρεσιν σφῶν τὴν ἐς πολλὰ δείσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς φυγῆς συγκεχυμένα. Συνόδιον δ' αἰροῦσι πόλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ὕλης, ἐν ἣ τὸν Γαβινίου στρατὸν ἐνήδρευσαν οἱ Δαλμάται περὶ φάραγγι βαθεῖα καὶ ἐπιμήκει καὶ μέσῃ δύο ὁρῶν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐνήδρευνον. ὁ δὲ τό τε Συνόδιον ἐνέπρησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη περιπέμψας ἄνω στρατὸν ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συμπαρομαρτεῖν, αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς φάραγγος, κόπτων τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὰς πόλεις αἰρῶν, καὶ πάντα ἐμπιπράς ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦρει. πολιορκουμένης δὲ πόλεως Σετουῖας, ἐπῆει τις αὐτοῖς συμμαχία βαρβάρων, ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐκώλυσεν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐς τὴν Σετουῖαν. κὰν τῷ πόνῳ τῷδε ἐπλήγη λίθῳ τὸ γόνυ, καὶ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθεραπεύετο. ῥαῖσας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ὑπατεύσων σὺν Οὐολκατίῳ Τύλλῳ, Στατίλιον Ταῦρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καταλιπών.

[28] νουμηνία δ' ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδοὺς Αὐτρωνίῳ Παίτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐξέθερεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τοὺς Δαλμάτας, ἄρχων ἔτι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν: δύο γὰρ ἔλειπεν ἔτη τῇ δευτέρᾳ πενταετία τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκεκυρώκει. οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἤδη κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀγορῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, ἐρχομένῳ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπῆντων καὶ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, ὅμηρά τε δόντες ἐπτακοσίους παῖδας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤτει, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ σημεῖα τὰ Γαβινίου: τὸν δὲ φόρον τὸν ἀπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐκλειφθέντα ἀποδώσειν ὑποστάντες, εὐπειθεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο. τὰ σημεῖα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθηκεν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ὀκταουία λεγομένη. Δαλματῶν δ' ἀλόντων καὶ Δερβανοὶ προσιόντα τὸν Καῖσαρα συγγνώμην ἤτουν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλειφθέντας φόρους ὑπέστησαν ἀποδώσειν. τῶν δὲ ... οἷς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλησίασε, καὶ ὁμήρους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔδοσαν: ὅσοις δ' οὐκ ἐπλησίασε διὰ νόσον, οὗτ' ἔδοσαν οὔτε συνέθεντο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἶδε ὕστερον ὑπαχθέντες.

οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση τε ἀφειστήκει Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ πρότερον ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλὴ θρίαμβον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι, ὃν ἐθρίαμβευσεν ὕστερον ἅμα τοῖς κατ' Ἀντωνίου.

[29] λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παίωνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. Ῥαιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρικοὺς ἡγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἢ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειρούμενον Παίονας: ἐν μέσῳ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡῦρον ἴδιον ἐς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νωρικοὺς γενόμενον: ὅθεν μοι δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι.

[30] Μυσοὺς δὲ Μᾶρκος μὲν Λεύκολλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λικινίου Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτη πολεμήσαντος, κατέδραμε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλὼν, ἔνθα εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες ἐξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροικοι, Ἰστρος τε καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ Μεσημβρία, καὶ Καλλατίς, καὶ Ἀπολλωνία: ἐξ ἧς ἐς Ῥώμην μετήνεγκε τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ. καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἡῦρον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας ἐς Μυσοὺς γενόμενον, οὐδ' ἐς φόρου ὑπαχθέντας οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ: ὑπήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβέριου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Σεβαστὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου. ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ μὲν πρὸ ἀλώσεως Αἰγύπτου πάντα ὑπὸ νεύματι τοῦ δήμου γενόμενα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν συγγέγραπται, ἃ δὲ μετ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ αὐτοκράτορες οἶδε ἐκρατύναντο ἢ προσέλαβον, ὥς ἴδια αὐτῶν ἔργα, μετὰ τὰ κοινὰ εἴρηται: ἔνθα καὶ περὶ Μυσῶν ἐρῶ πλεονα. νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγοῦνται, καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμά μοι τοῦτο Ἰλλυρικόν ἐστιν, ὥς ἂν εἴη τὸ σύγγραμμα ἐντελές, ἐδόκει προειπεῖν ὅτι καὶ Μυσοὺς Λεύκολλός τε τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν ἐπέδραμε καὶ Τιβέριος εἴλε κατά τὴν μόναρχον ἐξουσίαν.

Συριακή

Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντίοχου, Σύρων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς, ἔκτος δὲ ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ Εὐφράτην βεβασιλευκότος, ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Μηδίαν τε καὶ Παρθυνήν καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη ἀφιστάμενα ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δράσας, καὶ μέγας Ἀντίοχος ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληθεὶς, ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὰ προσωνυμία, Συρίαν τε τὴν κοίλην καὶ Κιλικίας ἔστιν ἃ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, Αἰγύπτου βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, ἐπιδραμὼν περιέσπασε, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος Ἑλλησποντίους ἐπῆει καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Ἴωνας ὡς οἱ προσήκοντας ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀσίας, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέων ὑπῆκουον. ἐς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαπλευσας Θράκην ὑπῆγετο καὶ τὰ ἀπειθοῦντα ἐβιάζετο, Χερρόνησόν τε ὠχύρου, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ὥκιζεν, ἣν Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ Θράκης ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεύσας ἔκτισεν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς Θραξίν εἶναι, οἱ Θραῖκες δ' ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου καθηρῆκεσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνῴκιζε, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον ὠνούμενος, καὶ ἐτέρους προσκαταλέγων, καὶ βοῦς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτείχισματος ὁρμὴν: πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο λαμπρῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ ὅλῃ Θράκῃ, καὶ ταμιεῖον εὐκαιρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὧν ἐπενόει πάντων ἔσσεσθαι.

[2] ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διαφορᾷ φανερᾷ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἦρξεν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ μετῆι τὰς τῆδε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, οἱ μὲν πλέονες αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο καὶ φρουρὰς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς ἀλώσεως, Συμρναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἔτι ἀντέχοντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Φλαμινῖνον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγόν, ἄρτι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνης μεγάλῃ μάχῃ περὶ Θετταλίαν κεκρατηκότα: ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ Μακεδόνων καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίμικτα ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη καὶ χρόνους, ὥς μοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται. καὶ γίνονται τινες Ἀντίοχῳ καὶ Φλαμινίῳ διαπρεσβεύσεις τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀπόπειραι ἀτελεῖς, ἐκ πολλοῦ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπόπτως εἶχον ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες Ἀντίοχον ἐπαιρόμενον ἀρχῆς τε μεγέθει καὶ εὐπραξίας ἀκμῇ, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίους οἱ μόνους αὐξομένῳ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ κωλύειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην περαιούμενον. οὐδενὸς δὲ πω φανεροῦ γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, αἰτιωμένου Συρίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν Ἀντίοχον αὐτὸν ὑφελέσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐπέβαινον ἄσμενοι, κατὰ καιρὸν σφίσι γενομένης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἔστελλον, οἱ λόγῳ μὲν ἔμελλον συναλλάξειν Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντίοχῳ, ἔργῳ δὲ κατασκέψεσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν Ἀντίοχου καὶ κωλύειν ὅσα δύναιντο.

[3] τούτων δὴ τῶν πρέσβεων Γναῖος ἡγούμενος ἡξίου τὸν Ἀντίοχον Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν, ὄντι Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ, συγχωρεῖν ἄρχειν ὅσων ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσία πόλεις, ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἦρχεν, αὐτονόμους ἔαν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον Ἀντίοχον κρατεῖν ὧν Φίλιππον ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι.

ὅλως δ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη τί τοσοῦτον στόλον ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τοσαύτην στρατιάν ἄγων ἄνωθεν ἐκ Μήδων ἔλθοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐσβάλοι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζοιτο, καὶ Θράκην ὑπάγοιτο, εἰ μὴ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐτέρου πολέμου θεμέλια. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο Θράκην μὲν, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην τε καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ἐκπεσοῦσαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ὦν ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐγείρειν οἰκητήριον Σελεύκῳ τῷ παιδί εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν, εἰ τὴν χάριν οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλ' ἐαυτῷ μέλλοιεν ἔξειν. 'Πτολεμαίῳ δ', ἔφη, 'καὶ συγγενῆς εἰμι καὶ ὅσον οὐπω καὶ κηδεστής ἔσομαι, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν παρασκευάσω. ἀπορῶ δὲ κἀγὼ τίνι Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦντος.'

[4] οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν, ἀπορρηγνύντες ἤδη τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐς τὸ φανερώτερον: λόγου δὲ καὶ δόξης ἐμπεσοῦσης ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ ἀποθάνοι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπῆει ὡς Αἴγυπτον ἔρημον ἄρχοντας ἀρπασόμενος. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἑφeson Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος συμβάλλει, φεύγων τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἐχθρῶν διαβολάς, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι δύσερίν τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ οὐποτε εἰρηνεῦειν δυνάμενον. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουον ἔνσπονδοι. Ἀννίβαν μὲν δὴ διώνυμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις ὄντα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς καὶ εἶχεν ἄμφ' αὐτόν: περὶ δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν Πτολεμαῖον περιεῖναι μαθὼν Αἰγύπτου μὲν ἀπέγνω, Κύπρον δ' ἐλπίσας αἰρήσειν ἀντὶ Αἰγύπτου διέπλει κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτήν. χειμῶνι δ' ἄμφι τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν συμπεσόν, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαλὼν, ἐνίας δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φίλοις, ἐς Σελεύκειαν τῆς Συρίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ τὸν στόλον κατεσκεύαζε πεπονημένον. γάμους τε τῶν παίδων ἔθυεν, Ἀντιόχου καὶ Λαοδίκης, ἀλλήλοις συναρμόζων.

[5] ἤδη δὲ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐγνωκῶς ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἐπιγαμίαις τοὺς ἐγγὺς βασιλέας προκατελάμβανε, καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔστελλε Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Σύραν ἐπὶ κλησιν, προῖκα Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἐπιδιδούς, ἦν αὐτὸς ἀφήρητο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, θεραπεύων ἤδη τὸ μειράκιον, ἴν' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρεμῇ: Ἀντιοχίδα δ' ἐπεμπεν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν Εὐμένει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἑώρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις τε πολεμῆσειοντα καὶ πρὸς τήνδε τὴν χρεῖαν τὸ κῆδος αὐτῷ συναπτόμενον ἠρνήσατο, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀττάλῳ τε καὶ Φιλεταίρῳ, θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι κῆδος βασιλέως τοσοῦδε καὶ γείτονος, αὐτοῦ τε κατάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου, παραιτοῖτο, ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ τι παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἔξειν ἰσοπαλές, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ὑπεροίσειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων δι' εὐψυχίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν. 'ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, 'Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπικρατούντων βεβαίως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἄρξω, Ἀντιόχου δὲ νικῶντος ἐλπίς μὲν ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα πρὸς γείτονος, ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ ἔχοντα βασιλεύσειν βασιλεύομενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου.'

[6] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῖσδε λογισμοῖς τοὺς γάμους ἀπέωσατο, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος αὖθις ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κατήει, καὶ περιπλεύσας ἐς Χερρόνησον πολλὰ καὶ τότε τῆς Θράκης ὑπήγετό τε καὶ κατεστρέφετο. Ἑλληνας δ', ὅσοι τοῖς Θραζῖν ὑπήκουον, ἡλευθέρου, καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐχαρίζετο πολλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ καιρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ

στόματος πόλιν ἔχουσιν. Γαλάτας τε δώροις καὶ καταπλήξει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγετο, ἀξιομάχους ἡγούμενος ἔσσεσθαι οἱ διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν σωμάτων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς Ἑφεσον κατῆρε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε Λυσίαν τε καὶ Ἥγησιάνακτα καὶ Μένιππον, οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποπειράσειν ἔμελλον, τῷ λόγῳ δ' ὁ Μένιππος ἔφη τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν ἐσπουδακότα, καὶ βουλόμενον αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἂν ἀξιῶσι, θαυμάζειν ὅτι κελεύουσι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ φόρους τισὶν ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἓνα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ Θράκην ἔαν ἀεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην: ἅπερ οὐ τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡττημένοις τοὺς κεκρατηκότας ἐπικελεύειν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας συνιέντες ἐπὶ διαπεύρα σφῶν ἀφιγμένης, διὰ βραχείας ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἔαν Ἀντίοχος αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔᾶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχηται, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔσσεσθαι φίλον, ἂν ἐθέλῃ.

[7] τοσάδε μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ταῖς ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἐπέθεσαν: ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐς πρώτην ἐπινοῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσβαλεῖν, κάκειθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου, ὑπετίθετο τὴν γνώμην τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ Ἀννίβᾳ: ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἐκ πολλοῦ τετρυμένην ἔργον εὐχείρωτον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἅπασι χαλεποὺς μὲν οἴκοι διὰ λιμὸν τὸν ἐπιγιγνόμενον, ἔξω δὲ κουφοτέρους: καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐ ποτε Ἀντίοχον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καθαιρήσειν, ἀγορᾶς τε οἰκείας καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱκανῆς εὐπορούντων. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τι προλαβεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενον, ἵνα Ῥωμαίοις ἀσθενέστερα ἢ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι καὶ τὰ ἔξω. 'ἔχω δ' ἐμπείρωσ,' ἔφη, 'τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ μυρίοις ἀνδράσι δύναμαι καταλαβεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπικαίρα, ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐγείραι, δυσφοροῦντα τέως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπίστως ἔχοντα, τόλμης τε καὶ ἐλπίδος ἐμπλησόμενον, εἰ πύθοιντό με πορθοῦντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις.' ὁ δ' ἄσμενος ἀκούσας τοῦ λόγου, καὶ μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος Καρχηδόνα προσλαβεῖν, αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐπιστέλλειν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκέλευεν.

[8] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέστειλε μὲν 'οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτό πω, Ῥωμαίων τε πάντ' ἀνερευνομένων, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μὴ πω φανεροῦ γεγονότος, καὶ πολλῶν οἱ διαφορομένων ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδ' εὐσταθὲς ἐχούσης, ἃ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνέτρεψε τὴν Καρχηδονά, Ἀρίστωνά δ' ἔμπορον Τύριον ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ἐμπορίας ἔπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀξιῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τότε ἐκείνους τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐς ἄμυναν ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἐγείρειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστον οὕτως ἔπραξεν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐχθροί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐπιδημίας, ἐθορύβουν ὥς ἐπὶ νεωτέρους ἔργοις, καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστωνά ἐζήτουν περιόντες. ὁ δέ, ἵνα τὴν διαβολὴν μὴ ἐξαίρετον ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀννίβου φίλοι, προὔθηκε νυκτὸς λαθὼν γράμματα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὅτι πάντας ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρακαλοῖ τῇ πατρίδι συνάρασθαι μετ' Ἀντιόχου. καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ μὲν δέος ἐξήρητο τῶν Ἀννίβου φίλων ἐκ τῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐπινοίας, ὥς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπεσταλμένου, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπεπλήρωτο θορύβου ποικίλου, δυσμενῶς μὲν ἔχουσα Ῥωμαίοις, λήσεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶσα.

[9] καὶ τὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίων ὧδε εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις, ἑτεροὶ τε καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐς ὁμοίαν πεμφθέντες Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε γνώμης ἀπόπειραν καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς κατὰσκεψιν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡῦρον οἰχόμενον ἐς Πισίδας, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περιέμενον, ἔνθα συνήεσαν θαμινὰ ἐς λόγους τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, Καρχηδόνος τε σφίσιν ἔτι οὔσης ἐνσπόνδου καὶ οὐπω φανερῶς Ἀντιόχου πολεμίου, καταμεμφόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα φύγοι, Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμαρτόντων. ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦθ', ὑποπτον ἐργαζόμενοι γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς σφῶν ὁμιλίας τε καὶ συνόδου. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν στρατηγικώτατος Ἀννίβας οὐχ ὑπενόησεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὑπόπτεισε, καὶ ἀμβλύτερος ἦν τὰπὸ τοῦδε πιστεῦειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ: καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ζήλου προὔπην ἐς αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ φθόνου, μὴ τῶν γιγνομένων τὸν ἔπαινον Ἀννίβας ἀποφέροίτο.

[10] λέγεται δ' ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λεσχηνεῦσαί ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σκιπίωνα καὶ Ἀννίβαν περὶ στρατηγίας πολλῶν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐρομένου τίς δοκοίη οἱ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος γενέσθαι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν εἰπεῖν, 'ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος.' Σκιπίωνα δ' ἡσυχάσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδ', ἐξιστάμενον ἄρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐπανερέσθαι δὲ τίς εἴη δεύτερος μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τὸν φάναι, 'Πύρρος ὁ Ἡπειρώτης,' τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄρα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐν τόλμῃ τιθέμενον: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν μεγαλοτολμοτέρους τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων. δακνόμενον δ' ἤδη τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὅμως ἐπανερέσθαι ἐπὶ τίνι διδοίη τὰ τρίτα, ταχὺ γοῦν ἐλπίζοντα ἔξειν τὰ τρίτα. τὸν δέ, 'ἐμαυτῷ,' φάναι: 'νέος γὰρ ὢν ἐπὶ Ἰβηρίας τε ἐκράτησα, καὶ στρατῶ τὰ Ἀλπεῖα ὄρη μετ' Ἡρακλέα πρῶτος ὑπερῆλθον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὑμῶν οὐδενός ποθαρροῦντος, ἐμβαλὼν τετρακόσια ἀνέστησα ἄσθη, καὶ περὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ἀγῶνα πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπέστησα, οὔτε μοι χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιᾶς ἐπιτεμπομένης ἐκ Καρχηδόνος.' ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἶδεν ἀπομηκύνοντα τὴν σεμνολογίαν, ἔφη γελάσας, 'ποῦ δ' ἂν ἐαυτὸν ἔταττες, ὦ Ἀννίβα, μὴ νενικημένος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ;' τὸν δέ φασιν, αἰσθανόμενον ἤδη τῆς ζηλοτυπίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐγωγε ἔταξα ἂν ἐμαυτὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπέμεινέ τε τῇ σεμνολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα λαθὼν ἐθεράπευσεν ὥς καθελόντα τὸν ἄμεινονα Ἀλεξάνδρου:

[11] διαλυομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου Σκιπίωνα μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ξένια ἐκάλει, Σκιπίων δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἂν ἔφη μάλα προθύμως, εἰ μὴ συνῆσθα νῦν Ἀντιόχῳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑπόπτως ἔχοντι. ὧδε μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξίως, τὴν ἔχθραν ὀρίζοντο τοῖς πολέμοις, Φλαμινῖνος δ' ἀνομοίως. ἡττηθέντος γὰρ ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἀλώμενον περὶ Βιθυνίαν, πρεσβεύων, ἐφ' ἑτέρα πρὸς Προυσίαν, οὔτε τι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπαθὼν, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων ἐντειλαμένων, οὔτε φοβερὸν ἔτι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι δυνάμενον Καρχηδόνος κατεστραμμένης, ἔκτεινε διὰ τοῦ Προυσίου φαρμάκῳ, λεγόμενον μὲν ἐσσηκέναι ποτὲ χρησμὸν ὧδε ἔχοντα 'Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας,' καὶ οἰόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ τεθνήξεσθαι, ποταμὸς δ' ἔστι Λίβυσσος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ, καὶ πεδίον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Λίβυσσα. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς ὑπόμνημα τῆς Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλονοίας καὶ Φλαμινίνου

σμικρότητος παρεθέμην.

[12] ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐκ Πισιδῶν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπανήει, καὶ χρηματίσας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι Ῥοδίους μὲν καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικηνούς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες, αὐτονόμους ἐπηγγείλατο ἑάσειν, εἰ γίνονται αὐτῷ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, Αἰολέας δὲ καὶ Ἴωνας οὐ συνεχώρει ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας εἰθισμένους ὑπακούειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοντες 'οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἔργῳ συμβάσεων ἐληλύθεσαν ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπόπειραν' ὥχοντο ἐς Ῥώμην: Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἦκον Αἰτωλῶν πρέσβεις, ὧν Θόας ἦρχεν, αὐτοκράτορά τε στρατηγὸν Αἰτωλῶν Ἀντίοχον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ διαπλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤδη παρακαλοῦντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔτοιμον. οὐδὲ εἶων ἀναμένειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω κατιοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Αἰτωλῶν ὑπερεπαίροντες, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σφίσι καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν Μακεδόνα, Ῥωμαίοις μηνίοντα, συμμαχήσειν, ἐπέσπερχον ἐς τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ δ' ἠρεθίζετο μάλα κουφόνως, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ προσαγγελθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ τεθνάναι τῆς ὁρμῆς τι ἐνδούς, διέπλει μετὰ μυρίων ὧν τότε εἶχε μόνων ἐς Εὐβοίαν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν αὐτὸς παρεστήσατο ἅπασαν, ἐνδοῦσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως: Μικιθίων δέ, αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, τοῖς περὶ Δήλιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν 'ιερὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον Ἀπόλλωνος' τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξώγρησεν.

[13] Ἀμύνανδρός τε, ὁ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλεὺς, ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆλθε διὰ τοιαύσδε προφάσεως. τῶν τις Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τραφεὶς καὶ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας ἀξιωθεὶς, ἑτερατεύετο γένος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου προσήκειν, γενομένους τέ οἱ παῖδας ὠνόμασεν, ἐς πίστιν ὧν ἐλογοποίει, Φίλιππὸν τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπάμαν, ἣν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ πρὸς γάμον ἠγγύησεν. ἀγαγὼν δ' αὐτὴν Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἀμύνανδρον εἶδεν ἀσθενῆ καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον, παρέμενε, τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ κῆδος διοικῶν. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Φίλιππον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τότε ἐπελπίζων ἐς τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ὡς οἰκεῖαν οἱ κατάξειν, προσέλαβε τοὺς Ἀθαμᾶνας ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Θηβαίους, αὐτὸς ἐς Θήβας παρελθὼν τε καὶ δημηγορήσας.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις τε καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοσῶδε πολέμῳ μάλα ματαίως ἐθάρρει, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐσκόπει πότερον εὐθὺς ἢ μετὰ χειμῶνα δεοὶ στρατεύειν: Ἀννίβαν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ σκέψει τῇδε ἡσυχάζοντα ἐκέλευε γνώμην πρῶτον ἐσενεγκεῖν.

[14] ὁ δ' ἔφη, 'Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν οὐ δυσχερές, εἴτε νῦν εἴτε μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐθέλοις, ὑπάγεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος ἐκ πολλοῦ πεπονηκὸς ἔς τε σὲ νῦν καὶ ἐς Ῥωμαίους αὖ, εἴ τι γίνοιτο νεώτερον, μεταβαλεῖται. ἤλθομεν δ' ἄνευ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπάγουσι πεισθέντες ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν: ὧν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἀκούω μετ' Ἀχαιῶν, Φίλιππον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ σοι παρόντα, δυνατόν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ῥοπήν, ὅποτερώσε προσθοῖτο, ποιῆσαι. τῆς δὲ γνώμης ἔχομαι τῆς αὐτῆς, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καλεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ μὴ ἐν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὅταν δ' ἀφίκηται, τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθεῖν, ἵνα

τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς περισπώμενοι τὰ σὰ λυπῶσιν ἥκιστα, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων δεδιότες μηδαμοῦ προῖωσιν. ὁ δὲ τρόπος οὐκέθ' ὅμοιος ᾧ προύλεγον, ἀλλὰ χρή τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς τῶν νεῶν τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας πορθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖς ναυλοχεῖν ἐφεδρεῦον ἐς τὰ συμφερόμενα, αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ παντὶ προκαθήμενον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν ἐσβολῆς, καὶ εἰ δύναιό ποτε, καὶ ἐσβαλεῖν. Φίλιππον δὲ πειρᾶσθαι μὲν προσάγεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ, πλεῖστον ἐς ἐκατέρους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ δυνάμενον: ἦν δ' ἀπειθῇ, τὸν σὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Σέλευκον ἐπιτέμπειν διὰ Θράκης, ἵνα καὶ ὅδε περισπώμενος οἰκείοις κακοῖς μηδὲν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμος.'

τοσάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας εἶπε, καὶ ἦν ἄριστα πάντων: ὑπὸ δὲ φθόνου τῆς τε δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἥσσαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖη σφῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῇ στρατηγίᾳ προφέρειν, μηδὲ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκείνου γένοιτο, μεθῆκαν ἅπαντα, πλὴν ὅτι Πολυξενίδας ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέμφθη.

[15] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρέσεώς τε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπύθοντο, πολεμεῖν ἐνηφίσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος, ἐκ πολλοῦ δι' ὑπονοίας ἀλλήλοις γενόμενος, τότε πρῶτον ἀπερρήγνυτο ἐς ἔργον: οἷα δ' Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, ὅλης ἐπικρατοῦντος, ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβεβηκότες ἤδη, καὶ δόξαν ἐπίφοβον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν ἔχοντος, πολλά τε ἄλλα καθ' ἐτέρων ἐξεργασμένου λαμπρά, δι' ἃ καὶ μέγας ἦν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ, τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνιον σφίσι καὶ μέγαν ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκων. φίλιππόν τε τὸν Μακεδόνα δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον, ἄρτι ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπεπολεμημένον, καὶ Καρχηδονίους, μὴ οὐ πιστοὶ σφίσιν ὧσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις, Ἀννίβου συνόντος Ἀντιόχῳ. τοὺς τε ἄλλους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὑπονοοῦντες, μὴ καὶ παρὰ τούτων τι νεώτερον ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχου δόξαν γένοιτο, στρατιὰν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐφεδρεῦειν εἰρηνικῶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, περιέπεμπον, οὓς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἐξαπελέκεας, ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων δωδέκα πελέκεσι καὶ δωδέκα ράβδοις, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀλαιοὶ βασιλεῖς, χρωμένων, τὸ ἡμῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔστι τοῖσδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεια παράσημα. ὥς δ' ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ, καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐδεύοντο, μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ σφίσιν ἢ πιστὴ ἢ βέβαιος ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ. πεζὸν δὲ πολλὸν ἐς Τάραντα διέπεμπον, ἐφεδρεῦειν τοῖς ἐπιούσι, καὶ νεῶν στόλος τὴν παράλιον περιέπλει. τοσόνδε φόβος ἦν Ἀντιόχου τὰ πρῶτα. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνετετάχατο πάντα, ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιόχον ἤδη κατέλεγον ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐς δισμυρίους ἄνδρος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ διπλάσιον, ὥς ἅμα τῷ ἥρι τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλοῦντες.

[16] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Θετταλοὺς, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Κυνὸς κεφαλαῖς, ἔνθα τὸ παῖσμα τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγένητο, τὰ λείπανα τῶν τότε πεσόντων ἄταφα ἔτι ὄντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαπτε, δημοκοπῶν ἐς Μακεδόνας, καὶ Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς διαβάλλων οὐ θάψαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. ὧν

πυθόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐνδοιάζων ἔτι καὶ περισκοπῶν ὁποτέρωσθε προσθοῖτο, αὐτίκα εἴλετο τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Βαίβιον τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν, ἄρχοντά τινας πλησίον στρατοῦ, καλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐς τι χωρίον, πίστεις αὐθις ἐδίδου Ῥωμαίους ἀδόλως συμμαχήσειν κατ' Ἀντιόχου. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαίβιος ἐπῆναι, καὶ θαρρήσας αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον μετὰ δισχιλίων πεζῶν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἄππιος ἀπὸ τῶν Τεμπῶν Ἀντίοχον Λαρίση παρακαθ' ἡμενον ἰδὼν πῦρ πολὺ ἤγειρεν, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ὀλιγότητα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ὡς Βαίβιου καὶ Φιλίππου παρόντων διαταραχθεὶς, ἐξέλιπε τὴν πολιορκίαν, πρόφασιν τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενος, καὶ ἐς Χαλκίδα παρήλθεν, ἔνθα κόρης εὐπρεποῦς ἔρωτι ἀλούς, ὑπὲρ ἔτη πεντήκοντα γεγυνώς καὶ τοσόνδε πόλεμον διαφέρων, ἔθυε γάμους καὶ πανηγύρεις ἤγε, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐς πᾶσαν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἀνῆκεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἤρος ἐμβάλων ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἦσθετο μὲν τῆς ἀργίας τοῦ στρατοῦ δυσέργου πρὸς ἅπαντα ὄντος, καὶ τότε τῶν γάμων αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως μετέμελεν: ὑπαγαγόμενος δ' ὅμως τινὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολιορκῶν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπύθετο περᾶν τὸν Ἴόνιον, ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀνεξεύγνυ.

[17] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῖς τότε ἐτοίμοις ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίους καὶ πεζοῖς δισμυρίους καὶ ἐλέφασί τισιν, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Ἀκιλίου Μανίου Γλαβρίωνος, ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαβαλόντες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐβάδιζον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξέλυον τῶν πολιορκιῶν, ἐν ὅσαις δ' ἦσαν ἤδη Ἀθαμάνων φρουραί, τὰς φρουράς ἐξέβαλλον. καὶ τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Φίλιππον αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον, ἐλπίζοντα ἔτι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. εἶλον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐς τρισχιλίους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Μάνιος εἰργάζετο, καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐς Ἀθαμανίαν ἐμβάλων πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἔλαβεν, Ἀμυνάνδρου φυγόντος ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν. ὢν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθανόμενός τε, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῶν γιγνομένων καταπλαγεὶς, ἔδεισεν ὥς ἐπὶ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ταχεῖα μεταβολῇ, καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας Ἀννίβου τότε ἦσθετο, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπεν ἐπισπέρχειν Πολυξενίδαν ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὅσους εἶχε, πανταχόθεν συνεκάλει. γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινῶν συμμάχων, Θερμοπύλας κατέλαβεν ὡς τὴν δυσχωρίαν προβαλούμενος τοῖς πολεμίους καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναμενῶν. δίοδος δ' ἐστὶν αἱ Θερμοπύλαι στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, καὶ αὐτὴν περιέχει τῇ μὲν θάλασσα τραχεῖα καὶ ἀλίμενος, τῇ δὲ ἔλος ἄβατόν τε καὶ βαραθρῶδες. κορυφαί τε εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ὀρῶν ἀπόκρημνοι, καὶ τούτων μὲν Τειχιοῦντα καλοῦσι τὴν δὲ Καλλιδρομον. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς, καὶ Θερμοπύλαι ἀπὸ τοῦδ' ἐπικλήζονται.

[18] τεῖχος οὖν ἐνταῦθα διπλοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέθηκεν. ἐς τε τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρῶν Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνέπεμψε, μή τις λάθοι κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἀτραπὸν περιελθὼν, ἥ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδαν Ξέρξης ἐπέθετο, ἀφυλάκτων τότε τῶν ὀρῶν ὄντων. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ χιλίους μὲν ἑκατέρῳ τῶνδε τῶν ἄκρων ἐπέστησαν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευήν, σημεῖον ἔδωκεν ἐς ἔω μάχης: καὶ δύο τῶν χιλιάρχων, Μᾶρκον Κάτωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον, ἐκέλευσε νυκτός,

ἐπιλεξαμένους ἑκάτερον ὁπόσους ἐθέλοι, τὰ ὄρη περιελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, βιάσασθαι. τούτων ὁ μὲν Λεύκιος ἀπεκρούσθη τοῦ Τειχιοῦντος, ἀγαθῶν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν γενομένων: ὁ δὲ Κάτων τῷ Καλλιδρόμῳ παραστρατοπεδεύσας, κοιμωμένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπέπεσε περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, καὶ πολὺς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐγίνετο ἄγών, βιαζόμενον ἐς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα κωλυνόντων τῶν πολεμίων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ Μάνιος ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀντιόχῳ κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους διηρημένην: ὧδε γὰρ μόνως ἐν στενοῖς ἐδύνετο. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς προμάχεσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὴν δ’ ἔστησε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ δ’ αὐτῆς τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν, τοὺς δ’ ἐλέφαντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ τὸ στίφος ὁ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ συνετάσσετο, παρὰ τῇ θαλάσῃ.

[19] γενομένης δ’ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὸν Μάνιον οἱ ψилоὶ πανταχόθεν περιτρέχοντες ἐλύπουν: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοπόνως δεχόμενός τε καὶ ἀναχωρῶν καὶ αὐθις ἐπιὼν ἐτρέψατο, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς ἢ φάλαγξ ἢ τῶν Μακεδόνων διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐν τάξει πυκνὰς προὐβάλλοντο, ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου κατεπλήσσοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀντίοις δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς οὐ τολμῶντας πελάζειν. αἰφνίδιον δ’ ὥφθη τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καλλιδρόμου φυγὴ καὶ βοή, καταλλομένων ἐς τὸ Ἀντιόχου στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑκατέροις ἄγνοιά τε τοῦ γιγνομένου καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ: ὡς δὲ ὁ Κάτων ἐπεφάνετο διώκων αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐγίνετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀντιόχου, ἔδεισαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων μάχης ἐπιφόβως ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ σφᾶς εἰδότες ὑπὸ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς δι’ ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς δυσεργίαν διεφθαρμένους. τοὺς τε σὺν τῷ Κάτωνι σαφῶς μὲν οὐ καθορῶντες ὁπόσοι τινὲς εἶεν ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου πλείους νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δείσαντες, ἀκόσμως ἐς αὐτὸ κατέφυγον ὡς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνοῦμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ αὐτοῖς παραθέοντες συνεσέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἦν ἄλλη φυγὴ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκεῖθεν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος μέχρι μὲν ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν ἐδίωκεν αὐτοὺς κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σκαρφείας ἐπανιών διήρπαξε τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπιδραμόντας τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐξήλασεν ἐπιφανείς.

[20] ἀπέθανον δ’ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἄμφι τοὺς διακοσίους, Ἀντιόχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς ληφθεῖσιν, ἄμφι τοὺς μυρίους. αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τροπῆς μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων ἐς Ἐλάτειαν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διέδραμεν, ἀπὸ δ’ Ἐλατείας ἐς Χαλκίδα καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον μετ’ Εὐβοίας τῆς νεογάμου· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὴν ὀνόμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔφυγεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπάσῶν: ἀγορὰν γάρ τινας αὐτῶν διαφερούσας ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ἐπαναχθεὶς διεφθάρκει. οἱ δ’ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης πυθόμενοι, ταχέας τε οὕτω σφίσι καὶ εὐχεροῦς φανείσης, ἔθουον, ἐκ φοβερᾶς τῆς Ἀντιόχου δόξης τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ἀσπασάμενοι. Φίλιππόν τε τῆς συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενοι, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον, ὀμηρεύοντα ἔτι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἔπεμψαν.

[21] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἐν ἄστει, Μάνιος δὲ Φωκέας μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συνεπεπράχesan, δεομένους ἀπέλυσε τοῦ δέους, τὴν δ' Αἰτωλίαν αὐτὸς τε καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδήουν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπολιόρουν. Δαμόκριτόν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μάνιος ἔλαβε κρυπτόμενον, ὃς Φλαμινίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν ἠπειλεῖ στρατοπεδεύσειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάνιος ἐπὶ Καλλιπόλεως διώδευε τὸ ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσι Κόρακα, ὑψηλότατόν τε ὄρων καὶ δυσόδευτον καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, μετὰ στρατοῦ βαρυτάτου τε καὶ λαφύρων καταγόμεναι: πολλοὶ δ' ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσοδίας ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, καὶ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπλοις κατεφέροντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντες ἂν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συνταράξαι οὐδὲ ὤφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκάλει, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε, ναυαρχοῦντος αὐτῷ Πολυξενίδου Ῥοδίου φυγάδος. ἔς τε Χερρόνησον διαπλεύσας πάλιν αὐτὴν ὠχύρου, καὶ Σηστόν καὶ Ἄβυδον ἐκρατύνετο, δι' ὧν ἔδει τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁδεῦσαι τε καὶ περᾶσαι. Λυσιμάχειαν δὲ ταμειὸν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ποιούμενος, ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐς αὐτὴν συνέφερεν, ἡγούμενος αὐτίκα οἱ Ῥωμαίους πεζῶ τε πολλῶ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Μανίῳ μὲν αἰροῦνται διάδοχον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς τότε αὐτοῖς ὑπατος ἦν, ἀπράκτῳ δ' ὄντι καὶ ἀπειροπολέμῳ σύμβουλον αἰροῦνται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντα Ἀφρικανόν.

[22] καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκιπίωνες ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ, Λίουιος δ' ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν αἰρεθεὶς Ἀτιλίῳ διάδοχος, αὐτίκα ταῖς τε ἰδίαις ναυσὶν, αἷς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπλει, καὶ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τισὶ δοθείσαις καὶ συμμαχίσιν ἄλλαις ἐς Πειραιᾶ κατήχθη, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' Ἀτιλίῳ στόλον παραλαβὼν ἔπλει καταφράκτοις ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ μιᾷ, ἐπομένου καὶ Εὐμένους πεντήκοντα ἰδίαις: καὶ ἦν κατάφρακτον καὶ τῶνδε τὸ ἥμισυ. ἔς τε Φώκαιαν ὑπήκοον μὲν Ἀντιόχου, ὑπὸ δ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς δελομένην κατήγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀνέπλεον. ἀντανήγετο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ναύαρχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου Πολυξενίδας διακοσίαις ναυσί, κουφοτέραις τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ πολὺ: ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προύλαβε τοῦ πελάγους ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἀναπειρωμένων. καὶ δύο τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναῦς ἰδὼν προπλευσάσας, τρεῖς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιέμψας εἶλε τὰς δύο κενάς, ἐξαλομένων τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. Λίουιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἐφέρετο πρῶτος ὑπ' ὀργῆς τῇ στρατηγίδι νηί, πολὺ προύχων τοῦ στόλου. αἱ δ', ὥς μιᾷ, σὺν καταφρονήσει χεῖράς τε σιδηρᾶς ἐπέβαλον, καὶ συνεστηκότων τῶν σκαφῶν ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. πολὺ δὲ κρείσσους ὄντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς εὐτολμίαις, ἐπιβάντες ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐκράτουν, καὶ μιᾷ νηὶ δύο ὁμοῦ φέροντες ἐπανήεσαν. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς ναυμαχίας προαγώνισμα ἦν: ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στόλοι συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκράτει, διὰ δὲ βαρύτητα τῶν σκαφῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν κούφαις ναυσὶν ὑποφεύγοντας, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ὀξέως κατέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐς Χίον ἀπῆραν, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς Ῥοδίων νῆες συμμαχίδες ἦλθον ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ναυμαχίας πυθόμενος, Ἀννίβαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐς νεῶν ἄλλων ἐκ τε

Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας παρασκευήν.

καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐπανιόντα Ῥόδιοι κατέκλεισαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν, καὶ τινας αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν εἶλον, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐφυλάσσον:

[23] Πόπλιος δὲ Σκιπίων ἀφικόμενος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν μετὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τὸν Μανίου στρατὸν παραλαβὼν, τὰς μὲν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πολιορκίας ὑπερείδεν ὡς μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς δεομένοις ἐπέτρεψεν αὐθις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ σφῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἠπείγετο πρὶν ἐκβῆναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν. διὰ δὲ Μακεδόνων ὥδευε καὶ Θρακῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, δυσχερὴ καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἄν, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὠδοποιεῖ καὶ ὑπεδέχετο καὶ παρέπεμπεν ἐξευγμένοις τε ποταμοῖς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἐτοίμοις: ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν οἱ Σκιπίωνες αὐτίκα τῶν ὑπολοίπων χρημάτων ἀπέλυσαν, ἐπιτετραμμένοι τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ πρόθυμον εὔροιεν. ἐπέστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν βασιλέα, καταλέγοντες ὅσοις βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι συμμαχήσασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπῆύξησαν: Φίλιππον δέ, φασί, τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἄρχειν ἑῷσι, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῷ τῆς ὀμηρείας ἀπελύσαμεν, καὶ τὸ ἔτι ὄφλημα τῶν χρημάτων. οἷς ὁ Προυσίας ἡσθεὶς συνέθετο συμμαχήσῃν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον.

Λίσιος δ' ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπεὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν Σκιπίωνων ἐπύθετο, Πανσίμαχον μὲν τὸν Ῥόδιον μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατέλιπε, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἰδίου στόλου, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔπλει τὸν στρατὸν ὑποδεξόμενος. καὶ Σηστός μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥοίτειον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καὶ τινα ἄλλα προσέθετο, Ἀβυδὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦσαν ἐπολιόρκει.

[24] Πανσίμαχος δ' οἰχομένου Λισίου πείρας τε πυκνὰς καὶ μελέτας τῶν ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ μηχανὰς ποικίλας συνεπῆγγυτο, πυρφόρα τε ἀγγεῖα σιδηρᾷ ἐξῆπτε κοντῶν μακρῶν, αἰωρεῖσθαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἰδίων σκαφῶν πολλὴ προύχη, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσιοῦσιν ἐμπίπτῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν τάδε φιλοπονούμενον Πολυξενίδας ὁ Ἀντίοχου ναύαρχος, Ῥόδιός τε ὢν καὶ ὅδε καὶ τισιν αἰτίαις ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐνήδρευεν, ὑπισχνούμενος τὸν Ἀντίοχου στόλον ἐγχειριεῖν, εἰ συνθοῖτο συμπράξῃν ἐς κάθοδον αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἐπὶ κλοπῶν ἄνδρα καὶ πανοῦργον, καὶ ἐς πολὺ καλῶς ἐφυλάσσετο: γράψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Πολυξενίδου περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναζεύξαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑποκριθέντος ἐς χορτολογίαν περιέπεμπε, ὁ Πανσίμαχος τὴν τε ἀνάζευσιν ὀρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἂν τινα περὶ προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα πέμψαι, πάγχυ πιστεύσας ἐξέλυσε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐς σιτολογίαν καὶ αὐτὸς περιέπεμπε. ὁ δὲ Πολυξενίδας ἐπεὶ κατείδεν αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον, αὐτίκα τὴν παρασκευὴν συνῆγε, καὶ Νικάνδρον τὸν πειρατὴν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐς τὴν Σάμον περιέπεμπε, κατὰ τὴν γῆν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Πανσιμάχου θορυβοποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑωθινήν φυλακὴν ἐπέπιπτεν ἔτι κοιμωμένῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ κακῷ καὶ ἀδοκίῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε, τὰς ναῦς ἐκλιπόντας, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. προσπεσόντος δ' ὀπισθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νικάνδρου, νομίσας καὶ τὴν γῆν προειληφθαι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωραμένων μόνων ἀλλ', ὥς ἐν νυκτί, πολὺ πλειόνων, πάλιν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐνέβαινε θορυβούμενος, πρῶτός τε ἐς

μάχην ἀνήγετο, καὶ πρῶτος ἔπιπτε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντο. καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑπτὰ μὲν αἱ τὸ πῦρ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς αὐταῖς διὰ τὴν φλόγα προσιόντος ἔφυγον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἴκοσιν ὁ Πολυξενίδας ἀναδησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἑφeson κατήχθη.

[25] καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ νίκῃ Φώκαια αὐθις καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κύμη πρὸς Ἀντίοχον μετετίθεντο. δεῖσας δ' ὁ Λίουιος περὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν, ἃς ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατελοοῖπει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπανήει. καὶ Εὐμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο, Ῥόδιοι τε Ῥωμαίοις ναῦς ἐτέρας εἴκοσιν ἔπεμπον. μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπόντες ἅπαντες ἀνεθάρρηνσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑφeson ἔπλεον ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐσκευασμένοι. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιπλέοντος, τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τῶν νεῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἔστησαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ταῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν καταχθέντες ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Νίκανδρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς μεσογείας ἐπιτεσὼν τὴν τε λείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς κατεδίωξεν.

[26] οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Σάμον ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἔλγχε Λιουίῳ τῆς ναυαρχίας· τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Εὐμένους γῆν ἐδήου καὶ Περγάμῳ παρεκάθητο, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατακλείσας. ὅθεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐς Ἐλαίαν, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίνειον, διέπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥηγίλλος ὁ Λιουίου τὴν ναυαρχίαν παραδεδεγμένος. ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Εὐμένει σύμμαχοι χίλιοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἑκατὸν ἐπίλεκτοι, ὧν Διοφάνης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδὼν τοὺς Σελευκεῖους παίζοντάς τε καὶ μεθύοντας ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, ἔπειθε τοὺς Περγαμηνοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνεκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐχ ὕφισταμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὥπλισε τοὺς ἰδίους χιλίους καὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας. καὶ προαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔστησεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς ἐς πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀλίγους τε καὶ οὐ τολμῶντας ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀριστοποιούμενοις ἐπιδραμῶν ἐθορύβησέ τε καὶ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς προφύλακας, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπηδόντων, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιχαλινούντων ἢ φεύγοντας διωκόντων ἢ δυσχερῶς ἀναβαινόντων οὐκ εὐσταθοῦντας, ἐκράτει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, ἐπιβοώντων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Περγαμηνῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε προελθεῖν ὕφισταμένων. κτείνας δ' ὅσους ἐδύνατο ὡς ἐν ἐπιδείξει ταχεῖα, καὶ τινὰς αἰχμαλώτους ἐλὼν ἄνδρας τε καὶ ἵππους, ἐπανήει κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης αὐθις ἴσθη τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Περγαμηνῶν αὐτῷ συνεξιόντων. Σέλευκος δ' ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς αὐτῷ προσεπέλαζε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆει, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐστῶς, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάσσετο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σέλευκος παραμείνας ἐς μεσημβρίαν, καμνόντων οἱ ἤδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπέστρεφε καὶ ἐπανήει, τοῖς τελευταίοις αὐτοῦ ὁ Διοφάνης ἐπιθέμενος καὶ θορυβοποιήσας, καὶ βλάψας ὅσα καὶ τότε δυνατός ἦν, εὐθὺς ἐπανήει πάλιν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ τὸνδε τὸν τρόπον συνεχῶς ἔν τε χορτολογίαις καὶ ξυλείαις ἐνεδρεύων καὶ αἰεὶ τι ἐνοχλῶν ἀπὸ τε Περγάμου τὸν Σέλευκον ἀνέστησε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐμένους χώρας ἐξήλασεν.

[27] Πολυξενίδᾳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' οὐ πολὺ γίγνεται ναυμαχία περὶ Μυόννησον, ἐς ἣν συνήεσαν Πολυξενίδας μὲν ναυσὶν ἐνενήκοντα καταφράκτοις, Λεύκιος δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ὀγδοήκοντα τρισί· τούτων ἦσαν ἐκ Ῥόδου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐδωρος ἐτέτακτο μὲν ἐπὶ

τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα Πολυξενίδαν πολὺ προύχοντα Ῥωμαίων, ἔδεισέ τε μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ περιπλεύσας ὀξέως ἅτε κούφαις ναυσὶ καὶ ἐρέταις ἐμπείροις θαλάσσης, τὰς ναῦς τὰς πυρφόρους τῷ Πολυξενίδα πρώτας ἐπῆγε, λαμπομένας τῷ πυρὶ πάντοθεν. οἱ δ' ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐτόλμων διὰ τὸ πῦρ, κύκλῳ δ' αὐτὰς περιπλέοντες ἐνέκλινόν τε καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐτύπτοντο, μέχρι Ῥοδίας νεῶς ἐς Σιδονίαν ἐμβαλούσης, καὶ τῆς πληγῆς εὐτόνου γενομένης, ἄγκυρα ἐκπίπτουσα τῆς Σιδονίας ἐς τὴν Ῥοδίαν ἐπάγη τε καὶ συνέδησεν ἄμφω πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν ἀτρεμούντων τῶν σκαφῶν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. καὶ προσιουσῶν ἄλλων ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἑκατέρᾳ πολλῶν, φιλονεικία τε παρ' ἁμφοῖν ἐγίνετο λαμπρά, καὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν Ἀντιόχου νεῶν ἔρημον ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον αἱ Ῥωμαίων νῆες διέπλεον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντας ἐκύκλουν, ὥς δ' ἔμαθόν ποτε, ἐγίνετο φυγὴ καὶ τροπὴ, καὶ διεφθάρησαν Ἀντιόχου νῆες μιᾶς δέουσαι τριάκοντα, ὧν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἀπώλοντο μόναι δύο. καὶ ὁ Πολυξενίδας τὴν Ῥοδίαν ναῦν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον κατήχθη.

[28] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν Μυόννησον ἦν τέλος· οὐπὼ δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθόμενος Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐπιμελῶς ὠχύρου, μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ δυσόδευτον αὐτοῖς ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ δύσβατον, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος διέφερεν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κουφόνους ἀεὶ καὶ ταχὺς ἐς μεταβολήν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἥσσης ἐπύθετο τῆς περὶ Μυόννησον, πάμπαν ἐξεπλάγη, νομίσας αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιβουλεύειν· παρὰ γὰρ λόγον ἕκαστα χωρεῖν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κρατούντων, ἐν ἣ πολὺ προύχειν αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζε, Ῥοδίων δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν κατακεκλεικότων, Φιλίππου δὲ Ῥωμαίους παραπέμποντος ἀβάτους ὁδοῦς, ὃν μάλιστα μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς ὢν ἔπαθεν ὑπελάμβανεν. ὑπὸ δὴ τῶνδε πάντων ἐκταρασσόμενός τε, καὶ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμούς, ὅπερ ἅπασι προσιόντων ἀτυχημάτων ἐπιγίνεται, Χερρόνησον ἐξέλιπεν ἀλογίστως, πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὔτε μετενεγκὼν ὅσος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ σίτος σεσωρευμένος πολὺς ἢ ὅπλα ἢ χρήματα ἢ μηχαναί, οὔτε ἐμπρήσας, ἀλλ' ὑγίεις ἀφορμὰς τοσάσδε τοῖς πολεμίοις καταλιπών. Λυσιμαχέας τε αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐκ πολιορκίας συμφεύγοντας μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις, ὑπερεώρα, μόνου τοῦ διάπλου τοῦ περὶ Ἀβυδὸν εἶρξαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπινοῶν, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἔτι ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐν τούτῳ τιθέμενος. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὸν διάπλου ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἠτείχθη ἐπανελθεῖν, φθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέ τινα φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ κατέλιπεν.

[29] οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπύθοντο, Λυσιμάχειάν τε δρόμῳ κατέλαβον, καὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ θησαυρῶν τε καὶ ὅλων κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔρημον ὄντα φυλακῆς εὐθὺς ἐτέρων μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἔφθασάν τε Ἀντίοχον ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντα ἐν Σάρδεσι γενόμενοι. ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐβαρυνθύμει, καὶ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτήματα ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνατιθεὶς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Βυζάντιον ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἐπὶ

διαλύσεσι τοῦ πολέμου, Σμύρναν τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῃ καὶ Λάμψακον, δι' ἧς ἤρξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δαπάνης τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. ἐντετέλλετο δέ, εἰ δέοι, καὶ τῶν Ἰάδων πόλεων δοῦναι καὶ τῶν Αἰολίδων ὅσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι εἴλοντο, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο αἰτοῖεν οἱ Σκιπίωνες. ταῦτα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λέγειν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔφερε παρ' Ἀντιόχου χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεις καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀφέσεις. ἡρήκει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ἐς Δηματριάδα ἐκ Χαλκίδος διαπλέοντα: καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἐλὼν τε καὶ κατασκάψας, καὶ δεῦτερος ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Σκιπίωνι Ἀφρικανὸς ὀνομασθεὶς, Παύλου μὲν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐλόντος, Σκιπίωνος δὲ τῷ γένει θυγατρίδους καὶ θέσει παῖς. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκιπίωνες τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ τήνδε ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐὰν ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰρήνης δέηται, μὴ τῶν Ἰάδων μηδὲ τῶν Αἰολίδων αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι πόλεων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε Ταύρου, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐσενεγκεῖν, δι' αὐτὸν γενομένου. ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ Πόπλιος ἔφη τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὲν ἔτι Χερρονήσου καὶ Λυσιμαχείας κρατῶν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ταῦτα προὔτεινεν, ἀσμένως ἂν λαβεῖν: τάχα δ' εἰ καὶ μόνον ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσε: νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς ἤδη περάσαντάς τε καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους, καὶ τὸν χαλινόν, φασίν, ἐνθέντας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάντας, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι διαλύσεων ἐπ' ὀλίγοις. αὐτὸς δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς προαιρέσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴσεσθαι λαβὼν τὸν υἱόν: ἀμείβεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ συμβουλευεῖν δέχεσθαι τὰ προτεινόμενα πρὶν ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν μεζόνων ἐπιταγμάτων.

[30] ὁ μὲν δὴ Πόπλιος ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐς Ἑλαίαν νοσηλευόμενος ὑπεχώρει, σύμβουλον τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γναῖον Δομίτιον καταλιπών: ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος, οἶόν τι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν, οἰηθεὶς τῶνδε τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, συνέτασσε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ Σκιπίωνι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ἑλαίαν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἄγουσι συνεβούλευε μὴ μάχεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανεέλθοι. καὶ τῷδε πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σίτυλον, τεῖχός τε καρτερὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιετείχιζε, καὶ τὸν Φρύγιον ποταμὸν ἐν προβολῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτίθετο, ἵνα μηδ' ἄκων ἀναγκάζοιτο πολεμεῖν. Δομίτιος δὲ φιλοτιμούμενος τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κριθῆναι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐτέρα μάλα θρασέως, καὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀπ' Ἀντιόχου διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν. τέσσαρσί τε ἡμέραις ἐφεξῆς ἐξέτασσον ἑκάτεροι παρὰ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχον. τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐξέτασεν αὐθις καὶ ἐπέβαινε σοβαρῶς. οὐκ ἀντεπιόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, τότε μὲν ἐγγυτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευσε, μίαν δὲ ἄλλην διαλιπὼν ἐκήρυσσεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν πολεμίων ἐς αὐριον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἄκοντι πολεμήσειν. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς αὐθις μεθίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐστάναι μόνον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ καλῶς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἀπομάχεσθαι μέχρι ῥαΐσειεν ὁ Πόπλιος, αἰσchrὸν ἡγεῖτο μετὰ πλείονων φυγομαχεῖν: ὅθεν ἐς μάχην παρέτασεν.

[31] καὶ ἐξῆγον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἄμφω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, διεκόσμηι δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ὧδε. τὸ μὲν λαιὸν εἶχον ὀπλίται Ῥωμαίων μύριοι, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν

αὐτόν: καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν Ἰταλῶν ἕτεροι μύριοι, τρεῖς ἐκατέρων τάξεις ἐπὶ βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ὁ Εὐμένους στρατὸς ἐτάσσετο, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πελτασταὶ περὶ τρισχιλίους. ὧδε μὲν εἶχε τὸ λαιόν, τὸ δεξιὸν δ' ἦν ἱππεῖς, οἱ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν καὶ Εὐμένους, οὐ πλείους οὐδ' οὗτοι τρισχιλίων. ἀνεμείχαστο δ' ἅπασιν ψιλοὶ τε καὶ τοξόται πολλοί, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δομίτιον αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἱππέων ἴλαι τέσσαρες. οὕτω μὲν ἐγίνοντο πάντες ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἐπεστάται δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Δομίτιος αὐτός, καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἴσθη τὸν ὕπατον, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμένει. τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων, οὓς εἶχεν ἐκ Λιβύης, οὐδένα νομίζων ἔσσεσθαι χρήσιμον ὀλιγωτέρων τε ὄντων καὶ βραχυτέρων οἷα Λιβύων 'δεδίασι δ' οἱ σμικρότεροι τοὺς μείζονας', ἔστησεν ὀπίσω πάντας.

[32] ὧδε μὲν δὴ διετετάχαστο Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἦν μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐπτακισμύριοι, καὶ τούτων τὸ κράτιστον ἦν ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδόνων, ἄνδρες ἑξακισχιλίοι καὶ μύριοι, ἐς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τρόπον ἔτι κοσμούμενοι: ἴσθη δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, διελὼν ἀνὰ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐς δέκα μέρη, καὶ τούτων ἐκάστου μέρους ἦσαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μετώπου πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες, ἐς δὲ τὸ βάθος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἐκάστου μέρους ἐλέφαντες δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. ἡ δ' ὄψις ἦν τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος οἷα τείχους, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων οἷον πύργων. τοιοῦτον μὲν ἦν τὸ πεζὸν Ἀντιόχῳ, ἱππεῖς δ' ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ παρετετάχαστο Γαλάται τε κατάφρακτοι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἄγῃμα τῶν Μακεδόνων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἶδε ἱππεῖς ἐπὶλεκτοὶ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἄγῃμα λέγεται. τάδε μὲν ἔξ ἴσου τῆς φάλαγγος ἦν ἐκατέρωθεν: ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον ἐν μὲν δεξιᾷ ψιλοὶ τέτινες καὶ ἕτεροι ἱππεῖς ἀργυράσπιδες καὶ ἱπποτοξόται διακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Γαλατῶν τ' ἔθνη, Τεκτοσάγαι τε καὶ Τρόκμοι καὶ Τολιστόβοιοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι τινὲς οὓς ἐπεμψεν Ἀριαράθης, καὶ μιγάδες ἄλλοι ξένοι, κατάφρακτός τε ἵππος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐτέρα, καὶ ἦν ἐκάλουν ἵππον ἐταιρικὴν, ὠπλισμένη κούφως. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐξέτασεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν ἐλπίδα λαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, οὓς πολλοὺς ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν ἐς ὀλίγον συναγαγεῖν ἀπειροπολέμους, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔδει θαρρεῖν πάνυ ἡσκημένη. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν λιθοβόλων τε καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ πελταστῶν, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ Πισιδῶν Κρητῶν τε καὶ Τραλλιανῶν καὶ Κιλικίων ἐς τὸν Κρητῶν τρόπον ἐσκευασμένων. ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἕτεροι, Δᾶαι καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Ἑλυμαῖοι καὶ Ἀραβες, οἱ καμήλους ὀξυτάτας ἐπικαθήμενοι τοξεύουσί τε εὐμαρῶς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ μαχαίραις, ὅτε πλησιάζουσιν, ἐπιμήκεσι καὶ στεναῖς χρώνται. δρεπανηφόρα τε ἄρματα ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ, προπολεμεῖν τοῦ μετώπου, ἐτετάχαστο: καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πείραν ὑποχωρεῖν.

[33] ὄψις τε ἦν ὥσπερ δύο στρατῶν, τοῦ μὲν ἀρχομένου πολεμεῖν, τοῦ δ' ἐφεδρεύοντος: ἐκάτερος δ' αὐτῶν ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκεύαστο δεινῶς πλήθει τε καὶ κόσμῳ. ἐφειστήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν δεξιοῖς ἱππεῦσιν Ἀντίοχος αὐτός, τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης καὶ τοῖς προμάχοις Μύνδης τε καὶ Ζεῦξις. ἀχλυώδους δὲ καὶ ζοφερᾶς τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης, ἥ τε ὄψις ἔσβεστο τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἀμβλύτερα ἦν ὥς ἐν ἀέρι ὑγρῷ καὶ σκοτεινῷ. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ

κατείδεν Εὐμένης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνησε, τὴν δὲ ῥύμην τῶν ἄρμάτων τεταγμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα δείσας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ σφενδονῆται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ ἕτεροι κοῦφοι, συναγαγὼν προσέταξε, τὰ ἄρματα περιθέοντας, ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀκοντίζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν: ἵππου γὰρ ἐν ἄρματι ζυγομαχοῦντος ἀχρεῖον τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρμα γίνεται, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐταξίας παραλύεται, τὰ δρέπανα τῶν φιλίων δεδιότων. ὁ καὶ τότε συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι: πληγέντων γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἀθρόως, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφερόντων, αἱ τε κάμηλοι πρῶται τῆς ἀταξίας ἡσθάνοντο, πλησίον τοῖς ἄρμασι παρατεταγμένοι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οὐ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τὰ δρέπανα ἐκφεύγειν δυναμένη. θόρυβός τε ἦν ἤδη πολλὺς καὶ τάραχος ποικίλος, ἀρξάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε μάλιστα, χωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ὅλον τὸ μεταίχιμον, καὶ μειζῶν ὑπόνοια τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς: ὥς γὰρ ἐν διαστήματι μακρῷ καὶ πλήθει πυκνῷ καὶ βοῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ φόβῳ πολλῷ, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῶν πασχόντων καταληπτὸν ἦν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόνοιαν μειζόνως ἐς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἕκαστοι μετέφερον.

[34] ὁ δ' Εὐμένης, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ μεταίχιμον, ὅσον αἱ τε κάμηλοι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐπεῖχεν, ἐγεγύμνωτο, τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας, καὶ ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰταλῶν παρετετάχατο, ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντικρὺ Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνδον τῶν ξένων, μέγα κεκραγὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ἀπείρους τε μάχης καὶ γεγυμνωμένους τῶν προπολεμοῦντων. οἱ δ' ἐπέιθοντο, καὶ βαρείας σφῶν τῆς ἐμβολῆς γενομένης τρέπονται τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς παρεξυγμένους αὐτοῖς ἱππέας τε καὶ καταφράκτους, ἐκ πολλοῦ ταρασσομένους διὰ τὰ ἄρματα: οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, διὰ τὸ βάρος ὑποφεύγειν ἢ ἀναστρέφειν εὐμαρῶς οὐ δυναμένους, κατελάμβανόν τε καὶ συνέκοπτον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαῖον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων: ἐν δεξιᾷ δέ, ἥπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐτέτακτο, διακόψας τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγος ἀπέσπασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων.

[35] καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τεταγμένη μὲν, ὥς μεθ' ἱππέων, ἐπὶ στενοῦ τε καὶ τετραγώνου, γεγυμνωμένη δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐκατέρωθεν, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σφῶν ἔτι προπολεμοῦντας διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ πάλιν συνηίει, Δομιτίου δ' αὐτὴν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς εὐμαρῶς, οἷα πλινθίων πυκνόν, κυκλώσαντος, οὗτ' ἐκδραμεῖν ἔτι ἔχουσα οὗτ' ἐξελίσσαι βάθος οὕτω πολὺ, μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκακοπάθει. καὶ ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις εὐβλητοὶ καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς πανταχόθεν ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐκ τετραγώνου προβαλλόμενοι πυκνὰς προὔκαλοῦντο Ῥωμαίους ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, καὶ δόξαν ἐπιβαινόντων αἰεὶ παρεῖχον. οὐ μὴν τι προεπῆδων, πεζοὶ τε καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ ἵππων ὀρῶντες, μάλιστα δὲ ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς τάξεως πυκνὸν ἐκλύσειαν: μετατάξασθαι γὰρ ἐτέρως οὐκ ἔφθανον. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ προσεπέλαζον μὲν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν, δεδιότες ἀνδρῶν ἡσκημένων ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ πυκνότητα καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐσηκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐσετόξευον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀχρεῖον ὥς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν συνεστώτων. οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν τὰ βαλλόμενα οὔτε φερομένοις διαστήναι. ὅθεν ἤδη πολλὰ κάμνοντες ἐνεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, καὶ βάδην

ὕπεχώρουν σὺν ἀπειλῇ, πάνυ εὐσταθῶς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφόβως· οὐδὲ γὰρ τότε προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ περιθέοντες ἐβλαπτον, μέχρι, τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν τῇ Μακεδόνων φάλαγγι συνταραχθέντων τε καὶ οὐχ ὑπακουόντων ἔτι τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, ὁ κόσμος ὁ τῆς φυγῆς συνεχεῖτο.

[36] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Δομίτιος ἐκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἀντίοχου φθάσας ἐβιάζετο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ φυλάσσοντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐς πολὺ διώκων παρ' οὗς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ἐτέτακτο, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἱππέων ἢ ψιλοῦ παρόντος ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· οὐ γὰρ παρετετάχει Δομίτιος, ἡγούμενος οὐ δεήσεσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν, μέχρι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος ἦλθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τε χιλιάρχος ὁ τοῦ χάρακος φύλαξ, ἀκμῆσι τοῖς φύλαξιν ὑπαντιάσας, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοῖς ἀναμιχθεῖσι θαρροῦντες ἐπεστρέφοντο, ἐπανήει σοβαρὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πεπυσμένους. Ἀτταλος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ Εὐμένους ἀδελφός, ἱπεῦσι πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάζει. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν εὐμαρῶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος διακόψας διέδραμε, καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἔτι καὶ μικρὰ λυπούντων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν· ὡς δὲ κατεῖδε τὴν ἦτταν καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἅπαν νεκρῶν ἰδίων πληρὲς, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων, τό τε στρατόπεδον εἰλημμένον ἤδη κατὰ κράτος, τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔφυγεν ἀμεταστρεπτί, καὶ μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐς Σάρδεις παρῆλθεν. παρῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐς Κελαινάς, ἣν Ἀπάμειαν καλοῦσιν, οἳ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπυνθάνετο συμφυγεῖν. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐς Συρίαν ἐκ Κελαινῶν ἀνεξεύγνυ, τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐν Κελαιναῖς καταλιπὼν ὑποδέχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς διαφυγόντας. περὶ τε καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρέσβεις ἔπεμπε πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθαπτε, καὶ ἐσκύλευε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα συνῆγεν. ἐφάνησαν δὲ νεκροὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ πεζοὶ τριακόσιοι μάλιστα, οὗς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔκτεινεν, Εὐμένους δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα ἱππεῖς μόνοι. Ἀντίοχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εἰκάζοντο ἀπολέσθαι περὶ πεντακισμυρίους· οὐ γὰρ εὐμαρὲς ἦν ἀριθμῆσαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρηντο, πεντεκαίδεκα δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγεγένητο.

[37] ὡς δ' ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ παραλόγως τισὶ δοκούσῃ γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐνόμιζον ὀλιγωτέρους πολὺ πλείονων ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ γῇ παρὰ τοσόνδε κρατῆσαι, καὶ μάλιστα φάλαγγος Μακεδόνων, εὖ γεγυμνασμένης καὶ εὐανδρούσης τότε μάλιστα, καὶ δόξαν ἁμαχόν τε καὶ φοβερὰν ἐχούσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀντίοχου φίλοι τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους διαφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἀβουλίαν ἐπεμέμφοντο, Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοσῇδε παρασκευῇ μεθέντος ἐκ χειρῶν πρὶν καὶ ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόντος, Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἂν εὐμαρῶς ἐλπισάντων βιάσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. κατεμέμφοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφροσύνην, ἀχρεῖον ἐν στενῷ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πεπονηκότος, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα θεμένου ἐν πλήθει συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν ἀρτιπολέμων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσι διὰ μελέτην καὶ χρόνον ἐργάταις τε οὖσι πολέμου καὶ ἐκ τοσῶνδε πολέμων τὸ φρόνημα ἐς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρσος ηὔξημένους. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ περὶ Ἀντίοχου λογοποιούμενα, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐπῆρτο τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφίσιν

ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δυσεργές ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ θεῶν ἐπικουρίας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς δόξαν εὐτυχίας ἔφερεν ὅτι οὕτω γε ὀλίγοι τε πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ἐν πρώτῃ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ μισθοφόρων ἀρετῆς, καὶ δόξης Μακεδόνων, καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τε ἀρχὴν κεκτημένου καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν μεγάλου, κεκρατηκότες ἦσαν ἡμέρα μιᾷ. πολὺ τε σφίσιν ἦν τὸ ἔπος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ‘ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ μέγας.’

[38] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ σφῶν ἐμεγαλάρχουν· ὁ δὲ ὕπατος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ῥαΐσας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πόπλιος ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλαίας, ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεισιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ μαθεῖν ἠξίουσαν ὅ τι ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἔσται Ῥωμαίοις φίλος· ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο:

αἴτιος μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ πλεονεξίαν Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν νῦν καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγονότων, ὃς ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἔχων τε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἐόντων ἔχειν, Πτολεμαίου συγγενοῦς ἰδίου καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλου Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἀφείλετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐμβαλὼν Θράκην κατεστρέφετο καὶ Χερρόνησον ὠχύρου καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἡγείρεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα διελθὼν ἐδουλοῦτο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι αὐτονόμους ἀφειμένους, μέχρι περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἡττήθη μάχῃ. καὶ φυγὼν οὐδ’ ὥς ἔληξε τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ πολλάκις ἐλαττωθεὶς σπονδῶν μὲν, ἄρτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἡμῶν πεπερακότων, ἐδεήθη, διὰ δὲ ὑπεροψίαν τὰ προτεινόμενα ὑπερεῖδε, καὶ στράτευμα αὐτῆς πολὺ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄπειρον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς συναγαγὼν ἐπολέμει, βιαζόμενος ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, μέχρι συνηνέχθη μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μείζονα τὴν ζημίαν ἐπιθεῖναι, βιασασμένῳ πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑβρίζομεν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, οὐδ’ ἐπιβαροῦμεν τοῖς ἐτέρων ἀτυχήμασιν. δίδομεν δὲ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ προὔτεινομεν, μικρὰ ἅττα προσθέντες, ὅσα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔσται χρήσιμα καὶ αὐτῷ λυσιτελεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅλης καὶ Ἀσίας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ‘καὶ τούτοις ὅροι τεθήσονται, παραδοῦναι δ’ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχει καὶ ναῦς ὅσας ἂν ἐπιτάξωμεν, ἐς τε λοιπὸν ἐλέφαντας μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, ναῦς δὲ ὅσας ἂν ὀρίσωμεν, δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄμηρα, ἃ ἂν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγράψῃ, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, δι’ αὐτὸν γενομένου, τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἤδη πεντακόσια, καὶ ὅταν τάσδε τὰς σπονδὰς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, δώδεκα δ’ ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις ἔτερα μύρια καὶ δισχίλια, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέροντα ἐς Ῥώμην· ἀποδοῦναι δ’ ἡμῖν αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα πάντα, καὶ Εὐμένει ὅσα λοιπὰ τῆς πρὸς Ἀτταλὸν τὸν Εὐμένους πατέρα συνθήκης ἔχει. ταῦτα Ἀντιόχῳ πράττοντι ἀδόλως δίδομεν εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν, ὅταν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ.

[39] τοσαῦτα προὔτεινεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πάντα ἐδέχοντο οἱ πρέσβεις, το τε μέρος αὐτίκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ὄμηρα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀντίοχος ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε Σκιπίωνες καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἐγράφοντο συνθήκαι τοὺς Σκιπίωνος λόγους βεβαιοῦσαι τε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἐπιλέγουσαι, καὶ βραχεὰ ἅττα προσεπιλαμβάνουσαι, ὅρον μὲν

Ἀντίοχῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι δύο ἄκρας, Καλύκαδόν τε καὶ Σαρπηδόσιον, καὶ τάσδε μὴ παραπλεῖν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ναῦς δὲ καταφράκτους ἔχειν δώδεκα μόνας, αἷς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολέμου κατάρχειν: πολεμουμένον δὲ καὶ πλέοσι χρῆσθαι: μηδὲν δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα διὰ τριετίας ἐναλλάσσειν, χωρὶς γε τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντίοχου. ταῦτα συγγραψάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐς δέλτους χαλκᾶς ἀναθέντες, οὗ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνθήκας ἀνατιθέασιν, ἔπεμπον ἀντίγραφα Μαλλίῳ Οὐούλσωνι τῷ διαδεδεγμένῳ τὴν Σκιπίωνος στρατηγίαν. ὁ δ' ὦμνυ τοῖς Ἀντίοχου πρέσβεσι περὶ Ἀπάμειαν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμφθέντι Θέρμῳ χιλιάρχῳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Ἀντίοχῳ μεγάλῳ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου τέλος ἦν. καὶ ἐδόκει μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν μόνου διὰ χάριν τὴν ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν Σκιπίωνος Ἀντίοχῳ γενομένην:

[40] καὶ τινες τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανελθόντα διέβαλλον ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ δήμαρχοι δύο δωροδοκίας αὐτὸν ἐγράψαντο καὶ προδοσίας, ὁ δὲ ἀδοξῶν καὶ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθε τὸ δικαστήριον ἧς ἡμέρας ποτὲ Καρχηδόνα παρεστήσατο, θυσίαν προύπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸς παρήλθεν ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ σχήματος ἀντὶ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε πάντας ἐκπληξαί τε καὶ ἐς εὐνοίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ δὴ συνειδότε μεγαλοφρονούμενον, προσαγαγέσθαι. λέγειν δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς μὲν κατηγορίας οὐδ' ἐπεμνήσθη, τὸν δὲ βίον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἔργα πάντα ἐπεξῆει, καὶ πολέμους ὅσους ἐπολέμησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπολέμησεν, ὅσakis τε ἐνίκησεν, ὡς ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις τι καὶ ἡδονῆς διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς σεμνολογίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε προῆλθεν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα, ἐξάρας ἐς φαντασίαν τάδε μάλιστα, καὶ ὁρμῆς αὐτός τε ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμπλήσας, εἶπεν ὅτι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγὼ τάδε ἐνίκων καὶ Καρχηδόνα ὑμῖν, ὃ πολῖται, περιεποιοῦν, τὴν τέως ὑμῖν ἐπιφοβωτάτην. ἅπειμι δὴ θύσων τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον: καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι φιλοπόλιδες, τῆς θυσίας μοι, γιγνομένης ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συνάψασθε. ταῦτα ἔφη, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθει, μηδὲν τῆς δίκης φροντίσας. εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ πλέονες τῶν δικαστῶν σὺν εὐφύμῳ βοῇ, καὶ θύοντι ὅμοια ἐπεφώνουν. οἱ κατήγοροι δὲ ἠποροῦντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην αὔθις ὡς ἀτέλεστον ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιγράψαι, οὔτε μέμνησθαι δημοκοπίας, δυνατώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον εἰδότες ὑπονοίας τε καὶ διαβολῆς.

[41] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ὧδε ἐγκλήματος ἀναξίου τῶν βεβιωμένων οἱ κατεφρόνησε, σοφώτερον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Ἀριστείδου περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ Σωκράτους περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο οὐδὲν εἰπόντων ὑπ' ἀδοξίας ὁμοίας, ἢ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος ἃ δοκεῖ Πλάτωνι, μεγαλοφρονέστερον δὲ ἄρα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, ὃς ἐβιοιωτάρχει μὲν ἅμα Πελοπίδα καὶ ἐτέρῳ, ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, στρατὸν ἐκάστῳ δόντες, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀρκάσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Λακώνων, οὐπω δ' ὅσα ἐπενόοουν ἐργασαμένους ἐπὶ διαβολῇ μετεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς διαδόχοις σφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑξ οὐ μεθῆκαν, ἕως τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρούρια καθεῖλον καὶ ἐπέστησαν αὐθις ἕτερα τῶν Ἀρκάδων, Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοὺς συστρατήγους ἐς

τοῦτο ἀναγκάζοντός τε, καὶ ὑποδεχομένου τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἀξίμιον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανελθοῦσιν οἱ κατήγοροι, καθ' ἓνα διώκοντες, ἐτιμῶντο θανάτου ἰθὺς. ἰθὺς γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐξημίον τὸν ἐκ βίας ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα ἀλλοτριάν, οἱ μὲν ἕτεροι διέφυγον οἰκτῶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ λόγοις πλείεσι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν Ἑπαμεινώνδαν ἀναφέροντες, αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγειν ὑποθέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγουσιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα: ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος τελευταῖος ὁμολογῶν, ἔφη, ἑκτατον ἄρξαι τόνδε τὸν χρόνον, καὶ οὕς ἀπελύσατε νῦν, ἐγὼ συναναγκάσαι. καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον παρανομήσας. αἰτῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων μοι κατὰ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι: ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ Λεῦκτρα νικήσας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ὑπομένουσιν, οὐδ' εἴ τις ξένος ἔχοι Λακωνικὸν πῖλον, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν προαγαγών. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνήρηται, παρανομήσας ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν κατέβη τε τοῦ βήματος, καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαγαγεῖν. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ δὲ τῷ τε ὀνειδίει τοῦ λόγου καὶ θαύματι τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου, τὰς ψήφους οὐκ ὑποστάντες λαβεῖν, ἐξέδραμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου.

[42] τότε μὲν δὴ τις, ὥς ἐθέλοι, συγκρίνειν ἔχει: Μάλλιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος διάδοχος τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν Ἀντιόχου γῆν ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχησάντων Τολιστοβοίους, ἀναφυγόντας ἐς τὸν Μύσιον Ὀλύμπον, ἐπιμύχθως τοῦ ὄρους ἐπιβάς ἐτρέπετο φεύγοντας, ἕως ἔκτεινε καὶ κατεκρήμινεν ὅσους ἀριθμήσασθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐγένετο, αἰχμαλώτους δ' ἔλαβεν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ὧν τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέκαυσε, τὰ δὲ σώματα, οὐ δυνάμενος τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἐν πολέμοις περιάγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐγγύς βαρβάροις ἀπέδοτο. ἐν δὲ Τεκτοσάγαις τε καὶ Τρόκμοις ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἔφυγεν: ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς αὐλιζομένους τε καὶ βεβυσμένους ὑπὸ πλῆθους περιέστησε τοὺς ψιλοὺς αὐτοῖς, καὶ περιτρέχων ἐκέλευεν ἐσακοντίζειν μήτε προσπλεκομένους μήτε πλησιάζοντας. οὐδενὸς δὲ βέλους ἀτυχοῦντος διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πολεμίων, ἔκτεινεν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐδίωξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ Ἄλυν ποταμόν. Ἀριαράθου δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦδε συμμάχους πέμψαντος Ἀντιόχῳ, δεδιότος τε καὶ δεομένου καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τῇ δεήσει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπανήλθε σὺν γάζῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ χρήμασιν ἀπείροις καὶ λεία βαρυτάτῃ καὶ στρατῷ καταγόμεν.

[43] τότε μὲν καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο τῷ Μάλλιῳ: τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀλόγως πάμπαν ὥρᾳ θέρους πλεῦσαι μὲν ὑπερείδεν, οὕτε τὸ βάρος ὧν ἐπήγετο ποιησάμενος ἐνθύμιον, οὗτ' ἐπειγόμενος διαπονεῖν ἢ γυμνάζειν ὁδοιπορίας ἔτι στρατὸν οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον ὀρμῶντα ἀλλ' ἐς οἰκείαν μετὰ λαφύρων ἐπανιόντα, διὰ δὲ Θράκης ὤδευε, στενὴν καὶ μακρὰν καὶ δύσβατον ὁδόν, πνίγους ὥρᾳ, οὗτ' ἐς Μακεδονίαν Φιλίππῳ προεπιστεῖλας ἀπαντᾶν, ἵνα παραπέμψειεν αὐτόν, οὕτε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διελὼν, ἵνα κουφότερον βαδίζοι καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα εὐμαρέστερα ἔχοι, οὕτε τὰ σκευοφόρα συντάξας ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους, ἢ εὐφυλακτότερα ἦ. ἀλλ' ἀθρόως ἦγεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα εἶχεν ἐν μέσῳ, μήτε τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς δυναμένων ἐπικουρεῖν μήτε τῶν ὀπισθεν ὀξέως διὰ μῆκος ὁμοῦ καὶ στενότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ

πανταχόθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπικειμένων, πολὺ μέρος ἀπώλεσε τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ στρατοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεσώθη. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγένετο καταφανὲς ὅσον ὤνησε παραπέμπων τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ὅσον ἤμαρτεν Ἀντίοχος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Χερρόνησον. ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐκ τε Μακεδονίας Θεσσαλίαν διελθὼν καὶ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Ἡπειρον ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρα, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφεῖς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

[44] Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ Περγάμου βασιλεὺς μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' Ἀντιόχου συμμαχίᾳ, Εὐμένης μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐστέλλετο, Ῥόδιοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ Ῥοδίοις μὲν ἔδωκε Λυκίους τε καὶ Κᾶρας, οὓς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν ὡς Περσεὶ τῷ Μακεδόνι μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι πολεμοῦσι τῷ Περσεὶ προθυμωτέρων γενομένων, Εὐμένει δὲ παρέσχον ὅσα λοιπὰ ἀφήρηντο Ἀντιόχον, χωρὶς Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀττάλῳ τῷ πατρὶ Εὐμένους ἐτέλουν φόρους, ἐκέλευσαν Εὐμένει συμφέρειν, ὅσοι δ' Ἀντιόχῳ πρῶτον ἐτέλουν, ἀπέλυσαν τῶν φόρων καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν.

[45] ὧδε μὲν Ρωμαῖοι διέθεντο τὰ δορίκτητα, Ἀντιόχου δ' ὕστερον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος γίνεταί Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς διάδοχος· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὅδε Ἀντιόχον ἐξέλυσε τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ὀμηρείας, ἀντιδοὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Δημήτριον. Ἀντιόχου δ' ἐπανιόντος ἐκ τῆς ὀμηρείας καὶ ὄντος ἔτι περὶ Ἀθήνας, ὁ μὲν Σέλευκος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸν δ' Ἡλιοδώρον Εὐμένης καὶ Ἀτταλὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν βιαζόμενον ἐκβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιόχον ἐς αὐτὴν κατάγουσιν, ἐταιριζόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τινῶν προσκρουμάτων ἤδη καὶ οἶδε Ῥωμαῖους ὑπεβλέποντο. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντιόχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου Συρίας ἐπεκράτησεν· ὅτῳ παρὰ τῶν Σύρων ἐπώνυμον ἦν ἐπιφανής, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρπαζομένης ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὤφθη. συνθέμενος δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν Εὐμένει, Συρίας καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε, σατράπην μὲν ἔχων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τίμαρχον, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις Ἡρακλείδην, ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἀλλήλοιν, ἄμφω δὲ αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ παιδικὰ. ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα.

[46] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐνναετὲς παιδίον ἀπολιπών, Ἀντιόχον, ᾧ προσέθηκαν ὄνομα εὐπάτωρ οἱ Σύροι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετὴν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἔτρεφε Λυσίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἦσθη φανέντος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου γεννικοῦ καὶ ταχέως ἀποθανόντος. Δημήτριόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς ἀδελφιδοῦν, υἱωνὸν δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα τῷδε τῷ παιδίῳ, ὀμνεύοντα ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔτος ἄγοντα τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταχθῆναι παρακαλοῦντα ὡς αὐτῷ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, οὐ κατῆγον, οὐ συμφέρειν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τελειότερον ἄρχειν Σύρων ἀντὶ παιδὸς ἀτελοῦς. πυνθανόμενοι δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ στρατόν τ' ἐλεφάντων εἶναι καὶ ναῦς πλείονας τῶν ὀρισμένων Ἀντιόχῳ, πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συγκόψειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσειν. οἰκτρὰ δὲ ἡ ὄψις ἦν ἀναιρουμένων θηρίων ἡμέρων τε καὶ σπανίων, καὶ νεῶν ἐμπιπραμένων· καὶ τις ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Λεπτίνης τὴν ὄψιν

οὐκ ἐνεγκών, Γναῖον Ὀκτάουιον τὸν τῶνδε τῶν πρέσβων ἡγεμόνα, ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, διεχρήσατο.

καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάουιον ἔθαπτεν ὁ Λυσίας,

[47] Δημήτριος δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τῆς γοῦν ὀμνηρίας μόνης ἀπολυθῆναι, ὥς Ἀντίοχου μὲν ἀντιδοθεῖς, Ἀντίοχου δ' ἀποθανόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐτύγγανεν οὐδὲ τοῦδε, λαθὼν ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν Σύρων ἦρχε, τὸν τε Λυσίαν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διαφθείρας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ Τίμαρχον ἐπανιστάμενον ἀνελών, καὶ τὰλλα πονηρῶς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἡγούμενον: ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ σωτήρ, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὠνομάσθη. κρατυνάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Δημήτριος στέφανόν τε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων, χαριστήριον τῆς ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀμνηρίας, καὶ Λεπτίνην τὸν ἀνδροφόνον Ὀκταουίου. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἐδέχοντο, Λεπτίνην δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὥς δὴ τι τοῦτ' ἔγκλημα τοῖς Σύροις ταμιευόμενοι. Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχῆς Ἀριαράθην ἐκβαλὼν, Ὀλοφέρνην ἐπὶ χιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγεν, ἀδελφὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα Ἀριαράθου. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει μὲν, ὥς ἀδελφοῦς, Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ὀλοφέρνην βασιλεύειν ὁμοῦ.

[48] ἐκπεσόντων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνου μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μιθριδάτειος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἦρξατο συνίστασθαι, μέγιστός τε καὶ πολυτροπώτατος ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς γενόμενος, καὶ παρατείνας ἐς ἔτη μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ Σύροις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ὀλιγοχρόνιοι πάμπαν ἐγένοντο, πολλαὶ δὲ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Παρθυαῖοι τε προαποστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐς ἑαυτοὺς περιέσπασαν, ἣ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουεν. καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας Τιγράνης ὁ Τιγράνους ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ἰδίῳις δυνάσταις χρώμενα ἐλὼν, βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλέων ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ἐπεστράτευεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπακούειν. οὐχ ὑποστάντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, ὁ Τιγράνης ἦρχε Συρίας τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην, ὅσα γένη Σύρων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἦρχε δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ Κιλικίας 'καὶ γὰρ ἦδε τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουε, Μαγαδάτην στρατηγὸν ἐπιτάξας ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

[49] Λευκόλλου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Μιθριδάτην διώκοντος ἐς τὸν Τιγράνην ὑποφεύγοντα, ὁ Μαγαδάτης ἦι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ Τιγράνη βοηθήσων, καὶ ἐν τῷδε παραδὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντίοχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἦρχε τῶν Σύρων ἐκόντων. καὶ αὐτῷ Λεύκολλος μὲν, ὁ Τιγράνη πρῶτός τε πολεμήσας καὶ τῆς ἐπικτήτου γῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελάσας, οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀρχῆς πατρώας: Πομπήιος δέ, ὁ ἐπὶ Λευκόλλῳ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελὼν, Τιγράνη μὲν Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀμαρτόντα, ἔργῳ μὲν ὅτι ἦν εὐκόλον αὐτῷ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι, πολλὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνοπλον ἀφελέσθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὅτι τοὺς Σελευκίδας, ὑπὸ Τιγράνους ἐκπεσόντας, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι Συρίας ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίους Τιγράνην νενικηκότας.

[50] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Κιλικίας τε καὶ Συρίας τῆς τε μεσογείου καὶ κοίλης καὶ

Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Συρίας ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Αἰγύπτου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ἀμαχὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον. Ἐν δὲ γένος ἔτι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐνιστάμενον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξεῖλε κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς κατέσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθηρῆκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίους ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιοικίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστω. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τῶνδε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις γενομένων ἐθνῶν τοῖς μὲν ... ἐπέστησεν οἰκείους βασιλέας ἢ δυνάστας, καθὰ καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς τέσσαρσι δυνάσταις ἐβεβαίωσε τὰς τετραδαρχίας, συμμαχήσασιν οἱ κατὰ Μιθριδάτου. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ τάδε περιῆλθεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ Καίσαρος μάλιστα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κατὰ μέρη.

[51] Συρίας δ' εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήιος Σκαῦρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ταμίαν ἔταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ Σκαύρῳ τὸν Μάρκιον, καὶ Μαρκελλῖνον Λέντλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἄμφω στρατηγικοὺς κατ' ἀξίωσιν. ἀλλὰ τῶνδε μὲν ἑκατέρῳ διετὴς ἐτρίφθη χρόνος, τοὺς γειτονας ἐνοχλοῦντας Ἀραβας ἀμυνομένῳ. καὶ τοῦδε χάριν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο Συρίας στρατηγοὶ τῶν τὰ ἐπώνυμα ἀρξάντων ἐν ἅστει, ἵνα ἔχοιεν ἐξουσίαν καταλόγου τε στρατιᾶς καὶ πολέμου οἷα ὕπατοι. καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπέμφθη Γαβίνιος μετὰ στρατιᾶς. καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ὀρμῶντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς, ἐξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπ' Ὀρώδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μετήγεν ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ αὐτόν, ὁ ἐνδέκατος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ὁδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀντὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας ὀρμῆσαι. καὶ κατήγαγε μὲν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Γαβίνιος, Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαισιῷ νομιζόμενῳ: ἦν γάρ τι Σιβύλλειον αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεῦον. ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ μοι δοκεῖ Κράσσος ἄρξαι Σύρων, ὅτῳ πολεμοῦντι Παρθυαίοις ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὰ γίνεταί. καὶ ἐπὶ Λευκίου Βύβλου μετὰ Κράσσον στρατηγοῦντος Συρίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐσέβαλον οἱ Παρθυαῖοι. Σάξα δὲ μετὰ Βύβλον ἡγουμένου καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον, ἀσχολουμένον Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὰ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλια.

[52] ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐντελῶς ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ συγγραφῇ λέξω: τῆς δὲ βίβλου τῆσδε οὗσης Συριακῆς, ὅπως μὲν ἔσχον Συρίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συνέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, εἴρηται, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐπιδραμεῖν. οἱ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων Συρίας ἐβασίλευον.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐπὶ Πέρσαις Σύρων, ὁ καὶ πάντων βασιλεὺς ὅσων εἶδεν: Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ παισὶ τῷ μὲν βραχεῖ πάντῳ δὲ ἔτι κυῖσκομένῳ, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, πόθῳ τοῦ Φιλιππίου γένους, εἵλοντο σφῶν βασιλεύειν Ἀριδαῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, καίπερ οὐκ ἔμφορνα νομιζόμενον εἶναι, μετονομάσαντες δὴ Φίλιππον ἀντὶ Ἀριδαίου, τρεφομένων ἔτι τῶν παίδων Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφύλαξαν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν κύουσαν,

οἱ φίλοι δ' ἐς σατραπείας ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη, Περδίκκου διανέμοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθανόντων βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ σατράπαι. Σύρων δὴ πρῶτος γίγνεται σατράπης Λαομέδων ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐκ τε Περδίκκου καὶ ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκαν προστατεύσαντος τῶν βασιλέων. Λαομέδοντα δ' ἐπιπλεύσας Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπης ἔπειθε πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐγχειρίσαι οἱ τὴν Συρίαν, προβολήν τε οὖσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ Κύπρου. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον συλλαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείρας πρὸς Ἀλκétαν ἔφυγεν ἐς Καρίαν. καὶ τινα χρόνον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἤρχε Συρίας, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλιπὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέπλει.

[53] Ἀντίγονος δ' ἦν Φρυγίας μὲν καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας σατράπης, ἐπίσκοπος δ' εἶναι τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου περῶντος ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπολελειμμένος Εὐμένη τὸν Καππαδοκίας σατράπην, ψηφισαμένων εἶναι πολέμιον τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφεύγει, καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκρατύνετο ἑαυτῷ. ἀλλ' Εὐμένη μὲν κτείνει καταλαβὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ ἐπανιὼν ὑπεδέχθη λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου σατραπεύοντος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. ὑβρίσαντος δὲ τινα τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντος Ἀντιγόνῳ παρόντι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἤτει λογισμοὺς χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀσθενέστερος ὢν Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑπεχώρει. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ Σελεύκου Βλίτορά τε, Μεσοποταμίας ἡγούμενον, παρέλυσσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι Σέλευκον μεθήκεν ἀπίοντα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐκ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔθνη, καθίστατο ἑαυτῷ, ἥδη καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου τεθνεώτος. ἐπιφθονός τε εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις σατράπαις ἐγίγνετο, γῆς ἄρχων τοσσησδε. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Σελεύκῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέθεντο Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Θράκης σατράπης καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου, Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἡγούμενος· καὶ ὁμοῦ πρεσβευσάμενοι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἠξίουσαν τὴν ἐπικτήτων αὐτῷ γενομένην γῆν τε καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τε σφᾶς νείμασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρους Μακεδόνας, οἱ τῶν σατραπειῶν ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν. ἐπιχλευάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου οἱ μὲν ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο κοινόν, ὁ δὲ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐξέβαλλε τὰς φρουρὰς ὅσαι ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς λεγομένης κοίλης τὰ ἔτι ὑπήκοα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθρόως περιέσπα.

[54] χωρῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς Κιλικίους πύλας, Δημήτριον τὸν υἱόν, ἀμφὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότα, ἐν Γάζῃ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς Πτολεμαίου τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τοῦτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνίκα περὶ τὴν Γάζαν μάχῃ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἐς τὸν πατέρα ἐχώρει. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτίκα τὸν Σέλευκον ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα πέμπει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναληψόμενον· καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χιλίους, καὶ τριακοσίους ἵππεις. καὶ σὺν οὕτως ὀλίγοις ὁ Σέλευκος τὴν τε Βαβυλωνίαν, προθύμως αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκδεχομένων, ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς μέγα προήγαγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος Πτολεμαῖον ἡμύνετο, καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κύπρον ἐνίκα περιφανεῖ, Δημητρίου τοῦ παιδὸς στρατηγούντος· ἐφ' ὅτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ στρατὸς ἀνείπεν ἅμφω βασιλέας, Ἀντίγονόν τε καὶ Δημήτριον, ἥδη καὶ τῶν

βασιλέων τεθνεώτων, Ἀριδαίου τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἀνεῖπε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ στρατός βασιλέα, ὥς μὴ τι διὰ τὴν ἥσσαν μειονεκτοίῃ τῶν νενικηκότων. τοῖσδε μὲν δὴ τυχεῖν ὁμοίων συνηγέθη κατ' ἐναντίας αἰτίας, εἶποντο δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς οἱ λοιποί, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκ σατραπῶν ἐγίνοντο.

[55] οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Μηδίας, Νικάτορα κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου Μηδίας σατραπεύειν ἀπολελειμμένον. πολέμους δ' ἐπολέμησε πολλοὺς Μακεδόσι καὶ βαρβάροις, καὶ τούτων Μακεδόσι μὲν δύο μεγίστους, τὸν μὲν ὕστερον Λυσιμάχῳ βασιλεύοντι Θράκης, τὸν δὲ πρότερον Ἀντιγόνῳ περὶ Ἴψον τῆς Φρυγίας, αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦντι καὶ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ, καίπερ ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότι. πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅσοι βασιλεῖς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἅμα τῷ Σελεύκῳ καθηγήκεσαν, τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γῆν διενέμοντο. καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος τότε τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς ἀνὰ τὸ μεσόγειον ἄρχειν διέλαχεν. ἐφεδρεύων δὲ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς ἔθνεσι, καὶ δυνατὸς ὢν βιάσασθαι καὶ πιθανὸς προσαγαγέσθαι, ἤρξε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας τῆς Σελευκίδος λεγομένης καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Ταπύρων καὶ τῆς Σογδιανῆς καὶ Ἀραχωσίας καὶ Ὑρκανίας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα ἔθνη μέχρι Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγεγένητο δορίληπτα, ὥς ὀρίσθαι τῷδε μάλιστα μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ πλέον: ἀπὸ γὰρ Φρυγίας ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄνω πάντα Σελεύκῳ κατήκουεν. καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο. καὶ τῶνδε τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου τελευτῆς, τὰ δὲ μετ' Ἀντίγονον ἐποίησεν.

[56] λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ, στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐπομένῳ, χρησμὸν ἐν Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου, 'μὴ σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ'. Ἀσίῃ τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.' καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν ἐστίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρίαν, οὐδενὸς ἄψαντος, ἐκλάμψαι πῦρ μέγα. καὶ ὄναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἂν εὖροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύσειν ἔνθα ἂν ὁ δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἡὔρεν ἄγκυραν ἐν σιδήρῳ κεχαραγμένην, ὃ δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τήνδε ἀπώλεσε κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην. λέγεται καὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπionτα ὕστερον προσκόψαι λίθῳ, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἀνασκαφέντα ἄγκυραν ὀφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὥς ἐπὶ συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου παραπέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ κατοχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα ἦν, δοκεῖ δέ τις καὶ περιόντος ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἕτερον τῷ Σελεύκῳ σημεῖον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπανελθόντι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ λίμνας ἐπὶ χρειᾷ τοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδευειν περιπλέοντι, ἄνεμος ἐμπεσὼν ἤρπασε τὸ διάδημα, καὶ φερόμενον ἐκρεμάσθη δόνακος ἐν τάφῳ τινὸς ἀρχαίου βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσήμαινε μὲν ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τότε, ναύτην δὲ φασιν ἐκκολυμβήσαντα περιθέσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν ἄβροχον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ λαβεῖν τῆς προθυμίας αὐτίκα δωρεὰν παρὰ

τοῦ βασιλέως τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: τῶν δὲ μάντεων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων οἱ μὲν πεισθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντεπεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τάδε πάντα ὑπερελθόντες, οὐ ναύτην ὅλως φασὶν ἀλλὰ Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκολυμβῆσαι, καὶ περιθέσθαι Σέλευκον αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔν' ἄβροχον εἶη. καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐς τέλος ἀμφοῖν ἀπαντήσαι. Ἀλέξανδρόν τε γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μεταστῆναι τοῦ βίου, καὶ Σέλευκον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γῆς, ὅτι πλείστης μάλιστα τόνδε τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων, βασιλεῦσαι.

[57] τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν Σελεύκῳ προμαντευθέντων ἐπιτόμην: γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταστάντος ἡγεμῶν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἣς δὴ καὶ Ἥφαιστίων ἡγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἥφαιστίωνι Περδίκκας, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον σατράπης τε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ σατραπείᾳ. γενομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς πολέμους ἐπιτυχεστάτῳ Νικάτωρ ἐπώνυμον γίγνεται: τῷδε γὰρ ἀρέσκομαι μᾶλλον τοῦ Νικάτορα κτεῖναι. καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι εὐρώσῃ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ταῦρον ἄγριον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρου θυσίᾳ ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατειργασμένῳ, προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κέρατα. πόλεις δὲ ὥκισεν ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἐκκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, πέντε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ Λαοδικείας, ἑννέα δ' ἐπώνυμους ἑαυτοῦ, τέσσαρας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατονίκειαν μίαν. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ νῦν Σελεύκειαι μὲν ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, Λαοδίκεια δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει καὶ ἢ τῆς Συρίας Ἀπάμεια. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Μακεδονίας ὠνόμαζεν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἑαυτοῦ τισιν, ἢ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως: ὅθεν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ δὲ Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὀνόματα, Βέρροια, Ἔδεσσα, Πέρινθος, Μαρώνεια, Καλλίπολις, Ἀχαῖα, Πέλλα, Ὠρωπός, Ἀμφίπολις, Ἀρέθουσα, Ἀστακός, Τεγέα, Χαλκίς, Λάρισα, Ἥρεια, Ἀπολλωνία, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθυνῇ Σώτεια, Καλλιόπη, Χάρις, Ἑκατόμυλος, Ἀχαῖα, ἐν δ' Ἰνδοῖς Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις Ἀλεξανδρέσχατα. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου νίκαις ἔστι Νικηφόριον τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Νικόπολις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας.

[58] φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς Σελευκειάς οἰκίζοντι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ, διοσημίαν ἡγήσασθαι κεραυνοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκεύουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν κεραυνόν: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἡμέραν ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς μάγους κελευομένους, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ἣ τῶν θεμελίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἔδει, ψεύσασθαι τὴν ὥραν τοὺς μάγους, οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτείχισμα τοιόνδε σφίσι γενέσθαι. καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὴν δεδομένην ὥραν ἀνέμενεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἔτοιμος, ἀτρεμῶν ἔστε σημήνειεν ὁ Σέλευκος, ἄφνω κατὰ τὴν αἰσιωτέραν ὥραν δόξαντές τινα κελεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεπήδησαν, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν κηρύκων ἐρυκόντων ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξετετέλεστο, Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους αὐθις ἀνακρίνοντι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἄδειαν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον οἱ μάγοι: 'τὴν πεπρωμένην ὧ βασιλεῦ μοῖραν, χεῖρόνᾳ τε καὶ κρεῖσσονα, οὐκ

ἔστιν οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως ἐναλλάξει. μοῖρα δέ τις καὶ πόλεων ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τήνδε χρονιωτάτην μὲν ἐδόκει τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀρχομένην ἐκ τήσδε τῆς ὥρας ἧς ἐγένετο: δειμαίνοντες δ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ἡμῖν ἐσομένην, παρεφέρομεν τὸ πεπρωμένον. τὸ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἦν καὶ μάγων πανουργούντων καὶ βασιλέως ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτό. τοιγάρτοι τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ αἰσιώτερα τῷ στρατῷ προσέταξεν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐνι σοι καταμαθεῖν ὧδε, ἵνα μὴ τι καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔτι τεχνάζειν ὑπονοῇς. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺ τῷ στρατῷ παρεκάθησο, καὶ τὸ κέλευσμα αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκεις ἀναμένειν: καὶ ὁ εὐπειθέστατος ὢν σοι πρὸς κινδύνους καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο νῦν οὐδὲ ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ' ἀνέθορεν, οὐδὲ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀλλ' ἀθρόως, ἐπιστάταις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐνόμιζε κεκελεύσθαι. καὶ ἐκεκέλευστο δῆ: διόπερ οὐδὲ σοῦ κατερύκοντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. τί ἂν οὖν βασιλέως ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἴη καρτερώτερον ἄλλο θεοῦ; ὃς τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἡγεμόνευσέ σοι τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, δυσμεναίων ἡμῖν τε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῷ περιοίκῳ. ποῦ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἰσχύσει, δυνατωτέρου γένους παρῳκισμένου; ἢ μὲν δὴ πόλις σοι γέγονε σὺν τύχῃ καὶ μεγιστεύσει καὶ χρόνιος ἔσται: σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν, ἐξαμαρτοῦσιν ὑπὸ δέους οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, τὴν συγγνώμην βεβαίου.' ταῦτα τῶν μάγων εἰπόντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦσθη καὶ συνέγνω.

[59] τοιαύδε μὲν ἐπυθόμην περὶ Σελευκείας: ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, περιὼν ἔτι, τῆς ἅνω γῆς βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ εἰ τῷ μεγάλῳφρον εἶναι τόδε φαίνεται καὶ βασιλικόν, μεγαλοφρονέστερον ἔτι καὶ σοφώτερον ἦνεγκε τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην. ἦρα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος Στρατονίκης τῆς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου γυναικός, μητρυῖας οἱ γενομένης καὶ παῖδα ἤδη τῷ Σελεύκῳ πεποιημένης, συγγιγνώσκων δὲ τὴν ἀθεμιστίαν τοῦ πάθους οὔτε ἐπεχειρεῖ τῷ κακῷ οὔτε πρῶφερεν, ἀλλ' ἐνόσει καὶ παρεῖτο καὶ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸν θάνατον συνήργει. οὐδ' ὁ περιώνυμος ἱατρὸς Ἑρασίστρατος, ἐπὶ μεγίσταις συντάξεισι Σελεύκῳ συνών, εἶχε τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ πάθους, μέχρι φυλάξας καθαρὸν ἐκ πάντων τὸ σῶμα, εἵκασεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν νόσον, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐρρωμένη καὶ νοσοῦση τὸ σῶμα συναίσθεται. λύπας μὲν οὖν καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἄλλας ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἔρωτα δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τῶν σωφρόνων. οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ Ἀντίοχου φράζοντος αὐτῷ λιπαροῦντι μαθεῖν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, παρεκαθέζετο καὶ ἐφύλασσε τὰς τοῦ σώματος μεταβολάς, ὅπως ἔχοι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐσιόντων. ὥς δὲ ἤρπεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων σβεννύμενον αἰεὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαραινόμενον ὁμαλῶς, ὅτε δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη παρίοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκευομένη, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καὶ συνειδότος τότε μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούμενον καὶ σιωπῶντα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ θαλερώτερόν τε γιγνόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ζωτικώτερον, καὶ αὐθις ἀπιούσης ἀσθενέστερον, ἔφη τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν αὐτῷ. ὑπεραλγῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐκβοήσαντος εἶπεν: 'ἔρως ἔστι τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἔρως γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατος.'

[60] Σελεύκου δὲ θαυμάσαντος εἰ τίνα μὴ δύναίτο πείσαι Σέλευκος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ γάμῳ τοιοῦδε παιδός, ἱκεσίᾳ τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ τοσσηδε βασιλείᾳ, περιούση μὲν ἐς τόνδε τὸν κάμνοντα βασιλέα, δοθησομένη δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰ ἤδη τις ἐθέλοι, καὶ μόνον

ἀξιοῦντος μαθεῖν τίς ἐστι τὸ γύναιον, ὁ Ἑρασίστρατος ἔφη: 'τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἐρᾶ.' καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος, 'εἴτ' ὧ 'γαθέ,' ἔφη, 'φιλίας μὲν οὕτω καὶ χαρίτων ἔχων ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ σοφίας ἐν ὀλίγοις, οὐ σώσεις μοι νέον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικόν, φίλου καὶ βασιλέως υἱόν, ἀτυχοῦντα καὶ σωφρονοῦντα καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπικρύπτοντα καὶ προτιμώμενον αὐτῷ θανάτου, ἀλλ' ὑπερόψει μὲν οὕτως Ἀντιόχον, ὑπερόψει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σέλευκον;' ὁ δ' ἀπομαχόμενος εἶπε λόγον ὡς ἄφυκτον, ὅτι μὴδ' ἂν σύ, καίπερ ὢν πατήρ, τῆς σῆς Ἀντιόχος εἰ ἦρα γυναικός, μεθῆκας ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα. ἐνθα δὴ πάντας ὤμνυ τοὺς βασιλείους θεοὺς ὁ Σέλευκος, ἥ μὴν ἐκὼν ἂν καὶ χαίρων μεθεῖναι καὶ διήγημα γενέσθαι καλὸν εὐνοίας ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἐς παῖδα σώφρονα καὶ ἐγκρατῆ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς συμφορᾶς. πολλὰ τε ὅμοια ἐπενεγκών, ἥρξατο ἄχθεσθαι ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἱατρὸς ἀτυχοῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δέοιτο Ἑρασιστράτου.

[61] ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατείδε τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον ὑποφαίνουσας, οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν, ἀνεκάλυπτε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸ εὖροι κρυπτόμενον διηγείτο. Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἡσθέντι ἔργον μὲν ἐγένετο πείσαι τὸν υἱόν, ἔργον δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα: ὡς δ' ἔπεισε, τὴν στρατιὰν συναγαγών, αἰσθομένην ἴσως ἤδη τι τούτων, κατελογίζετο μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐπὶ μήκιστον προαγάγοι: διὸ καὶ γηρῶντι ἤδη δυσκράτητον εἶναι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. 'ἐθέλω δέ,' ἔφη, 'διελεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμεριμνίαν, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἤδη δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φιλότατοις. δίκαιοι δ' ἐστέ μοι πάντες ἐς πάντα συνεργεῖν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἠξήθητε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. φίλτατοι δ' εἰσὶ μοι καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι τῶν τε παίδων ὁ τέλειος ἤδη καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδες, ὡς νέοις, γένοιντο ταχέως, καὶ πλέονες φύλακες ὑμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἶεν. ἀρμόζω σφίσιν ἀλλήλους ἐφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πέμπω βασιλέας εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤδη τῶν ἄνω. καὶ οὐ Περσῶν ὑμῖν ἔθνη καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τόνδε τὸν κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἐπιθήσω νόμον, ἀεὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸ πρὸς βασιλέως ὀριζόμενον.' ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ ὡς βασιλέα τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μέγιστον καὶ πατέρα ἄριστον ἠυφῆμει καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος Στρατονίκη καὶ τῷ παιδί τὰ αὐτὰ προστάξας ἐξεύγνυ τὸν γάμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἔργον ἀοίδιμον τόδε καὶ δυνατώτερον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐργασάμενος.

[62] Σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα: τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς. καὶ τὴν πλείονα τῷ παιδί παραδούς, ἥρχε τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Εὐφράτην μόνων. καὶ πόλεμον τελευταῖον Λυσιμάχῳ περὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πολεμῶν, Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἐκράτει πεσόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπέρα. καὶ ἐς Λυσιμάχειαν ἀναβαίνων κτείνεται. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτὸν ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν, ὅτῳ κεραυνὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶς. υἱὸς δ' ἦν ὁ κεραυνὸς ὅδε Πτολεμαίου τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα Αἰγύπτου διὰ δέος, ὅτι νεωτάτῳ παιδί ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπενόει δοῦναι, ὁ Σέλευκος οἷα φίλου παῖδα ἀτυχοῦντα ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἔφερβε καὶ ἐπήγετο πάντῃ φονέα ἑαυτοῦ.

[63] καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν οὕτω τελευτᾷ, τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, καὶ

βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνενεχθῆναι τὸ αὐτὸ λόγιον, ‘μὴ σπεῦδ’ Εὐρώπηνδ’· Ἀσίῃ τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.’ ἡ γὰρ Λυσιμάχεια τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐστί, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διεπέρα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ λόγιον προαγορευθῆναι ‘Ἄργος ἀλευόμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτος ἥξει· εἰ δ’ Ἄργει πελάσαιο, τότε κεν παρὰ μοῖραν ὅλοιο.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄργος τὸ Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστεΐᾳ ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες’ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον, καὶ εἰ τί που γῆς ἄλλο Ἄργος ἐκαλεῖτο, πάντα ἀνεζήτει καὶ ἐφυλάσσετο· ἀναβαίνοντι δ’ ἐς τὴν Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου βωμὸς ἦν ἐν ὧν μέγας τε καὶ περιφανής, καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας στήσασθαι παραπλέοντας ἐς Κόλχους ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύοντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι τὸν βωμὸν τοὺς περιχώρους Ἄργος καλεῖν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ναῦν διαφθείροντας τὸ ὄνομα ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἀτρείδων, κτείνεται, ταῦτα ἔτι μανθάνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος ὀπισθεν. καὶ Σέλευκον μὲν ἔκαιε Φιλέταιρος ὁ Περγάμου δυναστεύσας, πολλῶν χρημάτων τὸ σῶμα τὸν κεραυνὸν αἰτήσας, καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἔπεμπεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ’ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσην ἀπέθετο, καὶ νεῶν αὐτῷ ἐπέστησε καὶ τέμενος περιέθηκε· καὶ τὸ τέμενος Νικατόρειον ἐπικληρίζεται.

[64] Λυσίμαχον δὲ πυνθάνομαι, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὄντα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρatroχάσαι ποτὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτῷ, καὶ καμόντα, τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ βασιλέως ἵππου λαβόμενον, ἔτι συντρέχειν, πληγέντα δὲ ἐς τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τὴν φλέβα τῷ τέλει τοῦ βασιλείου δόρατος αἱμορροεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπορία τελαμῶνος, τῷ διαδήματι αὐτοῦ τὸ τραῦμα περιδῆσαι, καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι μὲν αἵματος τὸ διάδημα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μάντιν Ἀρίστανδρον φερομένῳ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐπειπεῖν ὅτι βασιλεύσει μὲν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ, βασιλεύσει δ’ ἐπιπόνως. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μάλιστα σὺν οἷς ἐσατράπευσε, καὶ ἐπιπόνως ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐβδομηκοντούτης ὢν στρατευόμενος καὶ μαχόμενος ἔπεσεν. εὐθύς δ’ ἐπαναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Σελεύκου, κείμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου κύων οἰκεῖος, ἐς πολὺ ὑπερμαχῶν, ἀλύμαντον ἐξ ὀρνέων καὶ θηρίων διεφύλασσε, μέχρι Θώραξ ὁ Φαρσάλιος εὐρὼν ἔθαψεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν φασι θάψαι, τὸν αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου παῖδα, φυγόντα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους πρὸς Σέλευκον ὅτε Λυσίμαχος Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀνεῖλεν, ἐρευνησάμενον δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυνὸς μάλιστα ἀνευρόντα ἤδη διεφθαρμένον. τὰ δὲ ὅσα τοὺς Λυσιμαχέας ἐνθέσθαι τῷ σφετέρῳ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λυσιμάχειον προσαγορευῆσαι.

τοιόνδε μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκατέρῳ τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων συνηνέχθη, ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ τὰ σώματα μεγίστων γενομένων, τοῦ μὲν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, τοῦ δὲ ἐς πλεόνα τούτων ἔτι ἄλλα τρία, μεμαχημένων ἐκ χειρὸς οἰκείας αἰεὶ μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου.

[65] Σελεύκου δ’ ἀποθανόντος διάδοχοι, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Ἀντίοχος μὲν πρῶτος ὅδε ὁ τῆς μητριᾶς

ἐρασθεῖς, ὃς καὶ σωτὴρ ἐπεκλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλόντας, ἐξελάσας, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὅτῳ θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίγνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν τὸν θεὸν ἔκτεινεν ἡ γυνὴ φαρμάκῳ. δύο δὲ εἶχε, Λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην, ἐξ ἑρωτός τε καὶ ἐγγύης, ... Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα: καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ φιλαδέλφου, ταῦτα τινύμενος, Λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασεν. καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἤρξαν ὡς τεταραγμένης τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς.

[66] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλεὺς γίγνεται Συρίας Σέλευκος, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τε καὶ Λαοδίκης, ᾧ καλλίνικος ἐπώνυμον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σελεύκῳ δύο παῖδες αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος. Σελεύκῳ μὲν δὴ ἀσθενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ πενομένῳ καὶ δυσπειθῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχοντι ἐπεβούλευσαν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ ἐς ἔτη δύο μόνον ἐβασίλευσεν: ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὅδε ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἐπὶ κλην, περὶ οὗ μοι πάσαι εἰρηται, Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῖν παιδῶν προεῖπον ἀμφοῖν βεβασилευκότιν, Σελεύκου τε καὶ Ἀντίοχου, Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν, Ἀντίοχου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρεσιν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον εἶλε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ ἕκτον Πτολεμαῖον, ὀρφανεύομενον μετ' ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεύοντι περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Ποπίλιος παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς ἦκε, φέρων δέλτον ἐν ᾗ τάδε ἐγγέγραπτο, μὴ πολεμεῖν Πτολεμαίοις Ἀντίοχον. ἀναγνόντι δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι βουλεύσεσθαι, κύκλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ περιέγραψεν ὁ Ποπίλιος, καὶ εἶπεν: 'ἐνταῦθα βουλεύου.' ὁ μὲν δὴ καταπλαγεὶς ἀνέξευξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε, παιδίον ἐνναετὲς ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐπάτορα, ὡς μοι καὶ περὶ τοῦδε εἰρηται.

[67] εἰρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, ὃς ὠμήρευσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῆς ὀμηρείας ἐκφυγὼν ἐβασίλευσε, σωτὴρ καὶ ὅδε πρὸς τῶν Σύρων, δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷ Σελεύκου τοῦ νικατορος παιδὶ ὀνομασθεῖς. ἐπ' ἀνίσταται δὲ αὐτῷ τις Ἀλέξανδρος, ψευδόμενος εἶναι τοῦ Σελευκείου γένους: καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς κατὰ μῖσος Δημητρίου συνελάμβανεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν διὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε: τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξέβαλε Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦδε τοῦ σωτῆρος υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὡς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἄνδρα νικήσας, νικᾶτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ὀνομάσθη, δεύτερος καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον. ἐπὶ τε Παρθυαίους καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος δίαιταν εἶχεν ἐν Φραάτου βασιλείῳ, καὶ Ῥοδογούνην ἐξευξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς.

[68] παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν τήνδε δοῦλος τῶν βασιλέων Διόδωτος παιδίον Ἀλεξάνδρον, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ νόθου καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου θυγατρὸς, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἤγαγεν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐπετόλμησε τῇ ἀρχῇ, Τρύφων ἀπ' ἐαυτοῦ μετονομασθεῖς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ

αἰχμαλώτου, πυθόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, κτείνει κατιῶν ἐς τὰ πατρῶα σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ. καὶ στρατεύει καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ τὸν Φραάτην, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Φραάτης αὐτὸν ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐξέπεμψεν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος καὶ ὡς συνέβαλέ τε τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, καὶ ἡσώμενος ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανελθόντα ἢ γυνὴ Κλεοπάτρα, δολοφονήσασα διὰ ζῆλον τοῦ γάμου Ῥοδογούνης, δι' ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀντίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου προὔγεγάμητο. καὶ παῖδες ἦσαν αὐτῇ δύο μὲν ἐκ Δημητρίου, Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ γρυπὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ἐκ δὲ Ἀντίῳ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Κυζικηνὸς ἐπώνυμον. τούτων τὸν μὲν γρυπὸν ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸν δὲ Κυζικηνὸν ἐς Κύζικον ἐπεπόμφει τρέφεσθαι.

[69] Σέλευκον δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ τὸ διάδημα ἐπιθέμενον ἐπιτοξεύσασα ἔκτεινεν, εἴτε δεῖσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως, εἴτε καὶ μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει. μετὰ δὲ Σέλευκον ὁ γρυπὸς ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς, καὶ τὴν μητέρα οἱ φάρμακον κεράσασαν πιεῖν ἠνάγκασεν. ἡ μὲν δὴ δίκην ποτὲ ἔδωκεν, ἄξιος δὲ ἄρα τῆς μητρὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ γρυπός· ἐπεβούλευε γὰρ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καίπερ ὄντι ὁμομητρίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐπολέμησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτόν ἐξήλασε, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς Σύροις ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνδε Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντίῳ τοῦ γρυποῦ παῖς, ἐπιστρατεύσας ὄντι περ θείῳ, παρείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν. βίαιος δὲ καὶ τυραννικώτατος ὢν ἐν Ἑστίᾳ Μόψου τῆς Κιλικίας κατεπρήσθη κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο Ἀντίοχος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ· ὃν ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀνεπιτοῦ οἱ μὲν Σύροι νομίζουσι περισῳθῆναι δι' εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐσεβῇ παρωνόμασαν ἑταίρα δ' αὐτὸν ἔσωσεν, ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ κάλλους, ἔμοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ γέλῳτι αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα οἱ Σύροι· ἔγημε γὰρ οὗτος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Σελήνην, ἣ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγάμητο τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καὶ τῷ γρυπῷ θείῳ γενομένῳ. τοιγάρτοι αὐτὸν θεοῦ μετιόντος ἐξήλασε τῆς ἀρχῆς Τιγράνης.

[70] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκείνου τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφέντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπὶ κλην, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ὡς μοι λέλεκται, ὄντα μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκατον ἐκ Σελεύκου Σύρων βασιλέα· ἐξαίρω γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα ὡς νόθους, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτῶν Διόδοτον, βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπήϊου ἐπὶ ἑνὸς μόνον ἔτος. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἐς τριάκοντα ἐπὶ διακοσίους ἐνιαυτοὺς δίκετο· καὶ εἴ τις ἐπισκοποῖ τὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίους χρόνον ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, προσθετέον ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις τριάκοντα ἔτεσι τὰ Τιγράνους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν Συρίας βεβασιλευκότων εἶχον εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ συγγραφῇ.

Μιθριδατειος

Θρᾶκας Ἑλληνας ἡγούνται, τοὺς ἐς Ἴλιον μετὰ Ῥήσου στρατεύσαντας, Ῥήσου νυκτὸς ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀναιρεθέντος ὃν τρόπον Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι φράζει, φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ στόμα, ἧ στενωτάτος ἐστὶν ἐς Θράκην ὁ διάπλους, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτυχόντας πλοίῳν τῆδε καταμεῖναι καὶ τῆς γῆς κρατῆσαι Βεβρυκίας λεγομένης, οἱ δὲ περάσαντας ὑπὲρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐς τὴν Θρακῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν λεγομένων παρὰ Βιθύαν ποταμὸν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ λιμῶ πιεσθέντας ἐς Βεβρυκίαν αὐθις ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἀντὶ Βεβρυκίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρ' ὃν ὥκουν, ὀνομάσαι, ἧ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως σὺν χρόνῳ παρατραπῆναι, οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τὴν Βεβρυκίαν διαφερούσης. ὧδε μὲν ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ Βίθυν ἄρξαι πρῶτον αὐτῶν, παῖδα Διὸς τε καὶ Θράκης, οὓς ἐπωνύμους ἑκατέρᾳ γῇ γενέσθαι.

[2] τάδε μὲν οὖν μοι προλελέχθω περὶ Βιθυνίας: τῶν δὲ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῆς βασιλέων, ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφεξῆς γενομένων, ὅτου μοι μάλιστα μνημονεῦσαι προσήκει τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, Προυσίας ἦν ὁ κυνηγὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὃ Περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡγγύησεν. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον Περσέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰόντων, ὁ Προυσίας οὐδετέροις συνεμάχει. Περσέως δ' ἀλόντος ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς εἰμὰ τε Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀμπεχόμενος, ὃ καλοῦσι τήβεννον, καὶ ὑποδήματα ἔχων Ἰταλικά, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξυρημένος καὶ πῖλον ἐπικείμενος, ὃ τρόπῳ τινὲς προΐασι τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἐλευθερωθέντων, αἰσχυρὸς ὢν καὶ τᾶλλα ὀφθῆναι καὶ βραχύς. ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔφη Ῥωμαῖστί τῳ ῥήματι 'Ῥωμαίων εἰμὶ λίβερτος,' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπελεύθερος. γέλωτα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέμφθη, καὶ φανεὶς κἀνταῦθα γελοῖος ἔτυχε συγγνώμης.

[3] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀττάλῳ τι χαλεπήνας, τῷ Βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον, τὴν γῆν ἐδήϊου τὴν Ἀσιάδα. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ προσέπεμπε τῷ Προυσίᾳ μὴ πολεμεῖν Ἀττάλῳ, φίλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ. καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἔτι ἔχοντι οἱ πρέσβεις μετ' ἀνατάσεως προσέτασσον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου λεγομένοις, καὶ ἦκειν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων ἔς τι μεθόριον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον ἔφασαν περιμένειν μετὰ τοσῶνδε ἐτέρων. ὁ δ' ὡς ὀλίγων τῶν σὺν Ἀττάλῳ καταφρονήσας, καὶ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεῦσειν, προὔπεμπε τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς μετὰ χιλίων ἐπόμενος, πάντα δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ὡς ἐς μάχην. Ἀττάλου δὲ καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων αἰσθομένων τε καὶ διαφυγόντων ἧ δυνατὸς αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο ἕκαστος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἥπτετο, καὶ χωρίον τι Νικηφόριον ἐξελὼν κατέσκαπτε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶς ἐνεπίμπρη, Ἀτταλὸν τε ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον συμφυγόντα ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι καὶ τῶνδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἐπεμπον, οἱ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευον Ἀττάλῳ τὰς βλάβας ἀποτίσαι. τότε οὖν καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Προυσίας ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ποινὴν δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ὀρισάντων αὐτὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν Ἀττάλῳ ναὺς καταφράκτους εἴκοσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργυρίου σὺν χρόνῳ τάλαντα πεντακόσια, τὰς τε ναὺς ἔδωκε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνέφερεν.

[4] ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ μίσους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπὶ ὤμοτῃ χαλεπῇ, Νικομήδης υἱὸς ἦν, πάνυ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς ἀρέσκων· ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας ὑφορώμενος ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτὸν βιοῦν μετεστήσατο. καὶ μαθὼν εὐδοκιμοῦντα κάκεϊ, προσέταξε τῆς βουλῆς δεηθῆναι τῶν ἔτι ὀφειλομένων Ἀττάλῳ χρημάτων αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι. Μηνᾶν τε αὐτῷ συμπρεσβεύοντα ἔπεμπε· καὶ εἶρητο τῷ Μηνᾷ, εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοι τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν χρημάτων, ἔτι φεῖδεσθαι τοῦ Νικομήδους, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, κτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. κερκούρους τέ τινας ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δισχλίους στρατιώτας. ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ζημίας οὐκ ἀφεθείσης τῷ Προυσίᾳ Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέφαινε ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν δὲ Νικομήδῃ λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὀρῶν, ἠπόρητο, καὶ οὔτε κτείνειν αὐτὸν ὕφιστατο οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἐπανιέναι διὰ δέος. ὅμως δ' αὐτῷ βραδύνοντι συνεῖς ὁ νεανίσκος ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐθέλοντι κάκεϊ. συνθέμενοι δ' ἐπιβουλευσά τῷ Προυσίᾳ, τὸν Ἀττάλου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐς τὸ ἔργον προσέλαβον, ἵνα τὸν Ἀτταλον πείσειε τὸν Νικομήδῃ καταγαγεῖν ἐς Βιθυνίαν. ἀναμείναντες δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ Βερνίκῃ, πολισματῷ τινὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου, νυκτὸς ἐσβάντες ἐς ναῦν ἃ τε δέοι ποιεῖν συνετίθεντο, καὶ διελύθησαν ἔτι νυκτός.

[5] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Νικομήδης μὲν ἐξέβαινε τῆς νεῶς πορφύραν τε βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος καὶ διάδημα ἐπικείμενος, Ἀνδρόνικος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπαντίσας τε καὶ βασιλέα προσειπὼν παρέπεμπε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὧν εἶχε πεντακοσίων. Μηνᾶς δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος τότε πρῶτον ἡσθῆσθαι Νικομήδους παρόντος, ἐς τοὺς δισχλίους διαδραμὼν ἐδυσφόρει. προῖων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, 'δύο,' ἔφη, 'βασιλέοιν, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον εἶ διατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦ γενησομένου καλῶς τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὥς ἐν τῷδε τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας βεβαιουμένης, ἣν καλῶς προιδώμεθα πότερος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ γέρων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ νέος· καὶ Βιθυνοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀποστρέφονται, τὸν δὲ αἰροῦνται. Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαπῶσι· καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος αὐτὸν ἤδη δορυφορῶν ὑποδείκνυσι τὴν Ἀττάλου συμμαχίαν, ἀρχὴν τε μεγάλην ἔχοντος καὶ Βιθυνοῖς γειτονεύοντος καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῷ Προυσίᾳ πεπολεωμένου.' λέγων δὲ ταῦθ' ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὤμοτητα τοῦ Προυσίου παρεγύμνου, καὶ ὅσα πονηρὰ πράξειεν ἐς ἅπαντας, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βιθυνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθος. ὥς δὲ κάκεϊνους εἶδε τὴν Προυσίου μοχθηρίαν ἀποστρεφόμενους, ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Νικομήδην αὐτίκα, καὶ προσειπὼν καὶ ὁδε βασιλέα δεύτερος ἐπὶ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μετὰ τῶν δισχλίων ἐδορυφόρει.

[6] Ἀττάλος τε τὸν νεανίαν προθύμως ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τῷ παιδὶ πόλεις τέ τινας ἐς ἐνοίκησιν καὶ χώραν ἐς ἐφόδια δοῦναι. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα δώσειν ἔφη τὴν Ἀττάλου βασιλείαν ἅπασαν, ἣν δὴ καὶ πρότερον Νικομήδῃ περιποιῶν ἐς Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἔπεμπε ἐς Ῥώμην τοὺς Νικομήδους καὶ Ἀττάλου κατηγορήσοντάς τε καὶ προκαλεσομένους ἐς κρίσιν. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν, καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Βιθυνοὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσετίθεντο. Προυσίας δ' ἅπασιν ἀπιστῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, Διήγγυλιν τὸν Θρᾶκα, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ, πεντακοσίους Θρᾶκας αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν

τοῖσδε μόνοις τὸ σῶμα ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ καταφυγών· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐν ἄστει οὔτε αὐτίκα ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τοῦ Προυσίου πρέσβεις, χαριζόμενος Ἀττάλῳ· ἐπαγαγὼν τέ ποτε, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πέμψαι πρέσβεις οἱ διαλύσουσι τὸν πόλεμον, εἵλετο τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ποτε λίθῳ πληγείς ἀσχήμονας ἐπέκειτο ὠτειλάς, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πόδας διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ ρεύματος, ὁ δ' ἡλιθιώτατος ἐνομιζέτο εἶναι, ὥστε Κάτωνα τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐπισκώπτοντα εἰπεῖν τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην μήτε νοῦν ἔχειν μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν.

[7] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ προσέτασσαν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι, Νικομήδους δὲ καὶ Ἀττάλου συγχωρεῖν ὑποκρινομένων οἱ Βιθυνοὶ διδαχθέντες ἔλεγον οὐκ εἶναι δυνατοὶ φέρειν ἔτι τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν Προυσίου, φανεροὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγόμενοι δυσχεραίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, ὡς οὐπὼ Ῥωμαίων τάδε πυθομένων, ἐπανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι· Προυσίας δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνω, οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων οὐδενὸς ἐς ἄμυναν ἐπεφροντίκει, μετήλθεν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ὡς κρατυνούμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι πολεμήσων. οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ἀνέφωξαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικομήδης ἐσθίει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸν δὲ Προυσίαν ἐς ἱερὸν Διὸς καταφυγόντα συνεκέντησάν τινες ἐπιτεμφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Νικομήδους. οὕτω Νικομήδης ἀντὶ Προυσίου Βιθυνῶν ἐβασίλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν χρόνῳ τελευτήσαντα Νικομήδης ὁ υἱός, ὃ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, διεδέξατο, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς πατρῶαν ψηφισαμένων.

τὰ μὲν δὴ Βιθυνῶν ὧδε εἶχε· καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδὴ πάντα προμαθεῖν, υἱωνὸς τοῦδε ἑτερος Νικομήδης Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλειπεν.

[8] Καππαδοκίας δὲ πρὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων οἵτινες ἦρχον, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν, εἴτε Δαρείου κατήκουον· Ἀλέξανδρος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ φόρῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ Ἀμισόν, ἐν Πόντῳ πόλιν Ἀττικοῦ γένους, ἐπὶ δημοκρατίαν ὡς πάτριόν σφισι πολιτείαν ἀναγαγόν. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιψαῦσαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τραπέσθαι. Περδίκκας δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἦρχεν, Ἀριαράθην Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενον, εἴτε ἀφιστάμενον εἴτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιούμενος Μακεδόσιν, εἶλε καὶ ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Εὐμένη τὸν Καρδιανόν. Εὐμένους δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὅτε αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες εἵλοντο εἶναι πολέμιον, Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενομένης γῆς ἐπιτροπεύων, Νικάνορα ἔπεμψε Καππαδοκῶν σατραπεύειν.

[9] Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐς ἀλλήλους στασιασάντων, Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἦρχε Συρίας Λαομέδοντα ἐκβαλὼν, Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξε πεδίον σπεῖραι χρυσίῳ, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκθερίσαντα τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Πόντον οἴχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβῶν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτείνειν, ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξ, καὶ φραζάμενός τι χωρίον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίᾳ, Καππαδοκίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν

ὁμόρων περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνων κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τε μέγα τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγὼν παῖσι παρέδωκεν. οἱ δ' ἤρχον, ἕτερος μεθ' ἕτερον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν ἕκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Μιθριδάτην, ὃς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους ὄντες οἱ Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Πόντου βασιλεῖς ἔσθ' ὅτε μοι δοκοῦσι διελεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Πόντου κατασχεῖν οἱ δὲ Καππαδοκίας.

[10] ὁ γέ τοι Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐν φιλίᾳ γενόμενος καὶ ναῦς τινὰς ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀλίγην παρασχών, βασιλεὺς Πόντου, Μιθριδάτης ὁ εὐεργέτης ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὡς ἄλλοτριαν τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐπέδραμεν. καὶ διαδέχεται Μιθριδάτης υἱός, ὃ Διόνυσος καὶ εὐπάτωρ ἐπώνυμα ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὸν ἐκστήναι Καππαδοκίας ἐκέλευσαν Ἀριοβαρζάνην, καταφυγόντι τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντι ἄρα γνησιωτέρῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχήν, ἣ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολλῆς οὐσῆς ὑφορώμενοί τε καὶ ἐς πλεονα διαιροῦντες ἀφανῶς. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκε, Νικομήδει δὲ τῷ Νικομήδους τοῦ Προυσίου, Βιθυνίας ὡς πατρώας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθέντι βασιλεύειν, Σωκράτη τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτ' χρηστὸς ἐπώνυμον ἦν, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπέμψε· καὶ τὴν Βιθυνῶν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐς αὐτὸν περιέσπασεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μιθράας καὶ Βαγῶας Ἀριοβαρζάνην τόνδε τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατηγμένον ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκβαλόντες, Ἀριαράθην κατήγαγον ἐς αὐτήν.

[11] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Νικομήδην ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐπανῆγον ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάτερον, πρέσβεις τέ τινας αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψαν, ὧν Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος ἡγεῖτο· καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέστειλαν Λευκίῳ τε Κασσίῳ, τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας ἡγουμένῳ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι ὀλίγην, καὶ τῷδε τῷ εὐπάτορι Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιμεμφόμενος, καὶ Φρυγίαν ἔναγχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένος, ὡς διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς δεδήλωται, οὐ συνέπραττε· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Μάνιος τῷ τε Κασσίου στρατῷ, καὶ πολλὴν ἄλλον ἀγειράντες Γαλατῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν, Νικομήδῃ τε κατήγαγον ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν. εὐθύς τε ἀνέπειθον ἄμφω, γείτονας ὄντας Μιθριδάτου, τὴν γῆν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατατρέχειν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον ἐρεθίζειν, ὡς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς πολέμοις συμμαχησόντων. οἱ δὲ ὤκνουν μὲν ὁμοίως ἐκάτερος γείτονος πολέμου τοσοῦδε κατάρξαι, τὴν Μιθριδάτου δύναμιν δεδιότες· ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὁ Νικομήδης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπικουρίας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὁμολογηκῶς χρήματα δώσειν καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλων, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν ἐπομένων Ῥωμαίων δεδανεισμένος καὶ ὀχλούμενος, ἄκων ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Μιθριδάτου γῆν καὶ ἐλεηλάτησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἀμαστριν, οὐδενὸς οὔτε κωλύοντος αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαντῶντος. ὁ γάρ τοι Μιθριδάτης ἐτοίμην ἔχων δύναμιν ὅμως ὑπεχώρει, πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια διδοὺς ἐγκλήματα τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι.

[12] ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικομήδους μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων, Πελοπίδαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πολεμῆσειν αὐτῷ καὶ τῇσδε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτίους γεγονότας, ὑποκρινόμενος δέ, καὶ πλείονας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας τοῦ γεννησομένου πολέμου πορίζων, ἀνεμίμησε φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας

τε καὶ πατρώας. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἔφη Φρυγίαν ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναληφθεῖσαν, Φρυγίαν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐπὶ Ἀριστονίκῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου στρατηγοῦ δοθεῖσάν τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐωνημένην. 'νῦν δ', ἔφη, 'καὶ Νικομήδῃ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου διακλείοντα περιορᾶτε, καὶ τὴν γῆν μέχρι Ἀμάστριδος ἐπιτρέχοντα, καὶ λείαν ἄγοντα ὅσῃ ἴστε ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἀσθενῶς οὐδὲ ἀνετοιμῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἐμοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἀναμένοντος ὑμᾶς ἐν ὧν μάρτυρας τῶν γιγνομένων γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένεσθέ τε καὶ εἶδετε, παρακαλεῖ Μιθριδάτης, φίλος ὧν ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχος, φίλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ συμμάχους ὧδε γὰρ αἱ συνθήκαι λέγουσιν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ Νικομήδους, ἢ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα.'

[13] ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε, Νικομήδους δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῷ παρόντες ἔφασαν:

Νικομήδῃ μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιβουλεύων Σωκράτη μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπῆγεν, ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἄρχειν. καὶ ὧδε Μιθριδάτης ἐς Νικομήδην ἔπραξεν, ὃν ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Βιθυνῶν ἐστήσασθε βασιλεύειν: ὁ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν οὐκ ἐς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὑμᾶς γεγονέναι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ κεκελευκότων ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ βασιλευσὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης μὴδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν, τὰ πολλὰ Χερρονήσου περιέσπασεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἔστω τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς ὕβρεως τε καὶ δυσμενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπειθείας ἔργα: ἡ παρασκευὴ δὲ ὅση, καὶ πᾶσα ἔτοιμος ὥς ἐπὶ μέγαν δὴ καὶ ἐγνωσμένον πόλεμον ἦδη, τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων Θρακῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα πλησίον ἔθνη. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀρμένιον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιγαμία γέγονε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν περιπέμπει προσεταιριζόμενος τοὺς βασιλέας. νῆές τε εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατάφρακτοι τριακόσiai, καὶ ἑτέρας προσαπεργάζεται: ἐπὶ τε πλωρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον περιέπεμψεν. ἅπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ Νικομήδῃ που, τοσάδε ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μιθριδάτης, ἐργάζεται, δυσμεναίων μὲν ἐξ οὗ Φρυγίαν αὐτὸν πανούργως πριάμενον, καὶ δεκάσαντα τῶν ὑμετέρων τινὰ στρατηγῶν, ἀποθέσθαι προσετάξατε, τῆς οὐ δικαίας κτήσεως καταγνόντες, χαλεπαίνων δ' ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ, δεδομένη καὶ τῇδε πρὸς ὑμῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, δεδιὼς δ' αὐξομένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς προφάσει καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐπιθέσθαι. σωφρόνων δ' ἐστὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους ἀφορᾶν μὴδὲ φιλίας ὄνομα ἐπίπλαστον ὑποκρινόμενῳ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους ἐκδοῦναι φίλους, μὴδὲ τὴν σφετέραν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας κρίσιν ὑπεριδεῖν ἀκυρουμένην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροῦ.

[14] ὧδε μὲν καὶ οἱ Νικομήδους ἔλεξαν: ἐπελθὼν δὲ αὐθις ὁ Πελοπίδας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνέδριον περὶ μὲν τῶν πάσαι γερονότων, εἴ τι Νικομήδης ἐπιμέμφοιτο, δικάσαι Ῥωμαίους ἡξίου, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν ὧν γὰρ ὑμῶν γέγονε, τῆς τε γῆς τῆς Μιθριδάτου δηουμένης καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀποκεκλεισμένης καὶ λείας τοσησδε ἐλαυνομένης' οὐ λόγων ἔφη χρῆζειν οὐδὲ κρίσεως, 'ἀλλ' αὐθις ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν ἢ κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἢ Μιθριδάτῃ συμμαχεῖν

ἀδικοῦμένῳ, ἣ τελευταῖον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲ κωλύειν ἀμυνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ πόνου.' τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πελοπίδου παλιλλογήσαντος, ἔγνωστο μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπικουρεῖν Νικομήδει, καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἠκροῶντο: τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὁμῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοπίδου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φιλίαν ἐνσύνθηκον ἔτι οὖσαν, αἰδούμενοι ἠπόρουν ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ πολὺ, μέχρι ἐπιστήσαντες μετὰ σοφίας ὥδε ἀπεκρίναντο. 'οὔτε Μιθριδάτην ἂν τι βουλοίμεθα πάσχειν ἄχαρι πρὸς Νικομήδους, οὔτε Νικομήδους ἀνεξόμεθα πολεμουμένον: οὐ γὰρ ἡγούμεθα Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδῃ.' ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντες τὸν Πελοπίδαν, βουλόμενον διελέγγειν τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου.

[15] Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμφανῶς ἤδη πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀδικοῦμενος, ἔπεμπε σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριαράθην βασιλεῦειν Καππαδοκίας. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀριαράθης, Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐκβαλὼν. Πελοπίδας δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς αὐθις ἐλθὼν ἔλεγεν ὥδε.

ἃ μὲν ἡδίκημένος πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ἔφερε, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀφηρημένος ἔναγχος, ἠκούσατε: ἃ δὲ Νικομήδης αὐτὸν ἔβλαπτεν, ὀρῶντες ὑπερείδετε. φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἐγκαλουμένοις ἀπεκρίνασθε μὴ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδῃ οἷάπερ αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν αἴτιοι τῷ κοινῷ Ῥωμαίων τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν γεγονότος: διὰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὥδε μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπερορῶντας ὥδε δὲ σοφίζοντας ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ πρεσβεύσεται καθ' ὑμῶν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν βουλὴν, ἐφ' ἣν ὑμῖν ἀπολογησομένοις ἐπαγγέλλει παρῆναι, φθάνειν δὲ μηδέν, μηδ' ἐξάρχειν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦδε πολέμου, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι Μιθριδάτης βασιλεῦει μὲν τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς, ἣ δισμυρίων ἐστὶ σταδίων τὸ μήκος, προσκέκτηται δὲ πολλὰ περίχωρα, καὶ Κόλχους, ἔθνος ἀρειμανές, Ἑλλήνων τε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου κατωκισμένους, καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὲρ αὐτούς. φίλοις δ' ἐς πᾶν τὸ κελεύόμενον ἐτοίμοις χρῆται Σκύθαις τε καὶ Ταύροις καὶ Βαστέρναις καὶ Θραξὶ καὶ Σαρμάταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τάναϊν τε καὶ Ἰστρον καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔτι τὴν Μαιώτιδα. Τιγράνης δ' ὁ Ἀρμένιος αὐτῷ κηδεστής ἐστι, καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὁ Παρθυαῖος φίλος. νεῶν τε πλῆθος ἔχει, τὸ μὲν ἔτοιμον τὸ δὲ γιννόμενον ἔτι, καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς πάντα ἀξίολογον.

[16] οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο δ' ὑμῖν ἔναγχος οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Συρίᾳ βασιλέων: οὓς οὐ μόνον εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, εἰ πόλεμος γένοιτο, προσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νεόκτητον ὑμῖν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσα τὴν ὑμετέραν πλεονεξίαν οὐ φέροντα πολεμεῖ νῦν ὑμῖν πόλεμον ἄσπειστον. ὃν οὐπω διαθέσθαι δυνηθέντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε Μιθριδάτῃ, Νικομήδῃ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιτέμποντες: καὶ φατὲ μὲν εἶναι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθε οὕτω, χρῆσθε δὲ ὡς πολεμίῳ. φέρετε οὖν, καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πρὸς τῶν γεγονότων ἐς μετάνοιαν ἡρέθισθε, ἣ Νικομήδῃ κωλύσατε τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικεῖν φίλους 'καὶ τάδε πράξασιν ὑμῖν ὑπέχουμι συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς βασιλέα

Μιθριδάτην, ἥ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν λύσατε, ἥ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἵωμεν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Πελοπίδας ὧδε ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ φορτικώτερον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἠγοούμενοι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν ἐκέλευον ἀπέχεσθαι Νικομήδους καὶ Καππαδοκίας· αὐτοὶ γὰρ αὖθις Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς αὐτὴν κατάξειν, Πελοπίδαν δ'· εὐθὺς ἐξιεναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ μηκέτι πρεσβεῦειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς κελευομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμμένει. οὕτω μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ ἀπὸντι φυλακὴν συνέπεμψαν, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐπιτρίψειε παροδεῶν.

[17] ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες, οὐκ ἀναμείναντες περὶ τοσοῦδε πολέμου τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιγνώμονα γενέσθαι, στρατιὰν ἤγειρον ἕκ τε Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τε ἴδιος στρατός, ὅσον εἶχε Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἠγοούμενος, ἔτοιμος ἦν ἤδη, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ πάντα συνελήλυθει, διελόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐστρατοπέδουν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐν μέσῳ Βιθυνίας τε καὶ Γαλατίας, Μάνιος δὲ ἢ διαβατὸν ἦν ἐς Βιθυνίαν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, Ὅππιος δὲ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Καππαδοκίας, ἱππέας ἔχων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους. ἦν δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλος αὐτοῖς, οὗ περὶ Βυζάντιον Μινούκιος τε Ῥούφος καὶ Γάιος Ποπίλιος ἠγοῦντο, τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλάσσοντες. παρὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Νικομήδης, ἄρχων ἐτέρων πεντακισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἑξακισχιλίων. τοσόσδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως στρατὸς ἀγγήγερτο· Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἦν μυριάδες πεζῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισμύριοι, καὶ νῆες κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιαι, δίκροτα δὲ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ τούτων κατὰ λόγον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμος τε καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀλλήλων ἀδελφῶ, καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτὸς παρεγίνετο. συμμαχικὰ δὲ ἦγον αὐτῷ Ἀρκαθίας μὲν, αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου παῖς, ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας μυρίους ἱππέας, καὶ Δορύλαος ... ἐν φάλαγγι ταττομένοις, Κρατερὸς δ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἄρματα. τοσαύτη μὲν ἦν ἑκατέροις ἡ παρασκευὴ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας.

[18] ἐν δὲ πεδίῳ πλατεῖ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμνιον ποταμὸν κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους ὁ τε Νικομήδης καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγοὶ παρέταττον ἐς μάχην, Νικομήδης μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τοὺς εὐζώνους μόνους, καὶ οὐς Ἀρκαθίας εἶχεν ἱππέας καὶ τινα τῶν ἁρμάτων· ἡ γὰρ φάλαγξ ἔτι προσῆι. ἐς δὲ τινα γήλοφον τοῦ πεδίου πετρώδη προλαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν ὀλίγους, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν πολὺ πλειόνων ὄντων. ὥς δὲ ἐξωθουμένους εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηλόφου, δείσας ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει προσεβοήθει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καλῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ἀρκαθίαν. Νικομήδης δ' ὁρῶν ἀντιπαρῆι· καὶ γίνεταί πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος. βιασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Νικομηδους ἔφευγον οἱ Μιθριδάτειοι, ἕως ὃς Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μετελθὼν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. οἱ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεστράφησαν. ὁ δ' ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανελθεῖν οἱ περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον. ὥς δὲ εἶκασεν αὐτάρκως ἔχειν, ἐπέστρεψε, καὶ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα ἐμπίπτοντα μετὰ ῥύμης διέκοπτε καὶ διέτεμνε τοὺς μὲν ἀθρόως ἐς δύο τοὺς δ' ἐς μέρη πολλά. τό τε γιγνόμενον

ἐξέπληττε τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτε ἴδοιεν ἡμιτόμους ἄνδρας ἔτι ἔμπνους, ἢ ἐς πολλὰ διερριμμένους, ἢ τῶν δρεπάνων ἀπηρτημένους. ἀηδία τε μᾶλλον ὄψεως ἢ μάχης ἦσση τὴν τάξιν ὑπὸ φόβου συνέχεαν. ταραχθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναστρέφοντες ἐπέκειντο ὀπισθεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι· ὥς δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπεπτώκει, Νικομήδης μὲν ἔφευγε μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Παφλαγονίαν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθούσης πω τῆς Μιθριδατείου φάλαγγος, ἐάλω δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ πλήθος αἰχμαλώτων. οὐς πάντας ὁ Μιθριδάτης φιланθρωπευσάμενός τε καὶ ἐφόδια δούς ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, δόξαν ἐμποίων τοῖς πολεμίοις φιλανθρωπίας.

[19] ἔργον δὴ τότε πρῶτον τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεπεπλήγεσαν, ὥς οὐκ εὐβουλία μᾶλλον ἢ προπετῶς, ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τοσόνδε πόλεμον ἄψαντες. ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ πολὺ πλειόνων ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ συντυχίᾳ χωρίων ἢ πολεμίου σφάλματος, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ στρατοῦ. Νικομήδης μὲν οὖν Μανίῳ παρεστρατοπέδευε, Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκορόβαν ὄρος ἀνῆει, ὃ τέλος ἐστὶ Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς χώρας. πρόδρομοί τε αὐτοῦ, Σαυροματῶν ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς, ὀκτακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Νικομήδους ἐντυχόντες αἰροῦσι καὶ τούτων τινάς· οὓς πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἐφοδίοις μεθῆκεν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι. Μάνιον δ' ὑποφεύγοντα Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Νεμάνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἀμφὶ τὸ πρῶτον Πάχιον χωρίον ἐβδόμης ὥρας καταλαβόντες, οἰχομένου πρὸς Κάσσιον Νικομήδους, ἠνάγκασαν ἐς μάχην ἱππέας ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεζοὺς ἔτι τούτων δεκαπλασίονας. κτείναντες δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ μυρίου, ἐζώγησαν ἐς τριακοσίους· οὓς ὁμοίως ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναχθέντας ἀπέλυσε, καταδημοκοπῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Μανίου δ' ἐλήφθη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φεύγων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν νυκτὸς γενομένης ἐπέρασέ τε καὶ ἐς Πέργαμον ἐσώθη. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Νικομήδης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις παρῆσαν, ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλὴν, ὃ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐστὶν ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον, μετεστρατοπέδευον· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἶχον, οὐ πάλαι συνειλεγμένον, χειροτεχνῶν ἢ γεωργῶν ἢ ιδιωτῶν, ἐγύμναζον, καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας αὐτοῖς προσκατέλεγον. ὀκνούντων δὲ ἑκατέρων ἀπέγνωσαν πολεμεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀπολέμοις, καὶ διαλύσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρουν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς Ἀπάμειαν σὺν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ στρατῷ, Νικομήδης δὲ ἐς Πέργαμον, Μάνιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥόδου. ὧν, ὅσοι τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου κατεῖχον, πυθόμενοι διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς τε κλεῖς τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παρέδωκαν.

[20] ὁ δὲ ὁρμῇ τῇδε μιᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην τοῦ Νικομήδους ὑπολαβὼν ἐπήει, καὶ καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πανδοκεῖον κατέλυσεν, αἰσιούμενος ἄρα, ἔνθαπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεπαύσατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην σταθμεῦσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ Φρυγίας τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν, ἃ Ῥωμαίοις νεόκτητα ἦν, ἐπέτρεχε, καὶ ἐς τὰ περίοικα περιπέμπων ὑπηγάγετο Λυκίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας. Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ ἔτι ἀντέχουσι, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν Ῥωμαίων γάρ τις στρατηγὸς Κόιντος Ὀππιος, ἱππέας ἔχων καὶ μισθοφόρους τινάς, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμὼν

ἐφύλαττεν αὐτήν, κήρυκα ἐπιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ὑπέχεται Λαοδικεῦσιν ἄδειαν, εἰ τὸν Ὀππιον αὐτῷ προσαγάγοιεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους Ὀππίου μεθῆκαν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, αὐτὸν δ' ἤγαγον τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τὸν Ὀππιον, ἡγουμένων αὐτῷ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν διαθεῖς ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ λελυμένον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἄρα Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτον στρατηγόν.

[21] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον, τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα αἴτιον, ἐλὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ ὄνου περιήγετο, κηρύσσοντα τοῖς ὁρώσιν ὅτι Μάνιος εἶη, μέχρι ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατεχώνευσεν χρυσίον, δωροδοκίαν ἄρα Ῥωμαίοις ὀνειδίζων. σατράπας δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστήσας, ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ Ἐφεσον καὶ Μιτυλήνην παρῆλθεν, ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἀπάντων δεχομένων, Ἐφεσίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰκόνας τὰς παρὰ σφίσι καθαιρούντων, ἐφ' ᾧ δίκην ἔδοσαν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον. ἐπανιών δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας Στρατονίκειαν εἶλε καὶ ἐξημίωσε χρήμασι, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγαγεν. παρθένον τε εὐμορφον ἰδὼν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεδέξατο· καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδῇ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι πυθέσθαι, Μονίμῃ Φιλοποίμενος ἦν. Μάγνησι δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ Λυκίοις ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει.

[22] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξ οὗ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ὁρμῆς τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβολῆς ἐπύθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίπερ ἀσχολούμενοι στάσεσιν ἀτρύτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ χαλεπῷ, τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφισταμένης σχεδὸν ἀπάσης ἀνὰ μέρος. κληρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἔλαχε μὲν Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ἄρχειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντοπραθῆναι ὅσα Νουμᾶς Πομπήλιος βασιλεὺς ἐς θυσίας θεῶν διετέτακτο. τοσῆδε μὲν ἦν τότε πάντων ἀπορία καὶ ἐς πάντα φιλοτιμία. καὶ τινα αὐτῶν ἔφθασε πραθῆναι καὶ συνενεγκεῖν χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἑνακισχιλίας, ἃς μόνας ἐς τηλικούτον πόλεμον ἔδοσαν.

Σύλλαν μὲν οὖν ἐς πολὺ αἱ στάσεις κατέσχον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις συγγέγραπται· ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπὶ τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασιν καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε, τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν φυλάξαντας ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναῖξιν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, κτείναντάς τε ἀτάφους ἀπορρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς μερίσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην. ἐπεκῆρξε δὲ καὶ ζημίαν τοῖς καταθάπτουσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐπικρύπτουσι, καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν ἢ τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀναιροῦσι, θεράπουσι μὲν ἐπὶ δεσπότης ἐλευθερίαν, χρήταις δ' ἐπὶ δανειστάς ἡμισυ τοῦ χρέους. τότε μὲν δὴ δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέστελλεν ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης συμφορῶν ἰδέαι ποικίλαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὧν ἓν αὖτε ἰοῦναι ἦν.

[23] Ἐφέσιοι τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταφυγόντας, συμπλεκομένους τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐξέλκοντες ἔκτεινον. Περγαμῆνοί τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον συμφυγόντας, οὐκ ἀφισταμένους, ἐτόξευον τοῖς ξοάνοις συμπλεκομένους.

Ἀδραμυττινοὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀνήρουν, καὶ τὰ βρέφη κατεπόντουν. Καύνιοι Ῥόδιοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν καταφυγόντας ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρῶτα ἐκτείνουν ἐν ὄψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. Τραλλιανοὶ δ' αὐθένται τοῦ κακοῦ φυλαξάμενοι γενέσθαι, Παφλαγὸνα Θεόφιλον, ἄγριον ἄνδρα, ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐμισθώσαντο, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας νεῶν ἤπτετο τοῦ φόνου, καὶ τινῶν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι συμπλεκομένων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτεν. τοιαύταις μὲν τύχαις οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεφέροντο, ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βρέφη καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ. ὧ καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν διπλῆν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπίστως ἐξυβρίσαντος ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὕστερον Κορνηλίῳ Σύλλᾳ: Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῶ κατέπλευσε, Κῶων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῶ καταλελειμμένον, παραλαβὼν ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς, ἐκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν καὶ τέχνην καὶ λίθους καὶ κόσμους γυναικείους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπεμψεν.

[24] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥόδιοι τὰ τε τειχὴ σφῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐκρατύναντο, καὶ μηχανὰς ἅπασιν ἐφίστανον: καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς Τελμισέων τε καὶ Λυκίων συνέμαχουν. ὅσοι τε ἐξ Ἀσίας Ἰταλοὶ διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς Ῥόδον ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατος. ἐπιπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὰ προάστεια καθήρουν, ἵνα μὴδὲν εἴη χρήσιμα τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ταῖς μὲν ἐκ μετώπου ταῖς δὲ πλαγίαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πεντήρους περιπλέων ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ κέρως, καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐπιταχύνοντας περικυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας, μέχρι δείσαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον: εἴτ' ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα κατέφυγον, καὶ κλείθροις αὐτὸν διαλαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀπεμάχοντο. ὁ δὲ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύων καὶ συνεχῶς τῶν λιμένων πειρώμενος καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἀνέμενε τὸ πεζὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ παραγενέσθαι. κὰν τούτῳ βραχεῖαι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Ῥόδιοι πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνεθάρσουν κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὥς, εἴ πῃ καιρὸν εὖροιεν, ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

[25] ὁλκάδος δὲ βασιλικῆς ἰστίῳ παραπλευούσης, Ῥοδία δίκροτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνήχθη: καὶ ταῖσδε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκατέρων ἐπιβοηθούτων ναυμαχία γίνεται καρτερὰ, Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἐπιβαρύνοντος ὀργῇ καὶ πλήθεσι νεῶν, Ῥοδίων δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ σκάφη σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ περιπλεόντων τε καὶ ἀνατιτρώντων, ὥστε καὶ τριήρη αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναδησάμενοι καὶ ἄκροστόλια πολλὰ καὶ σκῦλα ἐς τὸν λιμένα φέροντες ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντήρους δὲ σφῶν εἰλημμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἐξ ταῖς μάλιστα

ταχυναντούσαις ἀνέπλεον, καὶ Δαμαγόρας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπέπλει. πέντε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπιτέμνηαντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, μέχρι μὲν ἐς δύοσιν ὁ Δαμαγόρας ὑπεχώρει, συσκοτάζοντος δ' ἤδη ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐς ἀπόπλουν ἐπιστρεφομέναις ἐμβαλὼν δύο κατεπόντωσε, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἐς Λυκίαν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πελαγίσας ἐπανῆλθεν. τοῦτο Ῥοδίοις καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τέλος ἦν τῆς ναυμαχίας, παρὰ δόξαν Ῥοδίοις τε διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος γενόμενον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ περιπλέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπισπέρχοντι, Χία συμμαχίς ἐμβαλοῦσα ἐκ θορύβου κατέσεισε· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐδὲν τότε φροντίζειν ὑποκρινάμενος, τὸν κυβερνήτην ὕστερον ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸν πρῶρα, καὶ Χίοις ἐμήνισε πᾶσιν.

[26] τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραπλέοντος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων καὶ τριήρων, πνεῦμα Καννικὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐς Ῥόδον παρήνεγκε· καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τάχιστα ἐπαναχθέντες, ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἔτι καὶ διεσπαρμέναις ἐμβalόντες, ἀνεδῆσαντό τινας καὶ διέτρησαν ἐτέρας καὶ ἐνέπρησαν ἄλλας, καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους εἶλον ἐς τετρακοσίους. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς ἐτέραν ναυμαχίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμάζετο, σαμβύκην δὲ τινα, μηχανήμα μέγιστον, ἐπὶ δύο νεῶν φερόμενον ἐποίει. αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῷ λόφον ὑποδειξάντων ἐπιβατόν, ἧ Ἀταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἐτέροις ἀναδοὺς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου, καὶ τότε ἀθρόως, μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μάλιστα μεγάλης, τοὺς μὲν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐμπίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τεῖχη βιάζεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθείας προσεπέλαζον, Ῥοδίων δ' οἱ προφύλακες αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπύρσευσαν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, νομίσασα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου πυρσόν, ἐκ βαθείας σιωπῆς ἠλάλαξαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, οἱ τε κλιμακοφόροι καὶ ὁ στόλος ὁ νηίτης. Ῥοδίων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκαταπλήκτως ἀντανακραγόντων, καὶ ἀθρόως ἀναδραμόντων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη, οἱ βασιλικοὶ νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν, ἡμέρας δ' ἀπεκρούσθησαν.

[27] ἡ σαμβύκη δ' ἐπαχθεῖσα τοῦ τεύχους ἧ τὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν ἐστίν, ἐφόβει μάλιστα, βέλη τε πολλὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιείσα. στρατιῶταί τε σκάφεσι πολλοῖς αὐτῇ μετὰ κλιμάκων παρέθεον ὥς ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ τάδε εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενον, ἕως τό τε μηχανήμα ὑπὸ βάρους ἐνεδίδου, καὶ φάσμα τῆς Ἰσιδος ἔδοξε πῦρ ἀφιέναι πολὺ κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας ἀνεζεύγνυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου, Πατάρους δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας ἔκοπτε Λητοῦς ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἐς μηχανάς, μέχρι φοβήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐνυπνίου τῆς τε ὕλης ἐφείσατο, καὶ Πελοπίδαν Λυκίοις πολεμεῖν ἐπιστήσας, Ἀρχέλαον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεμπε, προσεταιριούμενον ἢ βιασόμενον αὐτῆς ὅσα δύναται. αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ πολλὰ μεθεῖς ἐστρατολόγει καὶ ὥπλοποιεῖ, καὶ τῇ Στρατονικίδι γυναικὶ διετέρπετο, καὶ δίκας ἐδίκαζε τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἢ νεωτερίζουσιν ἢ ὅλως ῥωμαῖζουσιν.

[28] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ σίτῳ καὶ στόλῳ πολλῷ, Δηλὸν τε ἀφισταμένην ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων

καὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐχειρώσατο βία καὶ κράτει. κτείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς διςμυρίους ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ πλέονες ἦσαν Ἰταλοί, τὰ χωρία προσεποιεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κομπάζων περὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἐς μέγα ἐπαίρων, ἐς φιλιαν ὑπηγάγετο· τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Δήλου δι' Ἀριστίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, συμπέμψας φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἷς ὁ Ἀριστίων συγχρώμενος ἐτυράννησε τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν ὡς ῥωμαΐζοντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνέπεμψε ἐς Μιθριδάτην, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σοφίαν τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἡσκηκώς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅδε μόνος Ἀθήνησιν, οὐδὲ Κριτίας ἔτι πρὸ τούτου, καὶ ὅσοι τῷ Κριτία συμφιλοσοφοῦντες ἐτυράννησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλία τῶν πυθαγορισάντων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων ὅσοι πραγμάτων ἐλάβοντο, ἐδυνάστευσάν τε καὶ ἐτυράννησαν ὠμότερον τῶν ιδιωτικῶν τυράννων, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἄπορον ποιῆσαι καὶ ὑποπτον, εἴτε δι' ἀρετὴν, εἴτε πενίας καὶ ἀπραξίας τὴν σοφίαν ἔθεντο παραμύθιον, ὧν γε καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ιδιωτεύοντες καὶ πενόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τῶνδε σοφίαν περικεῖμενοι, τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν ἢ ἄρχουσι λοιδороῦνται πικρῶς, οὐχ ὑπεροψίας πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς δόξαν σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ ζηλοτυπίας ἐς αὐτὰ προφέροντες. ὑπερορῶσι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πολὺ σοφώτερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡγήσαιο ἂν τις ἐς Ἀριστίωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰρημένα, αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῷ λόγῳ γενόμενον:

[29] Ἀρχελάῳ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσετίθεντο, καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρὶς γε Θεσπιέων, οὗς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μητροφάνης ἐπιτεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου μεθ' ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Δημητριάδα καὶ Μαγνησίαν, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ἐλεηλάτει. καὶ Βρύττιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ διενευμάχησέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ καταποντώσας τι πλοῖον καὶ ἡμιολίαν ἔκτεινε πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐφορῶντος τοῦ Μητροφάνους. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἔφευγεν. καὶ αὐτὸν αἰσίῳ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενον ὁ Βρέττιος οὐ καταλαβὼν Σκίαθον ἐξεῖλεν, ἢ τῆς λείας τοῖς βαρβάροις ταμιεῖον ἦν, καὶ δούλους τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀπέτεμε τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπὶ τε Βοιωτίαν τραπεῖς, ἐτέρων οἱ χιλίων ἱπέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθόντων, ἀμφὶ Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεπλέκετο, ἴσου καὶ ἀγχωμάλου παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ ἔργου γιγνομένου. Λακόνων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι προσιόντων, ὁ Βρύττιος ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ γενομένοις οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ἔσεσθαι ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας κατέσχευεν.

[30] Σύλλας δ' ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεθεὶς εἶναι, τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας σὺν τέλεσι πέντε καὶ σπεύραις τισὶ καὶ ἴλαις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιωθεὶς χρήματα μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας συνέλεγεν, ὥς δ' ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν ἐδόκει, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον. παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτία τε ἀθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἄστυ αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφόνως ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ὀξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν

ἐχώρει, καὶ μέρος τι στρατοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ περιπέμψας Ἀριστίωνα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτός, ἔνθαπερ ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ' ἦν τὰ τεῖχη πήχεων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἴργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου, Περίκλειον ἔργον, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τιθέμενος, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκρατύνατο. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὔσι τοῖς τεῖχεσιν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τὰς κλίμακας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρα πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχεν, ἰσχυρῶς τῶν Καππαδοκῶν αὐτὸν ἀμυνομένων, ἔστε κάμνων ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Μέγαρα ἀνεχώρει, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνεπήγγυτο, καὶ χῶμα αὐτῷ προσχοῦν ἐπενόει. τέχναι μὲν δὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ καταπέλται, καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐκομίζετο, ὕλην δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἔκοπτε, καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας. τὰ τε μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρει, λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ γῆν ἐς τὸ χῶμα μεταβάλλων.

[31] δύο δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Ἀττικοὶ θεράποντες, αἰρούμενοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καταφυγὴν, εἴ τι γίνοιτο, προορώμενοι, πεσσοῖς ἐκ μολύβδου πεπονημένοις ἐγγράφοντες αἰεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης. καὶ τοῦδε γιγνομένου τε συνεχῶς καὶ ἐς γνῶσιν ἔλθόντος, Σύλλας τοῖς ἐσφενδονημένοις προσέχων ἡῦρε γεγραμμένον ὅτι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐκ μετώπου πεζοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐκδραμοῦνται καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσιν. κρύψας οὖν τινὰ στρατιὰν ἀποχρῶσαν, ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ἐκδρομὴ, δόξασα δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος εἶναι, ὁ δὲ αἰφνιδιώτερον αὐτοῖς τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐπαφείς ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐτέρους περιέωσεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πείρας ἐκείνης τέλος ἦν: αἰρομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἄνω τοῖς χῶμασι πύργους ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀντεμηχανάτο, καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄργανα ἐτίθει, τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἐκ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας καθόπλιζεν, ὡς ὄντος οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ἐγίνετο μὲν δὴ πλείων οὔσα τῆς Σύλλα στρατιᾶς ἡ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πολὺ πλείων, νυκτὸς δὲ μέσης ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκθορῶν μετὰ λαμπτήρων ἐνέπρησε τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν χελωνῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανήματα, ἡμέραις δὲ δέκα μάλιστα ἄλλα ὁ Σύλλας ἐργασάμενος ἐπέστησεν αὐθις ἔνθα καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν. καὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀρχέλαος πύργον ἀντίστη κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος.

[32] Καταπλευσάσης δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου στρατιᾶς ἐτέρας, ἧς ἠγεῖτο Δρομιχαίτης, ἐξῆγεν ἅπαντας ἐς μάχην. ἀναμίξας δ' αὐτοῖς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτὸ παρέταττεν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ τειχοφύλακες ἐφικνοῖντο τῶν πολεμίων: ἔτεροι δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῷ πυρφόροι καιρὸν ἐκδρομῆς ἐπετήρουν. ἀγχωμάλου δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ἐνέκλινον ἕκατεροι παρὰ μέρος, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι, μέχρι Ἀρχέλαος αὐτοὺς ἐπισχῶν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐς τὴν μάχην. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καταπλαγέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον, ἔστε καὶ τούσδε Μουρήνας ὑπαντήσας ἐπέστρεφεν. ἄλλο δ' ἀπὸ ξυλείας τέλος ἐπανίον, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄτιμοι, σπουδῇ τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐρόντες ἐπέπιπτον τοῖς Μιθριδατείοις πάνυ καρτερῶς, μέχρι κτεῖναι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς δισχιλίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ τεῖχη συνελάσαι. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέφων αὐθις, καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐς πολὺ παραμένων, καὶ

ἀποκλεισθεῖς ἀνιμῆθη διὰ καλωδίων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν ἀτίμους περιφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἐξέλυσε τῆς ἀτιμίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς.

[33] καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος ἤδη στρατόπεδον ἐν Ἐλευσίνι θέμενος, τάφρον ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔτεμνε βαθεῖαν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰππέας εὐμαρῶς ἐπιτρέχειν οἱ. καὶ τὰδε αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐγίγνοντό τινες ἀγῶνες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐπεξιόντων θαμινὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λίθοις καὶ βέλεσι καὶ μολυβδοαῖναις χρωμένων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας νεῶν δεόμενος μετεπέμψατο μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου. καὶ Ῥοδίων οὐ δυνηθέντων διαπλεῦσαι θαλασσοκρατοῦντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Αεὺκολλον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον περιφανῇ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Σύλλᾳ γενόμενον, ἐκέλευεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν λαθόντα διαπλεῦσαι, παρὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων, ὅσαι ναυτικά, στόλον τινὰ ἀγείραντα τὸ Ῥοδίων ναυτικὸν παραπέμψαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πολεμίας οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας, ἐς κελήτιον ἐνέβη, καὶ ναῦν ἐκ νεῶς, ἵνα λάθοι, διαμείβων ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐφέρετο:

[34] οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, πεσσοῖς πάλιν ἐγγράψαντες ὅτι πέμψοι τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς Ἀρχέλαος ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄστρῳ λιμῷ πιεζόμενον πυροῦς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν φερομένους, ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐνεδρεύσας ἐκράτησε τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν φερόντων. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ καὶ Μουνάτιος περὶ Χαλκίδα Νεοπτόλεμον ἕτερον στρατηγὸν κατατρώσας, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἔλαβε δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔτι πλείονας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Πειραιεῖ νυκτός, ἔτι κοιμωμένων τῶν φυλάκων, Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς μηχανῶν κλίμακας ἐπενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέβησαν, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεπῆδον ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ τεῖχος καταλιπόντες ὡς εἰλημμένον ἅπαν, οἱ δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἔκτεινάν τε τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐπιβάντων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔξω κατεκρήμνισαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκδραμόντες ὀλίγου τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πύργων ἐνέπρησαν, εἰ μὴ Σύλλας ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, νυκτός τε ὅλης καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ἐπιπόνως ἀγωνισάμενος, περιέσωσεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ δ' Ἀρχελάου πύργον ἕτερον μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄντικρυς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ πύργου στήσαντος ἐπυργομάχουν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐκατέρωθεν πυκνὰ καὶ θαμινὰ πάντα ἀφιέντες, ἕως ὃ Σύλλας ἐκ καταπελτῶν, ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν ὁμοῦ μολυβδοαῖνας βαρυτάτας ἀφιέντων, ἔκτεινέ τε πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸν πύργον Ἀρχελάου κατέσεισε καὶ δυσάρμοστον ἐποίησεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου διὰ δέος ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ὑπαχθῆναι.

[35] πιεζομένων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τῶν ἐν ἄστει, πεσσοὶ πάλιν ἐμήνουν ὅτι πέμψοι νυκτός ἐς τὸ ἄστρῳ τροφάς. καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὑπονοῶν τι περὶ τὸν σῆτον γίνεσθαι μῆνυμα καὶ προδοσίαν, ἅμα τὸν σῆτον ἔπεμπε, καὶ τινὰς ἐφίστη ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ πυρὸς ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκδραμουμένους, εἰ Σύλλας γίνοιτο περὶ τὸν σῆτον. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἅμφω, Σύλλᾳ μὲν ἐλεῖν τοὺς σιταγωοῦντας, Ἀρχελάῳ δ' ἐμπρῆσαι τινὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός, μεθ' ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐς

Μακεδονίαν ἐμβάλων, οὐ δυσχερῶς ὀλίγων ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτησε, καὶ Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐχώρει, μέχρι νοσήσας περὶ τὸ Τίσαιον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῷ μὲν ἄστει πονουμένῳ σφόδρα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πολλὰ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπετείχιζε φρούρια, τοῦ μὴ διαδιδράσκειν ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι:

[36] τῷ δὲ Πειραιεῖ, τὸ χῶμα ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρας, τὰ μηχανήματα ἐπήγεν. Ἀρχέλαου δὲ τὸ χῶμα ὑπορύττοντος καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφέροντός τε καὶ ἐς πολὺ διαλανθάνοντος, τὸ χῶμα ὑφίζανεν ἄφνω: καὶ ταχείας αἰσθήσεως γενομένης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μηχανήματα ὑφείλκον καὶ τὸ χῶμα ἀνεπλήρουν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τεκμαιρόμενοι διώρυκτον: ἀλλήλοις τε συμπίπτοντες κάτω ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασιν ἐκ χειρός, ὡς δυνατόν ἦν ἐν σκοτῷ, διεμάχοντο. ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων μηχανήμασι πολλοῖς τὸ τεῖχος ἐκριοκόπει, μέχρι μέρος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν, καὶ τὸν πλησιάζοντα πύργον ἐπειγόμενος ἐμπρῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν ἠφίει πυρφόρα τοξεύματα ἐς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ εὐτολμοτάτους ἀνέπεμπεν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων. σπουδῆς δὲ πολλῆς γιγνομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ τε πύργος ἐνεπίμπρατο, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τεύχους ὀλίγον ὁ Σύλλας καταβαλὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέστησε φυλακεῖον: τὰ τε ὑπορωρυγμένα τοῦ τεύχους θεμέλια, ξύλοις ἀνηρτημένα καὶ θείου καὶ στυπίου καὶ πίσης γέμοντα, αὐτίκα πάντα ἐνεπίμψη. τῶν δ' ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλο κατεπίπτε καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας αὐτοῖς συγκατέφερεν. ὁ τε θόρυβος οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος καὶ πολὺς ὦν πάντῃ τοὺς τειχοφύλακας ἐτάραπτεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σφίσιν αὐτίκα πεσοῦμενον: ὅθεν ἐς πάντα συνεχῶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τὴν τε γνώμην ὑποπτον εἶχον ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ ἀσθενῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεμάχοντο.

[37] καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσιν ἐπικείμενος ἀπαύστως, καὶ τῶν ιδίων τὸ αἰεὶ πονοῦν ἐναλλάσσω, ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἀκμῆτας ἐπῆγε σὺν κλίμαξιν καὶ βοῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει, προτρέπων ἅμα καὶ ἀπειλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ὡς ἐν τῷδε τῷ βραχεῖ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῖς κριθησομένου. ἀντεπῆγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέρους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθορυβημένων, ἀνακαινίζων καὶ ὧδε τὸ ἔργον αἰεὶ, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἅμα καὶ ἐποτρύνων ἅπαντας ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ σφίσιν ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης. πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐθις ἅπασιν ἐγγενομένης φερεπονάτατος ἦν: καὶ ὁ φόνος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἐξ ἐκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἐξωθεν ἐπιών, καὶ μᾶλλον τι κάμνων, ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ θαυμάσας πολλοὺς ἀπῆγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος αὐτίκα νυκτὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τεύχους ὠκοδόμει, μηνοειδῇ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περιθεις ἔνδοθεν. οἷς ἔτι νεοδημίτοις ὁ Σύλλας αὐθις ἐπεχειρεῖ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νομίσας ἀσθενῇ καὶ ὑγρὰ ἔτι ὄντα ῥαδίως κατερεΐνεin. κάμνων δὲ ὡς ἐν στενῷ, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἄνωθεν ἐκ τε μετώπου καὶ τῶν κεραιῶν ὡς ἐν μηνοειδέσι χωρίοις, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τῷ Πειραιεῖ πάμπαν ἀπέιχε τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν, ὡς λιμῷ παραστησόμενος αὐτοῦς, καθίστατο:

[38] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μᾶλλον τι πεπιεσμένους, καὶ κτήνη πάντα καταθύσαντας, δέρματά τε καὶ βύρσας ἔψοντας καὶ λιχμωμένους τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπτομένους, ἐκέλευσε

τῷ στρατῷ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύειν, ἵνα μὴδὲ καθ' ἓνα τις ἐκφεύγει λανθάνων. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ, κλίμακας ἐπῆγεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυττεν. τροπῆς δ' ὥς ἐν ἀσθενέσιν ἀνδράσιν αὐτίκα γενομένης, ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις σφαγὴ πολλὴ ἦν καὶ ἀνηλεής: οὔτε γὰρ ὑποφεύγειν ἐδύναντο δι' ἀτροφίαν, οὔτε παιδίων ἢ γυναικῶν ἔλεος ἦν, τοῦ Σύλλας τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖα δὴ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους ἀλόγῳ μεταβολῇ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκράτῳ φιλονεικίᾳ. ὅθεν οἱ πλέονες, αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ κηρύγματος, ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγων δ' ἦν ἀσθενῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος: καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφυγεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ ῥοδεῖον, ἵνα μὴ ἐτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐμπιπράναι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπειπε, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἔδωκε τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ ἔτοιμοι σάρκες ἀνθρώπων ἐς τροφήν ἐν πολλοῖς οἰκίμασιν ἠυρέθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ὁ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἀπέδοτο, τοῖς δ' ἔλευθέροις, ὅσοι νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀναιρεθῆναι, πάντα οὖσιν ὀλίγοις, τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἔφη διδόναι, ψῆφον δὲ καὶ χειροτονίαν τῶνδε μὲν ὡς οἱ πεπολεμηκότων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκγόνοις καὶ ταῦτα διδόναι.

[39] ὧδε μὲν ἄδην εἶχον αἱ Ἀθηναὶ κακῶν: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῇ μὲν ἀκροπόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν, ἣ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας λιμῷ καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας ἐξεῖλεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δορυφορήσαντας ἢ ἀρχὴν τινα ἄρξαντας, ἢ ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο πράξαντας παρ' ἃ πρότερον ἀλούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς διετέτακτο, ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνέγνω, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἅπασιν ἀγχοῦ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀρισθέντων. συνηνέχθη δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως χρυσίου μὲν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας μάλιστα, ἀργύρου δ' ἐς ἑξακοσίας. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐγένετο:

[40] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτίκα τοῦ ἄστεος ληφθέντος, οὐ περιμένων ἔτι τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ πολιορκίας ἐξελεῖν, κριοὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἐπῆγεν, ἄνδρας τε πολλοὺς οἱ διώρυσσον ὑπὸ χελώναις τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ σπείρας αἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίζουσαι τε καὶ τοξεύουσαι θαμινὰ ἀνέκοπτον. καὶ κατήρειψέ τι τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς, ὑγροτέρου καὶ ἀσθενεστέρου ἔτι ὄντος ἅτε νεοδημίου. ὑπιδόμενου δὲ τοῦτο ἔτι πρότερον Ἀρχελάου, καὶ προοικοδομήσαντος ἔνδοθεν ὅμοια πολλά, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ διηνεκὲς ἐμπίπτοντι ἐς ἕτερον ὅμοιον ἐξ ἐτέρου, ὁρμῇ δ' ἀπαύστῳ καὶ στρατοῦ μεταβολῇ πυκνῇ χρώμενος, καὶ περιθέων αὐτούς, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐν τῷδε ἔτι λοιπῷ τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος καὶ κέρδους τῶν προπεπονημένων ὄντος: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τέλος εἶναι πόνων, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρόν, τοιῶνδε τειχῶν κρατῆσαι, φιλοτιμούμενοι, προσέκειντο βιαίως, μέχρι καταπλαγεῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὡς μανιώδῃ καὶ ἄλογον ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τεῖχη, ἐς δὲ τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσση περίκλυστον, ᾧ ναὺς οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο.

[41] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀνεξεύγνυ, καὶ συνῆγεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ παντός, ὃν ἔχων ἦλθε,

καὶ τοῦ σὺν Δρομιχαίῃ παραγεγονότος. συνῆγε δὲ καὶ τὸ σὺν Ἀρκαθίᾳ τῷ παιδί τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλόν, ἀκραιφνέστατον δὴ καὶ πλήρες ὃν τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὓς αὐτίκα ἄλλους ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέστειλεν: οὐ γὰρ διέλιπεν ἐπιτέμπων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα σὺν ἐπέξει συνῆγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦ ἄστεος μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσαντά οἱ κατεπίμπρη, φειδόμενος οὔτε τῆς ὀπλοθήκης οὔτε τῶν νεωσοίκων οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν αἰοιδίμων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἦει διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ ὄδε. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν ἄρτι μετεχώρουν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα, Θρᾶκές τε ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Καππαδόκαι Βιθυνοὶ τε καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Φρύγες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ νεόκτητα γένοιτο, πάντες ἐς δώδεκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν: καὶ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστω, αὐτοκράτωρ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. Σύλλας δ' ἦγεν Ἰταλιώτας, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Μακεδόνων ὅσοι ἄρτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελαοῦ μετετίθεντο, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο περίοικον, οὐδ' ἐς τριτημόριον τὰ πάντα τῶν πολεμίων.

[42] Ἀντικαταστάντες δ' ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχελαος ἐξέταπτεν ἐς μάχην αἰεὶ προκαλούμενος, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐβράδυνε, τὰ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν περισκοπούμενος. ἀναχωροῦντι δ' ἐς Χαλκίδα τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρακολουθῶν καιρὸν ἐπετήρει καὶ τόπον. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν εἶδε περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν ἀποκρημνοῖς στρατοπεδεύομενον, ἔνθα μὴ κρατοῦσιν ἀποχώρησις οὐδεμία ἦν, πεδίον αὐτὸς εὐρὺ πλησίον καταλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ὥς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην Ἀρχέλαον: ἐν ᾧ σφίσι μὲν ὕπτιον καὶ εὐπετές ἐς διώξιν καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἦν πεδίον, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ κρημνοὶ περιέκειντο, οἱ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἶων ἐν οὐδενὶ κοινὸν ὅλου τοῦ στρατοῦ γενέσθαι, συστήναι διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος: τραπεῖσί τε αὐτοῖς ἄπορος διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐγίνετο ἢ φυγή. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῖσδε λογισμοῖς τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ μάλιστα πιστεύων, ἐπῆει ὥς οὐδὲν ἐσομένου χρησίμου τοῦ πλήθους Ἀρχελάῳ: ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐγνώκει μὲν αὐτῷ τότε συμπλέκεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀμελῶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐπιόντος δὲ ἤδη τῆς δυσχωρίας ὅψε καὶ μόγις ἡσθάνετο, καὶ προῦπεμπέ τινας ἱππέας ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ. τραπέντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς καταρριφθέντων, ἐξήκοντα αὐθις ἔπεμψεν ἄρματα, εἰ δύναίτο μετὰ ῥύμης κόψαι καὶ διαρρηξαι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. διαστάντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἐς τοὺς ὀπίσω παρενεχθέντα τε καὶ δυσεπίστροφα ὄντα πρὸς τῶν ὑστάτων περιστάντων αὐτὰ καὶ ἐσακοντιζόντων διεφθείρετο:

[43] ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εὐσταθῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, τάχα οἱ καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐς τοῦτο συλλαμβανόντων, ἐξῆγε σὺν ἐπέξει καὶ διέτασσε μετὰ σπουδῆς τοσόνδε πλῆθος οὐ προεγνώκων ἀνδρῶν, ἐν στενωτάτῳ μάλιστα γεγινὼς διὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἤδη πλησιάζοντα. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας πρῶτους ἐπαγαγὼν μετὰ δρόμου πολλοῦ, διέτεμε τὴν φάλαγγα Ῥωμαίων ἐς δύο, καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐκατέρους ἐκυκλοῦτο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα. οἱ δ' ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς πάντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐπόνουν οἱ περὶ Γάλλαν τε καὶ Ὀρτήσιον, καθ' οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέτακτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ὥς ἐν ὅψει στρατηγοῦ σὺν προθυμίᾳ σφοδρᾷ ἐπικειμένων, μέχρι τοῦ Σύλλα μεταχωροῦντος ἐς αὐτοὺς σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων στρατηγικῶν ὄντων καὶ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ πλείονος αἰρομένου

τεκμηράμενος εἶναι Σύλλαν τὸν ἐπιόντα, λύσας τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐς τὰξιν ἀνεχώρει. ὁ δὲ τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸ ἄριστον ἄγων, καὶ δύο νεαλεῖς σπεῖρας ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ προσλαβὼν, αἱ ἐτετάχατο ἐφεδρεῦειν, οὐπω τὸν κύκλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξελίσσασιν, οὐδ' ἐς μέτωπον εὐσταθῶς διατεταγμένοις, ἐνέβαλε, καὶ θορυβήσας ἔκοψέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκεν. ἀρξαμένης δ' ἐνταῦθα τῆς νίκης, οὐδὲ Μουρήνας ἠλύνειν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ τεταγμένους, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίσας τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ γενναίως ἐμπεσὼν ἐδίωκε κάκεῖνος.

[44] τρεπομένων δ' ἤδη τῶν Ἀρχελάου κερῶν, οὐδ' οἱ μέσοι τὴν τὰξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἄθρόα πάντων ἐγίνετο φυγή. ἔνθα δὴ πάντα ὅσα εἶκασεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐ γὰρ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲ πεδῖον ἐς φυγὴν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐωθοῦντο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δ' εὐβουλότερον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφέροντο. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς προλαβὼν, ἀπειρότατα δὴ τότε μάλιστα συμφορῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀπέκλειε, καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεφον μὲν ἐκ προθυμίας, οὔτε δὲ στρατηγῶν ἢ ἐπιστατῶν ἐς διάταξιν ἔτι σφίσι παρόντων, οὔτε τὰ σημεῖα ἕκαστοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες ὥς ἐν ἀκόσμῳ τροπῇ διερριμμένοι, χωρίου τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀποροῦντες, στενωτάτου τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δίωξιν γενομένου, ἐκτείνοντο μετ' ἀργίας, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδὲν ἀντιδρᾶσαι φθάνοντες, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὥς ἐν πλήθει καὶ στενοχωρίᾳ θορυβοῦμενοι. πάλιν τε κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, καὶ εἰλοῦντο περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμεμφόμενοι τοῖς ἀποκλείουσιν. θεοὺς τε πατρίους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκειότητα σὺν ὀνειδίει προύφερον, ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρούμενοι, ἔστε μόλις αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς χρείας, ἀνεώγνυ τὰς πύλας καὶ ὑπεδέχετο μετ' ἀταξίας ἐστρέχοντας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτα συνιδόντες, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τότε μάλιστα ἀλλήλους, δρόμῳ τοῖς φεύγουσι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐς τέλος ἐξειργάσαντο.

[45] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ μέρος ἐξέφυγον, ἐς Χαλκίδα συνελέγοντο, οὐ πολὺ πλείους μυρίων ἐκ δώδεκα μυριάδων γενόμενοι. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔδοξαν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρες, δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐπανήλθον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Σύλλα καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῷ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχης τέλος ἦν, δι' εὐβουλίαν δὴ μάλιστα Σύλλα καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην Ἀρχελάου τοιόνδε ἐκατέρῳ γενόμενον. Σύλλας δὲ πολλῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ λείας κρατῶν, τὰ μὲν ἀχρεῖα σωρευθέντα, διαζωσάμενος ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις, αὐτὸς ἐνέπρησε τοῖς ἐνναλίοις θεοῖς, ἀναπαύσας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπον σὺν εὐζώνοις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἠπείγετο. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ναῦς οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀδεῶς τὰς νήσους περιέπλει τὰ παράλια πορθῶν. Ζακύνθῳ δ' ἐκβὰς παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἳ ἐπεδήμουν, νυκτὸς ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ, κατὰ τάχος ἐσβὰς αὐθις ἀνήγετο ἐς Χαλκίδα, ληστεύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμοῦντι ἐοικώς.

[46] Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπεὶ τοσσησδε ἡττης ἐπύθετο, κατεπλάγη μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἔδεισεν ὥς ἐπὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ, στρατιὰν δ' ὅμως ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ σπουδὴν συνέλεγεν. νομίσας δ' ἂν τινας αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν

ἦτταν ἢ νῦν, ἢ εἰ τινα καιρὸν ἄλλον εὐροίεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι, τοὺς ὑπόπτους οἱ πάντας πρὶν ὀξύτερον γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνελέγετο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Γαλατῶν τετράρχας, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ συνῆσαν ὡς φίλοι καὶ ὅσοι μὴ κατήκουον αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἔκτεινε μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν χωρὶς τριῶν τῶν διαφυγόντων, τοῖς μὲν ἐνέδρας ἐπιτέμψας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ διαίτῃ μιᾶς νυκτός, οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν οὐδένα οἱ βέβαιον, εἰ πλησιάσοι Σύλλας, ἔσεσθαι. σφετερισάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὰς περιουσίας, φρουρὰς ἐσήγεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ σατράπην ἐς τὸ ἔθνος Εὐμαχον ἔπεμψεν: ὃν αὐτίκα τῶν τετραρχῶν οἱ διαφυγόντες, στρατιὰν ἀγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἐξέβαλον αὐταῖς φρουραῖς διώκοντες ἐκ Γαλατίας. καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ περιῆν Γαλατῶν ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα μόνα. Χίοις δὲ μηνίων ἐξ οὗ τις αὐτῶν ναῦς ἐς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ λαθοῦσα ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτα μὲν ἐδήμειυσε τὰ ὄντα Χίοις τοῖς ἐς Σύλλαν φυγοῦσιν, ἐξῆς δ' ἔπεμπε τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐρευνησομένους ἐν Χίῳ. καὶ τρίτον Ζηνόβιος στρατιὰν ἄγων ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβαλὼν, τὰ τείχη τῶν Χίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐρυμνὰ χωρία, τῆς νυκτός κατέλαβε, καὶ ταῖς πύλαις φρουρὰν ἐπιστήσας ἐκήρυσσε τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἀτρεμεῖν, Χίους δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθεῖν, ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς τι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑποπτον ἔχει τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαῖζοντας, παύσεται δὲ ἐὰν τὰ τε ὅπλα παραδῶτε καὶ ὅμηρα τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατειλημμένην σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶντες ἔδοσαν ἅμφω, καὶ Ζηνόβιος αὐτὰ ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς Χίοις γράψοντος τοῦ βασιλέως:

[47] ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἦκε Μιθριδάτου τάδε λέγουσα: ‘εὖνοι καὶ νῦν ἐστὲ Ῥωμαῖοις, ὧν ἔτι πολλοὶ παρ’ ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες. ἐξ τε τὴν ἐμὴν ναῦν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ τριήρης ὑμετέρα ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέσεισεν. ὁ ἐγὼ περιέφερον ἐκὼν ἐς μόνους τοὺς κυβερνήτας, εἰ δύνασθε σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν. λανθάνοντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑμῶν ἐς Σύλλαν διεπέμψατε, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἐνεδείξατε οὐδ’ ἐμηνύσατε, ὁ τῶν οὐ συμπεπραχόντων ἔργον ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὲν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐπιβουλεύσαντας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι, οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι ἐδικαίουν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν τιμῶμαι δισχιλίων ταλάντων.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ περιεῖχεν, οἱ δ’ ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν πρεσβεῦσαι, Ζηνοβίου δὲ κατακωλύοντος, ὅπλων τε ἀφρημένοι, καὶ παιδῶν σφίσι τῶν ἀρίστων ἐχομένων, στρατιᾶς τε βαρβαρικῆς τοσαύτης ἐφεστώσης, οἰμώζοντες ἐκ τε ἱερῶν κόσμους καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν δισχιλίων ταλάντων συνέφερον. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπεπλήρωτο, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνδεῖν ὁ Ζηνόβιος ἐς τὸ θέατρον αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας μετὰ γυμνῶν ξιφῶν ἀμφὶ τε τὸ θέατρον αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδοὺς ἤγε τοὺς Χίους, ἀνιστὰς ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ ἐνετίθετο ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἐτέρωθι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐτέρωθι δ’ αὐτῶν τὰ γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδία, βαρβαρικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ὕρβιζόμενα. ἀνάσπαστοι δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Μιθριδάτῃν γενόμενοι διεπρόσθησαν ἐς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον.

[48] καὶ Χίοι μὲν ὧδε ἐπεπράχεσαν, Ζηνόβιον δὲ Ἐφέσιοι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν

προσιόντα ἐκέλευον ἐξοπλίσασθαι τε παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐσελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ὑπέστη μὲν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐσηῆλε πρὸς Φιλοποίμενα τὸν πατέρα Μονίμης τῆς ἐρωμένης Μιθριδάτου, ἐπίσκοπον Ἐφεσίων ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καθεστηκότα, καὶ συνελθεῖν οἱ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκήρυττεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀνέθεντο, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγείραντές τε καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, Ζηνόβιον μὲν ἐς τὸ δεσποτήριον ἐμβαλόντες ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος συνελόχιζον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέλεγον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλως διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον. ὧν πυνθανόμενοι Τραλλιανοὶ καὶ Ὑπαιπῆνοὶ καὶ Μεσοπολῖται καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, τὰ Χίων πάθη δεδιότες, ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἔδρων. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀφεστηκότα στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς λαμβανομένους ἔδρα· δείσας δὲ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἡλευθέρου, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκήρυσσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη μετοίκους πολίτας αὐτῶν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἑλευθέρους, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ συνηνέχθη, τοὺς κατάχρεως καὶ υετοίκους καὶ θεράποντας, ἡγουμένους ἐν τῇ Μιθριδάτου ἀρχῇ βεβαίως τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἔξειν, εὖνους αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. Μυννίων δὲ καὶ Φιλότιμος οἱ Συμυρναῖοι καὶ Κλεισθένης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος οἱ Λέσβιοι, βασιλεῖ γνῶριμοὶ πάντες, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος αὐτὸν καὶ ξεναγῆσας ποτέ, ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην συνετίθεσαν· ἥς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν ὑπὸ κλίνῃ τινὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Μυννίωνος. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ μὲν αἰκισθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ὑποψία δ' ἐς τὰ ὅμοια πολλοὺς κατεῖχεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Περγαμηνῶν τὰ αὐτὰ βουλευόντες ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες ἐάλωσαν, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἕτεροι, ζητητὰς ὁ Μιθριδάτης πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπε, οἱ, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνδεικνύντων ἐκάστων, ἔκτειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας. ὧν οἱ κατηγορήσαντες οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα ληφθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ προανεῖλον ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Πόντον αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνέφευγον.

[49] γιγνομένων δὲ τῶνδε περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁκτὼ μυριάδων στρατὸς ἦθροιστο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν Δορύλαος πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἤγεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔχοντα τῶν προτέρων ἑτὶ μυρίους. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ περὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ὥς δὲ εἶδε τῆς ἐπελθούσης ἵππου τὸ πλῆθος, ὥρυσσε τάφρους πολλὰς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον, εὗρος δέκα πόδας, καὶ ἐπίντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀντιπαρέταξεν. ἀσθενῶς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ δέος τῆς ἵππου μαχομένων, ἐς πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς παριππεύων παρεκάλει καὶ ἐπέσπερχε σὺν ἀπειλῇ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφων δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' ὥς, ἐξήλατο τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ σημεῖον ἀρπάσας ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, κεκραγώς· ‘εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, πύθοιτο, ποῦ Σύλλαν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν προυδῶκατε, λέγειν, ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ μαχόμενον.’ οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι συνεξέθεον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τάξεων, συνεξέθεον δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πλῆθὺς αἰδουμένη, παλιώξιν τε εἰργάσαντο. καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀρχομένης, ἀναθορῶν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπήνει τὸν στρατὸν περιῶν καὶ ἐπέσπερχεν, ἕως τέλεον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐξετελέσθη. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτων ἦσαν οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς

μάλιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς Ἀρχελάου Διογένης· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνέφυγον.

[50] καὶ δείςας ὁ Σύλλας μὴ παλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐκ ἔχοντα ναῦς, ἐς Χαλκίδα ὡς πρότερον διαφύγοι, τὸ πεδῖον ὅλον ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνυκτοφυλάκει. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, στάδιον οὐχ ὅλον ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, τάφρον αὐτῷ περιώρυσσεν οὐκ ἐπεξίοντι. καὶ παρεκάλει τότε μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐκπονήσαι τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου τὸ ἔτι λείψανον ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένων, καὶ ἐπῆγεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Ἀρχελάου. ὅμοια δ' ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτοὺς περιθεόντων, καὶ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον προφερόντων τε, καὶ ὀνειδιζόντων εἰ μὴδ' ἀπὸ χάρακος ἀπομαχοῦνται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας. ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ βοῆς ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίνετο ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔργα πολέμου, γωνίαν δέ τινα τοῦ χαρακώματος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰς ἀσπίδας σφῶν ὑπερσχόντες, ἦδη διέσπων, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἔσω τῆς γωνίας περιέστησαν αὐτὴν ὡς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐστρέχοντας. οὐδέ τις ἐτόλμα, μέχρι Βάσιλλος ὁ τοῦ τέλους ταξίαρχος ἐσήλατο πρῶτος καὶ τὸν ὑπαντήσαντα ἔκτεινεν. τότε δ' αὐτῷ συνεσέπιπτεν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας, καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίνετο καὶ φόνος, τῶν μὲν καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' ἐς τὴν ἐγγὺς λίμνην ὠθουμένων τε καὶ νεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἄξυνετα βαρβαριστὶ τοὺς κτενοῦντας παρακαλούντων. Ἀρχέλαος δ' ἐν ἔλει τινὶ ἐκρύφθη, καὶ σκάφους ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Χαλκίδα διέπλευσεν. καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἄλλη Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰ κατὰ μέρος ποι διατεταγμένη, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν.

[51] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν τε ταξίαρχον ἐστεφάνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστεῖα ἐδίδου. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεχῶς μετατιθεμένην διήρπαξε, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχείμαζε, τὰς ναῦς τὰς μετὰ Λευκόλλου περιμένων. ἀγνοῶν δ' ὅπῃ ὁ Λεύκολλος εἴη, ἐναυπηγεῖτο ἐτέρας, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι Κορνηλίου τε Κίinna καὶ Γαῖου Μαρίου, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐψηφισμένων εἶναι Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις καθηρηκότων, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελόντων. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὥς καθήρει τῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων εὐπειθὴ καὶ πρόθυμον. Κίννας δὲ Φλάκκον ἐλόμενός οἱ συνάρχειν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δύο τελῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σύλλα, ὡς ἦδη πολεμίου γεγονότος, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἄρχειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀπειροπολέμῳ δ' ὄντι τῷ Φλάκκῳ συνεξήλθεν ἐκὼν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνὴρ πιθανὸς ἐς στρατηγίαν, ὄνομα Φιμβρίας. τούτοις ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλέουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νεῶν ὑπὸ χεიმῶνος διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς πρόπλους αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησε στρατὸς ἄλλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου. μοθηρὸν δ' ὄντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι καὶ φιλοκερδῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἀπεστρέφετο, καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν τι, προπεμφθὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μετεστρατεύσαντο. τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους ὁ Φιμβρίας, στρατηγικώτερος τοῦ Φλάκκου φαινόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ φιланθρωπότερος κατεῖχε μὴ μεταθέσθαι.

[52] ὡς δ' ἐν τινὶ καταγωγῇ περὶ ξενίας ἔριδος αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ταμία γενομένης ὁ Φλάκκος διαιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐς τιμὴν ἐπεσήμηνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου, χαλεπήνας ὁ Φιμβρίας ἠπειλήσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου δόντος

αὐτῷ διάδοχον ἐς ἃ τότε διώκει, φυλάξας αὐτὸν ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐς Χαλκηδόνα διαπλέοντα, πρῶτα μὲν Θέρμον τὰς ῥάβδους ἀφείλετο, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου καταλελειμμένον, ὡς οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν περιθέντος, εἶτα Φλάκκον αὐτὸν σὺν ὀργῇ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανίοντα ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ὃ μὲν Φλάκκος ἐς τινα οἰκίαν καταφυγὼν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔφυγε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισεν, ὃ δὲ Φιμβρίας αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινεν ἐν φρέατι κρυπτόμενον, ὑπατόν τε ὄντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ιδιώτης αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ ὡς φίλῳ κελεύοντι συνεληλυθώς. ἐκτεμὼν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μεθήκεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄταφον ἐκρίψας, αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέφηνε τοῦ στρατοῦ. καὶ μάχας τινὰς οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἠγωνίσαστο τῷ παιδί τῷ Μιθριδάτου. αὐτόν τε βασιλέα συνεδίωξεν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς Πιτάνην ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου διαφυγόντα ἐπελθὼν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἕως ὃ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην,

[53] ὃ δὲ Φιμβρίας, ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς καππαδοκίσαντας, καὶ τῶν οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τὴν χώραν ἐλεηλάτει. Ἰλιεῖς δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατέφυγον μὲν ἐπὶ Σύλλαν, Σύλλα δὲ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐν τοσῷδε Φιμβρία φράζειν ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπιτετρόφασι τῷ Σύλλᾳ, πυθόμενος ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὡς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων φίλους, ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων ἔσω δέχεσθαι, κατειρωνευσάμενός τι καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς οὐσῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἰλιεῦσιν. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ πάντας ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύσαντας ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως, οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν φειδόμενος οὔτε τῶν ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταφυγόντων, οὓς αὐτῷ νεῶν κατέπρησεν. κατέσκαπτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡρεῦνα περιῶν μὴ τι συνέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἔτι. ἡ μὲν δὲ χεῖρινα τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος παθοῦσα ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς διωλώλει, καὶ οἰκόπεδον οὐδὲν αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἱερὸν οὐδ' ἄγαλμα ἔτι ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος, ὃ Παλλὰδιον καλοῦσι καὶ διοπετεὺς ἠγοῦνται, νομίζουσί τινες εὑρεθῆναι τότε ἄθραυστον, τῶν ἐπιτεσόντων τειχῶν αὐτὸ περικαλυψάντων, εἰ μὴ Διομήδης αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ ἔργῳ μετήνεγκαν ἐξ Ἰλίου.

τάδε μὲν δὲ Φιμβρίας ἐς Ἴλιον εἰργάζετο, ληγούσης ἄρτι τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. καὶ τινες ἠγοῦνται τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ τότε μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονα χιλίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι γενέσθαι μάλιστα.

[54] ὃ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν ἥττης ἐπύθετο, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ τὴν συνεχῇ καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ φθοράν, ἐπέστελλεν Ἀρχελᾶω διαλύσεις ὡς δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς ἐργάσασθαι. ὃ δὲ Σύλλα συνελθὼν ἐς λόγους εἶπε· ‘φίλος ὢν ὑμῖν πατρῷος, ὃ Σύλλα, Μιθριδάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολέμησε μὲν διὰ στρατηγῶν ἐτέρων πλεονεξίαν, διαλύσεται δὲ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣν τὰ δίκαια προσταύσης.’ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπορία τε νεῶν, καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐπιτεμπόντων οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἰκοθεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς πολεμίῳ, ἀνάμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Πυθοῖ καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἐπιδαύρῳ χρημάτων, καὶ ἀντιδοὺς πρὸς λόγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλάκις ἀποστάντων, ἕς τε τὴν στάσιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπειγόμενος ἀκραιφνῇ καὶ

ἀπαθῆ τὸν στρατὸν μεταγαγεῖν, ἐνεδίδου πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ εἶπεν:

ἀδικομένου μὲν ἦν, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, Μιθριδάτου, περὶ ὧν ἡδικοῖτο πρεσβεύειν, ἀδικοῦντος δὲ γῆν τοσὴνδε ἀλλοτριὰν ἐπιδραμεῖν, καὶ κτεῖναι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῶν ἀνηρημένων σφετερίσασθαι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους φίλους, ὃ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἄπιστος γενόμενος, ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς, καὶ τῶν τετραρχῶν οὓς ὁμοδιαίτους εἶχε, νυκτὸς μιᾶς, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τῶν οὐ πεπολεμηκότων. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φύσεως ἔχθραν μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου χρεῖαν ἐπεδείξατο, παντοίαις ιδέαις κακῶν τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰταλιώτας, σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ καὶ θεράπουσι τοῖς οὓσι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, λυμηνάμενός τε καὶ κτείνας. τοσοῦτον ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μῖσος ὃ νῦν ἡμῖν ὑποκρινόμενος φιλίαν πατρώαν, ἧς οὐ πρὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδας ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκοπήναι ἐμνημονεύετε.

[55] ἀνθ' ὧν δίκαιον μὲν ἦν ἄσπειστα αὐτῷ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, σοῦ δὲ χάριν ὑποδέχομαι συγγνώμης αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἂν τῷ ὄντι μεταγινώσκη. εἰ δὲ ὑποκρίνοιτο καὶ νῦν, ὥρα σοι τὸ σαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, ἐνθυμουμένῳ μὲν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ παρόντα σοὶ τε κἀκείνῳ, σκοποῦντι δ' ὃν τινα τρόπον ἐκεῖνός τε ἐτέροις κέχρηται φίλοις καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐμένει καὶ Μασσανάσῃ.

ὁ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν ἀπεσεῖετο, καὶ δυσχεράνας ἔφη τὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὐ ποτε προδώσειν: 'ἐλπίζω δέ σοι διαλλάξειν, ἦν μέτρια προστάσης.' διαλιπὼν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὀλίγον, εἶπεν: 'ἐὰν τὸν στόλον ἡμῖν, ὃν ἔχεις, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, παραδιδῷ πάντα Μιθριδάτης, ἀποδῷ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς ἡμῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ αἰχμαλώτους ἢ αὐτομόλους ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἀποδράντα, καὶ Χίους ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἀνασπάστους ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐποιήσατο, μεθῇ, ἐξαγάγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ πάντων φρουρίων, χωρὶς ὧν ἐκράτει πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς παρασπονδήσεως, ἐσενέγκῃ δὲ καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γενομένην, καὶ στέργῃ μόνῃς ἄρχων τῆς πατρώας δυναστείας. ἐλπίζω πείσειν Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιμνηῖσαι τῶν γεγονότων.' ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς αὐτίκα πανταχόθεν ἐξῆγε, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέστελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ Σύλλας τὴν ἐν τοσῷδε ἀργίᾳ διατιθέμενος, Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντούς, περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθνη, συνεχῶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβάλλοντα, ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὁμοῦ.

[56] ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου πρέσβων, οἱ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνετίθεντο, μόνην δ' ἐξαιρούμενοι Παφλαγονίαν ἐπέειπον ὅτι πλεόνων ἂν ἔτυχε Μιθριδάτης, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῶν στρατηγὸν διελύετο Φιμβρίαν, δυσχεράνας ὁ Σύλλας τῇ παραβολῇ, καὶ Φιμβρίαν ἔφη δώσειν δίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενος εἴσεσθαι πότερα συνθηκῶν ἢ πολέμου δεῖται Μιθριδάτης. ὧδε δ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Κύψελλα διὰ Θράκης, Λεύκολλον ἐς Ἄβυδον προπέμψας: ἥδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁδε ἀφῖκτο, κινδυνεύσας μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀλῶναι πολλάκις, στόλον δὲ τινα νεῶν ἀγείρας ἀπὸ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ πολλὰ δηώσας τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτου νεῶν ἀποπειράσας ἐν παράπλῳ. Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Κυψέλλων

καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐκ Περγᾶμου συήεσαν αὖθις ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατέβαινον ἐς πεδῖον ἄμφω σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἐφορώντων τῶν στρατῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι Μιθριδάτου μὲν ὑπόμνησις φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας καὶ πατρώας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι καὶ προβούλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς κατηγορία ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἀδίκως, Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε κατάγοντες ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ Φρυγίας αὐτὸν ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ Νικομήδῃ περιορῶντες ἀδικοῦντα. 'καὶ τάδε,' ἔφη, 'πάντα ἔπραξαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι, παραλλάξ παρ' ἐμοῦ τε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες: ὁ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἔστιν ἡ φιλοκερδία. ἀναρραγέντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα ὅσα ἀμυνόμενος ἔπραττον, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐγίγνετο.'

[57] ὁ μὲν δὴ Μιθριδάτης ὧδε εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπεκρίνατο:

ἐφ' ἕτερα μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεις, ὥς τὰ προτεινόμενα ἀγαπήσων, οὐ μὴν ὀκνήσω καὶ περὶ τῶνδε διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν. ἐς μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγὼ κατήγαγον Ἀριοβαρζάνην Κιλικίας ἄρχων, ὧδε Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων: καὶ σὺ κατήκουες ἡμῶν, δέον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ ἡ μεταδιδάσκειν ἡ μηκέτι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἀντιτεῖναι. Φρυγίαν δέ σοι Μάνιος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ δωροδοκία, ὁ κοινόν ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν ἀδίκημα. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖς οὐ δικαίως λαβεῖν, ἐκ δωροδοκίας. ὁ τε Μάνιος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡλέγχθη παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πράξας, καὶ πάντα ἀνέλυσεν ἡ βουλή. ὃ λόγῳ καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδίκως σοι δοθεῖσαν οὐχ ἐαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον μεθῆκεν. ὧν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολέμῳ λαβόντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἄρχειν, τίνι λόγῳ σὺ καθέξεις; Νικομήδης δὲ αἰτιάται μὲν σε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν τὸ σῶμα τρώσοντα ἐπιτέμψαι, καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν χρηστὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τάδε αὐτὸς ἀμυνόμενος ἐς τὴν σὴν ἐμβαλεῖν: εἰ δέ τι ὅμως ἡδικοῦ, ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύειν ἔδει καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θάπτον ἡμύνου Νικομήδῃ, πῶς καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀπῆλαυνες οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα; ἐκβαλὼν δ' ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκας τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων κατάγειν αὐτόν, καὶ καταγόμενον κωλύων σὺ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηψας, ἐγνωκὼς μὲν οὕτω πρὸ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχων γῆς ἄρξειν ἀπάσης εἰ Ῥωμαίων κρατήσεας, προφάσεις δ' ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τάσδε ποιούμενος. καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι καὶ Θρᾶκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Σαυρομάτας, οὐπω τινὶ πολεμῶν, ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγου, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγχοῦ βασιλέας περιέπεμπες, ναῦς τε ἐποιῶ, καὶ πρῳρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας συνεκάλεις.

[58] μάλιστα δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐλέγχει σε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφισταμένην ἡμῶν ἠσθάνου, τὴν ἀσχολίαν τήνδε ἡμῶν φυλάξας ἐπέθου μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ καὶ Νικομήδῃ καὶ Γαλάταις καὶ Παφλαγονία, ἐπέθου δὲ Ἀσία τῷ ἡμετέρῳ χωρίῳ. καὶ λαβὼν οἷα δέδρακας ἢ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς τοὺς θεράποντας καὶ χρήστας ἐπέστησας ἐλευθερίας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαῖς, ἢ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὧν μῖα προφάσει χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους διέφθειρας, ἢ Γαλατῶν τοὺς τετράρχας, οὓς ὁμοδιαίτους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινας, ἢ τὸ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν γένος, οὓς μῖα ἡμέρας σὺν βρέφεσι καὶ μητράσιν ἔκτεινάς τε καὶ κατεπόντωσας, οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων. ὁ πόσην μὲν ὠμότητά

σου, πόσῃν δὲ ἀσέβειαν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν μίσους ἐς ἡμᾶς προενήνοχεν. σφετερισάμενος δ' ἀπάντων τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπέρας μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, ἡμῶν ἀπειπόντων ἅπασι τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μὴδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν. διαπλεύσας δὲ Μακεδονίαν τε ἡμετέραν οὐσαν ἐπέτρεχες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφηροῦ. οὐ πρὶν τε ἡρξω μετανοεῖν, οὐδ' Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρακαλεῖν, ἢ Μακεδονίαν μὲν με ἀνασώσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα τῆς σῆς ἐκλῦσαι βίας, ἐκκαίδεκα δὲ μυριάδας τοῦ σοῦ στρατοῦ κατακόψαι, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδά σου λαβεῖν αὐταῖς παρασκευαῖς. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω σου δικαιολογουμένου νῦν ἐφ' οἷς δι' Ἀρχελάου παρεκάλεις. ἢ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα με ἐδεδοίκες, ἀγχοῦ δὲ γεγόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην ἐληλυθέναι νομίζεις; ἥς ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάλωται, σοῦ τε πολεμήσαντος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἀμυναμένων ἤδη καρτερῶς καὶ ἀμυνουμένων ἐς τέλος.

τοσαῦτα τοῦ Σύλλα μετ' ὀργῆς ἔτι λέγοντος, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ἐς τὰς δι' Ἀρχελάου γενομένας συνθήκας ἐνεδίδου, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παραδοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπανήκει μόνην.

ὥδε μὲν ὁ πρῶτος Μιθριδάτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος κατεπαύετο:

[59] Σύλλας δὲ Φιμβρίου δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἐκέλευε παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν στρατόν, οὗ παρανόμως ἄρχοι. ὁ δ' ἀντεπέσκωπτε μὲν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐννόμως ἔτι ἄρχοι, περιταφρεύοντος δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀποδιδρασκόντων, ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Φιμβρίας συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει παραμένειν. οὐ φαιμένων δὲ πολεμήσειν πολίταις, καταρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάστοις προσέπιπτεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπεστρέφοντο, καὶ πλείους ἐγίνοντο αἱ αὐτομολαί, τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων περιήει, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν χρήμασι διαφθείρας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐθις συνεκάλει, καὶ συνόμνυσθαι οἱ προσέτασεν. ἐκβοησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐνετῶν ὅτι δέοι καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυττε τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Νώνιον πρῶτον ἐκάλει, κοινωνόν οἱ πάντων γεγονότα. οὐκ ὁμνύντος δ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνου, τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπᾶσας ἠπεῖλει κτενεῖν αὐτόν, μέχρι βοῆς ἐκ πάντων γενομένης καταπλαγεῖς καὶ τοῦδ' ἐπαύσατο. θεράποντα δὲ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας ἀναπείσας ἔπεμψεν ὡς αὐτόμολον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Σύλλα σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ πλησιάζων καὶ ταρασσόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ὑποπτος γεγόμενος, συνελήφθη τε καὶ ὠμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα, σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει περιστάντες τὸ τοῦ Φιμβρίου χαράκωμα, κατελοιδόρουν αὐτόν καὶ Ἀθηνίωνα ἐκάλουν, ὃς δραπετῶν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ποτὲ ἀποστάντων ὀλιγήμερος ἐγεγέννητο βασιλεὺς.

[60] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φιμβρίας πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον προῆλθε, καὶ Σύλλαν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ὁ δὲ ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ Ῥουτίλιον ἔπεμπε: καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐλύπει τὸν Φιμβρίαν, οὐδὲ συνόδου, διδομένης καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀξιοθέντα. δεομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν εἴ τι νέος ὢν ἐξήμαρτεν, ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ὑπέστη Σύλλαν ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῇ διελθεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἥς ἐστὶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνθύπατος, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔχειν κρεῖττονα, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν παρελθὼν ἐχρήσατο τῷ ξίφει. οὐ καιρίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς

πληγῆς γενομένης, ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα ἐπερεῖσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότη.

οὕτω μὲν καὶ Φιμβρίας ἀπέθανε, πολλὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ λελυμασμένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐφῆκε τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις θάψαι, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν οὐ μιμεῖσθαι Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ θανάτον τε πολλῶν καὶ ἀταφίαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καταγνόντας. τὸν δὲ στρατὸν τοῦ Φιμβρίου προσιόντα οἱ δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συναγαγόν, Κουρίωνι προσέταξε Νικομήδην ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν καταγαγεῖν, τῇ τε βουλῇ περὶ πάντων ἐπέστελλεν, οὐχ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐνηφίσθαι πολέμιος.

[61] αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος, Ἰλιάς μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος, ἢ ὧν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθησαν οὗ ἕνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους, ἐς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν. καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, οἷς ἐλευθερίαν ἐδεδώκει Μιθριδάτης, ἐκήρυττεν αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς δεσπότης ἐπανίεναι. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων, καὶ πόλεων τινῶν ἀφισταμένων, ἐγίνοντο σφαγαὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων ἐπὶ ποικίλαις προφάσεσι, τείχη τε πολλῶν καθηρεῖτο, καὶ συχνὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ διηρηπάζετο. οἱ τε καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἢ πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Ἐφέσιοι, σὺν αἰσχυρᾷ κολακείᾳ ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναθήματα ὑβρίσαντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ κήρυγμα περιήει, τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώσει κατὰ πόλιν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς Ἑφεσον. καὶ συνελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδημηγόρησεν οὕτως.

[62] ἡμεῖς στρατῷ πρῶτον ἐς Ἀσίαν παρήλθομεν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως πορθοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ἐξελάσαντες δ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἄλυν καὶ Ταῦρον αὐτῷ θέμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρον, οὐ κατέσχομεν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἐκείνου γενομένων, ἀλλὰ μεθήκαμεν αὐτονόμους, πλὴν εἴ τινες Εὐμένει καὶ Ῥοδίοις συμμαχήσασιν ἡμῖν ἔδομεν, οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προστάταις εἶναι. τεκμήριον δ' ὅτι Λυκίους αἰτιωμένους τι Ῥοδίων ἀπεστήσαμεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τοιοῦδε περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγόναμεν: ὑμεῖς δέ, Ἀττάλου τοῦ φιλομήτορος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐν διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος, Ἀριστονίκῳ καθ' ἡμῶν τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι συνεμαχεῖτε, μέχρι καὶ Ἀοιστόνικος ἐάλω καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ἐς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον περιήλθετε. καὶ ὧδε πράσσοντες ὁμῶς, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν ἐς μέγα περιουσίας καὶ κάλλους κατασκευῆς ἰδιωτικῆς τε καὶ δημοσίας προελθόντες, ὑπὸ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς ἐξυβρίσατε αὐθις, καὶ τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φυλάξαντες οἱ μὲν ἐπηγάγεσθε Μιθριδάτην, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντι συνέθεσθε. ὁ δ' ἐστὶ πάντων μαρρώτατον, ὑπέστητε αὐτῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἅπαντας αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ μητράσιν ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων διὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους θεοὺς ἐφείσασθε. ἐφ' οἷς ἔδοτε μὲν τινα καὶ αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δίκην, ἀπίστω τε ἐς ὑμᾶς γενομένῳ, καὶ φόνου καὶ δημεύσεων ἐμπλήσαντι ὑμᾶς, καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς ἐργασασμένῳ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ δούλων ἐλευθερώσεις, καὶ τυράννους ἐπ' ἐνίοις, καὶ ληστήρια πολλὰ ἀνά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὥς εὐθὺς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν πείρᾳ καὶ παραβολῇ οἴους ἀνθ' οἷων προστάτας ἐπέλεγεσθε. ἔδοσαν δὲ τινα καὶ ἡμῖν δίκην οἱ τῶνδε ἄρξαντες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κοινὴν ὑμῖν ἐπιτεθῆναι τοιαύδε ἐργασασμένοις: ἦν

εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὁμοίαν οἷς ἐδράσατε γενέσθαι, μὴ ποτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σφαγὰς ἀσεβεῖς ἢ δημεύσεις ἀβούλους ἢ δούλων ἐπαναστάσεις, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα βαρβαρικά, μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν λάβοιεν. φειδοῖ δὲ γένους ἔτι καὶ ὀνόματος Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τῆς φιλότητος Ῥωμαίοις εὐφημίας οὐνεκα, μόνους ὑμῖν ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. διαιρήσω δὲ ταῦθ' ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τάξω προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς, καὶ τοῖς οὐ φυλάξασιν ἐπιθήσω δίκην ὡς πολεμίους.

[63] τοσάδε εἰπὼν ἐπιδιήρει τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὴν ζημίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμπε. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἀποροῦσαι τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τεῖχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ εἴ τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ὑπετίθεντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ὧδε τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεκομίζετο, καὶ κακῶν ἄδην εἶχεν ἡ Ἀσία: ἐπέπλει δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ληστήρια πολὺνδρα φανερῶς, στόλοις ἐοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ λησταῖς, Μιθριδάτου μὲν αὐτὰ πρῶτου καθέντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτε πάνθ' ὡς οὐκ ἐς πολὺν καθέξω ἐλυμαίνετο, πλεονάσαντα δ' ἐς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὐ τοῖς πλέουσι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ χωρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιχειροῦντα φανερῶς. Ἰασσὸς γέ τοι καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαμοθράκη Σύλλα παρόντος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσυλήθη τὸ Σαμοθράκιον χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον, ὡς ἐνομίζετο. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἐκὼν ὡς ἁμαρτόντας ἐνυβρίζεσθαι καταλιπὼν, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην στάσιν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ διέπλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐμφυλίοις ἀναγράφεται,

[64] ἄρχεται δ' ὁ δεῦτερος Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμος ἐνθένδε.

Μουρήνας μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλᾳ σὺν δύο τέλεσι τοῖς Φιμβρίου καθίστασθαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ πολέμων ἀφορμὰς ἥρεσχήλει δι' ἐπιθυμίαν θριάμβου: Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπλεύσας Κόλχοις καὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀφισταμένοις ἐπολέμει. ὢν Κόλχοι τὸν υἱὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ, Μιθριδάτην, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἡτοῦντο δοθῆναι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτίκα ὑπήκουσαν. ὑποπεύσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τόδε πρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντος γενέσθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν ἐν πέδαις χρυσαῖς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἀπέκτεινε, πολλὰ χρησιμὸν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Φιμβρίαν ἀγῶσι γενόμενον. ἐπὶ δὲ Βοσποριανούς ναῦς τε συνεπήγγνυτο καὶ στρατὸν ἡτοιμάζετο πολύν, ὡς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς παρασκευῆς δόξαν ἐγεῖραι ταχεῖαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις τάδε συλλέγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὐδ' Ἀριοβαρζάνη πᾶσαν ἐβεβαίου Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἅ καὶ τότε κατεῖχεν. Ἀρχελάον τε ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐτίθετο ὡς πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσιν ἐπιχωρήσαντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὢν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ δέισας ἐς Μουρήναν ἔφυγε, καὶ παροξύνας αὐτὸν ἔπεισε Μιθριδάτῃ προεπιχειρεῖν. Μουρήνας μὲν δὴ διὰ Καππαδοκίας αὐτίκα ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Κόμανα, κώμην ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μεγίστην, σεβάσμιον ἱερὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἔχουσαν, ἱππέας τινὰς ἔκτεινε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ πρέσβειν αὐτοῦ τὰς συνθήκας προτείνουσιν οὐκ ἔφη συνθήκας ὄραν: οὐ γὰρ συνεγέγραπτο Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὰ λεχθέντα βεβαιώσας ἀπήλλακτο. ταῦτα

δ' εἰπὼν ὁ Μουρήνας εὐθέως ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἀποσχόμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ.

[65] Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς Σύλλαν, αἰτιώμενος ἃ ποιεῖ Μουρήνας. ὁ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν περάσας, μέγαν τε ὄντα καὶ δύσπορον τότε μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπ' ὄμβρων, τετρακοσίας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κόμας ἐπέτρεχεν, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀναμένοντος. λείας δὲ πολλῆς καταγέμων ἐς Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐπανήει, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Καλίδιος, ἐπὶ ταῖς Μιθριδάτου μέμψεσι πεμφθεὶς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ψήφισμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπέδωκεν, ἔφη δ' ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐν μέσῳ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῷ κελεύειν φεῖδεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος ἐνσπόνδου. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὥφθη διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐδὲν ἀνείς τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ τότε τὴν γῆν ἐπήει τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου. ὁ δὲ σαφῶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος πολεμεῖσθαι, Γόρδιον ἐς τὰς κόμας ἐσβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ Γόρδιος ὑποζύγιά τε πολλὰ καὶ σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἰδιώτας τε καὶ στρατιώτας, συνήρπαξε, καὶ αὐτῷ Μουρήνα, μέσον λαβὼν ποταμόν, ἀντεκαθέζετο. μάχης δ' οὐδέτερος ἦρχεν, ἕως ἀφίκετο Μιθριδάτης σὺν τῷ πλείονι στρατῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ βιασάμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τᾶλλα πολὺ κρείττων τοῦ Μουρήνα γενόμενος. ὁ δ' ἐς λόφον καρτερόν ἀναφυγόν, ἐπιχειροῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἔφευγε διὰ τῶν ὀρεινῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας, ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς.

[66] ἥ τε νίκη λαμπρὰ καὶ ὀξεῖα ἐξ ἐφόδου γενομένη ταχὺ διέπτῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν Μιθριδάτην μετέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ φρουρία τοῦ Μουρήνα πάντα ἐπιδραμών τε καὶ ἐξελάσας ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὶ πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, κορυφὴν μείζονα ἄλλην ἀπὸ ξύλων ἐπιτιθείς. πρῶτοι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι, καὶ περιθέντες ἐτέραν ἐν κύκλῳ βραχυτέραν τῇ μὲν ἄνω γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ἐπιφοροῦσι, τῇ δ' ἐπιπέδῳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὄψον ἐς ἄριστον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιτιθέντες, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος, ἅπτουσι τὴν ὕλην. ἡ δ' αἰθομένη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τηλοῦ τε χιλίων σταδίων γίγνεται τοῖς πλέουσι καταφανής, καὶ πελάσαι φασὶν ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, αἰθομένου τοῦ ἀέρος, οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τὴν θυσίαν ἦγε πατρίῳ νόμῳ: Σύλλα δ' οὐκ ἄξιοντος Μιθριδάτην ἐνσπονδον πολεμεῖσθαι, Αὐλὸς Γαβίνιος ἐπέμφθη Μουρήνα μὲν ἀληθῇ τήνδε προαγόρευσιν ἐρῶν, μὴ πολεμεῖν Μιθριδάτῃ, Μιθριδάτην δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀλλήλοις συναλλάξων. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τήνδε τῇ συνόδῳ παιδίον τετραετὲς ἐγγυῆσας τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τήνδε προφάσει λαβὼν ἔχειν Καππαδοκίας ὅσα τε εἶχε καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰστία πάντας, καὶ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ τῇ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπὶ σκώμμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ᾧδῃ πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προυτίθει: οὗ μόνος Γαβίνιος οὐχ ἦψατο. ὁ μὲν δὴ δεῦτερος Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος τρίτῳ μάλιστα ἔτει ἐς τοῦτο διελύετο.

[67] καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βόσπορον ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῶν υἱέων ἕνα ἀπεδείκνυ Μαχάρην. ἐς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Κόλχους ἐσβαλὼν, οἱ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίας κατὰ τὴν ἐπᾶνοδον πλανηθέντων,

δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ πολέμῳ τε καὶ κρύει καὶ ἐνέδραις ἀποβαλὼν ἐπᾶνῆλθε, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε τοὺς συγγραφομένους τὰ συγκείμενα. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, εἴθ' ἐκὼν εἴτε πρὸς τινῶν ἐνοχλούμενος, οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνειν Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον αὐτῆς ἔτι Μιθριδάτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, Σύλλα κελεύοντος αὐτῷ μεθεῖναι Καππαδοκίαν, μεθῆκε, καὶ ἐτέραν πρεσβείαν ἐπέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν συνθηκῶν συγγραφάς· ἤδη δὲ Σύλλα τεθνεῶτος, οὐκ ἐπαγόντων αὐτὴν ὡς ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τῶν προβούλων ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, Τιγράνῃ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μιθριδάτης ἔπεισεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν σόφισμα οὐκ ἔλαθε Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος Καππαδοκίαν σαγηνεύσας ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀνασπάστους ἐς Ἀρμένίαν ἐποίησε, καὶ συνώκιζεν αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐς τι χωρίον ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἀρμενίας τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸς περιεθήκατο, καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν· δύναται δ' εἶναι Τιγρανόπολις.

[68] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ· Σερτώριος δ' Ἰβηρίας ἡγούμενος αὐτὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ περίοικα πάντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀνίστη, καὶ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν οἱ συνόντων, ἐς μῆμα τῆς συγκλήτου, κατέλεγεν. δύο δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν στασιωτῶν, Λεύκιοι, Μάγιός τε καὶ Φάννιος, Μιθριδάτην ἔπειθον συμμαχεῖσθαι τῷ Σερτωρίῳ, πολλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν ἐπελπίζοντες. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σερτώριον ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον παραγαγὼν τε, καὶ μεγαλοφρονησάμενος ὅτι τὸ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον δίικετο καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξοι πολιορκεῖν ἀπὸ τε δύσεως καὶ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, συνετίθετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δώσειν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτῷ Μάρκον Οὐάριον καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς Λευκίους, Μάγιόν τε καὶ Φάννιον, ἔπεμψεν. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέφαινε τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖόν οἱ γενόμενον ἐς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν Σερτωρίου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐπιτεμφθέντων δὲ οἱ στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης προτέρου Λευκόλλου τοῦδε τοῦ νευναρχηκότος Σύλλα, ὑστέρου δὲ Πομπηίου, ἐφ' ὅτου πάντα ὅσα ἦν Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῖς γειτονεύοντα, μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, προφάσει καὶ ὁρμῇ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντα περιηνέχθη.

[69] Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις ἐς πείραν ἔλθων, καὶ τόνδε μάλιστα τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ἀπροφασίστως δὴ καὶ ὀξέως γενόμενον, ἄσπειστον ἔξειν, πᾶσαν ἐπενόει παρασκευὴν ὡς ἄρτι δὴ κριθισόμενος περὶ πάντων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ὑλοτομῶν ἐπήγγυτο ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα, καὶ σίτου διακοσίας μεδίμνων μυριάδας ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ διетίθει. σύμμαχοί τε αὐτῷ προσεγίνοντο, χωρὶς τῆς προτέρας δυνάμεως, Χάλυβες Ἀρμένιοι Σκύθαι Ταῦροι Ἀχαιοὶ Ἠνίοχοι Λευκόσυροι, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν γῆν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀμαζόνων λεγομένην. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν προσεγίνετο, περάσαντι δ' ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Σαυροματῶν οἱ τε βασιλῆες καὶ Ἰάζυγες καὶ Κόραλλοι, καὶ Θρακῶν ὅσα γένη παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἢ Ῥοδόπην ἢ τὸν Αἴμον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βαστέρναι, τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον αὐτῶν γένος. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τότε προσελάμβανεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ μυριάδες ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸ μάχιμον

αὐτῷ συνελέγοντο τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μάλιστα πεζῶν, καὶ ἵππεις ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἑξακισχίλιοι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ὁδοποιοῦν καὶ σκευοφόρων εἵτετο καὶ ἐμπόρων.

[70] ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος ἀπόπειραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιησάμενος, ἔθυε τῷ στρατιῷ Διὶ τὴν συνήθη θυσίαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι λευκῶν ἵππων ἄρμα καθείς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἠπείγετο, στρατηγούντων αὐτῷ Ταξίλου τε καὶ Ἑρμοκράτους. ὥς δ' ἀφίκετο, ἐδημηγόρησε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τῶν προγόνων μάλα σεμνολόγως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ μεγαληγόρως, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προαγαγὼν οὐποτε Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθεῖη παρῶν. εἴτα κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν ἐς πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀμετρίαν, ὅφ' ἥς, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν δεδούλωνται. καὶ τὰς γενομένας οἱ τελευταίας συνθήκας ἐπέφερεν ὥς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀναγράψασθαι, καιροφυλακοῦντες αὐθις ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενος, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ὅλην καὶ παρασκευὴν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀσχολίαν πολεμουμένων ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου κατὰ κράτος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ στασιαζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. 'διὸ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης,' ἔφη, 'καταφρονοῦσι ληστευομένης πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, οὐδ' ὑπήκοος ἐκούσιος ἔτι. οὐχ ὁρᾷτε δ' αὐτῶν,' ἔφη, 'καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους,' ἐπιδεικνὺς Οὐάριόν τε καὶ τοὺς Λευκίους, 'πολεμίους μὲν ὄντας τῇ πατρίδι, συμμάχους δ' ἡμῖν;'

[71] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐρεθίσας ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Βιθυνίαν, Νικομήδους ἄρτι τεθνεῶτος ἄπαιδος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολιπόντος. Κόττας δ' ἡγούμενος αὐτῆς, ἀσθενῆς τὰ πολέμια πάμπαν, ἔφυγεν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε δυνάμεως. καὶ Βιθυνία μὲν ἦν αὐθις ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, τῶν πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρὸς Κότταν συνθεόντων. ἐπιόντος δὲ καὶ τῇ Χαλκηδόνι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Κόττας μὲν ὑπ' ἀπραξίας οὐ προΐη, Νοῦδος δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτοῦ, σὺν μέρει τινὶ στρατοῦ τὰ ὀχυρώτατα τοῦ πεδίου καταλαβὼν καὶ ἐξελαθείς, ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς Χαλκηδόνης διὰ θριγκίων πολλῶν πάνυ δυσχερῶς. ἀμφὶ τε τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν ἐσπηδόντων ὁμοῦ: ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοῖς διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς βέλος ἠτύχει. ὥς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πυλῶν δείσαντες οἱ φύλακες τὰ κλεῖθρα καθῆκαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, Νοῦδον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τινὰς καλωδίους ἀνιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τε φίλων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς ἑκατέρους ὀρέγοντες. ὃ τε Μιθριδάτης τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας χρώμενος ἐπῆγεν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀλύσει χαλκῇ δεδεμένον ἀπορρήξας τέσσαρας μὲν ἐνέπρησε τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐξήκοντα ἀνεδῆσατο, οὐδὲν οὔτε Νοῦδου κωλύοντος ἔτι οὔτε Κόττα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τεῖχη συγκεκλεισμένων. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐς τρισχίλιους, καὶ Λεύκιος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Μιθριδάτου δὲ Βαστερνῶν τῶν πρώτων ἐσπεσόντων ἐς τὸν λιμένα εἴκοσιν.

[72] Λεύκιος δὲ Λεύκολλος ὑπατεύειν καὶ στρατηγεῖν αἰρεθείς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέλος μὲν τι στρατιωτῶν ἦγεν ἐκ Ῥώμης, δύο δ' ἄλλα τὰ Φιμβρίου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερα δύο προσλαβὼν, σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους καὶ ἵππεας ἐς χιλίους ἐπὶ ἑξακοσίους, παρεστρατοπέδευε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ περὶ Κύζικον. καὶ δι' αὐτομόλων ἐπιγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατιὰν μὲν ἀνδρῶν

ἀμφὶ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἀγορὰν δὲ εἶ τι σιτολογοῦντες ἢ ἐκ θαλάσσης λάβοιεν, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκελεύετο μνημονεύειν. ὄρος δὲ ἰδὼν εὐκαιρον ἐς στρατοπεδεῖαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν εὐπορήσειεν ἔμελλεν ἀγορᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀποκλείσειν, ἐπεχείρει καταλαβεῖν ὡς ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον ἔξων. μιᾶς δ' οὔσης ἐς αὐτὸ διόδου στενῆς, ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττεν ἐγκρατῶς, ὥδε καὶ Ταξίλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων αὐτῷ παραινοῦντων. Λεύκιος δὲ Μάγιος ὁ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους διαιτήσας, ἀνηρημένου τοῦ Σερτωρίου πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἐπετόμφει κρύφα, καὶ πίστιν λαβὼν μετέπειθε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὑπεριδεῖν Ῥωμαίων παροδευόντων τε καὶ στρατοπεδευόντων ὅπῃ θελήσειαν. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιμβρία γενόμενα δύο τέλη βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν, καὶ αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέεσθαι: τί οὖν χρήζειν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος καὶ φόνου, δυνάμενον ἀμαχὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολέμιων; οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης συνθέμενος ἀνοήτως μάλα καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, περιεῖδε Ῥωμαίους διὰ στενοῦ παροδεύοντας ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐπιτειχίζοντας αὐτῷ μέγα ὄρος, οὗ κρατοῦντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀπισθεν ἔμελλον ἀγορὰν ἀδεῶς ἐπάξεσθαι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ λίμνη καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀποκλείσειν τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων, ὅ τι μὴ γλίσχρως ποτὲ λάβοι, οὔτε ἐξόδους εὐρείας ἔτι ἔχοντα, οὔτε βιάζεσθαι δυνάμενον ἔτι Λεύκολλον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ἧς κρατῶν κατεφρόνησεν. ὁ τε χειμὼν ἤδη πλησιάζων ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταστήσειν. ἂ θεωρῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος τοὺς φίλους ἀνεμίμνησκε τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγγελθὲν ὡς παρὸν ἐδείκνυ.

[73] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος διὰ μέσων ὤσασθαι τῶν πολέμιων, τούτου μὲν ὑπερεῖδε, Κυζίκῳ δὲ οἷς παρεσκεύασε πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπετίθετο, νομίσας ἐν τῷδε διορθώσειν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἷα δὲ εὐπορῶν στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, πᾶσιν ἔργοις ἐπεχείρει, τὸν τε σταθμὸν ἀποτειχίζων τείχει διπλῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποταφρεύων. χώματά τε ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυτο, πύργους καὶ χελώνας κριοφόρους, ἐλέπολιν τε ἑκατὸν πήχεων, ἐξ ἧς ἕτερος πύργος ἐπὶ ἥρτο καταπέλτας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη ποικίλα ἀφιεῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας δύο πεντήρεις ἐξευγμέναι πύργον ἕτερον ἔφερον, ἐξ οὗ γέφυρα, ὅποτε προσπελάσειαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξήλλετο. ὡς δ' ἔτοιμα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐγεγένητο, πρῶτα μὲν τρισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους Κυζικηνούς ἐπὶ νεῶν τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν, οἱ χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὀρέγοντες ἐδέοντο σφῶν κινδυνευόντων φείσασθαι τοὺς πολίτας, μέχρι Πεισίστρατος αὐτοῖς, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τεῖχους ἐκίρυξε φέρειν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐγκρατῶς, αἰχμαλώτους γεγονότας.

[74] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀπέγνω τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μηχανήν: καὶ ἢ τε γέφυρα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλατο ἄφνω, καὶ τέσσαρες ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄνδρες ἐξέδραμον. ὧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ φανέντι καταπλαγέντες οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τι ὑπεχώρησαν, οὐκ ὀξέως δὲ ἐτέρων ἐπιδραμόντων ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κατέωσαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ πῦρ καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέαντες ἠνάγκασαν πρύμναν τε κρούσασθαι καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ὀπίσω

μετὰ τοῦ μηχανήματος. ὧδε μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπeneχθέντων ἐκράτουν οἱ Κυζικηνοί· τρίτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπήγeτο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ μηχανήματα ὁμοῦ πάντα, πονουμένοις τε καὶ μεταθέουσιν ἐς τὸ αἰεὶ βιαζόμενον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κριοὺς λίθοις ἀπεκαύλιζον ἢ βρόχοις ἀνέκλων ἢ φορμοῖς ἐρίων τῆς βίας ἐξέλυον, τῶν δὲ βελῶν τοῖς μὲν πυρφόροις ὑπήντων ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προβολαῖς ἱματίων ἢ ὀθόναις κεχαλασμέναις τῆς φορᾶς ἀνέλυον, ὅλως τε οὐδὲν προθυμίας ἀνδρὶ δυνατῆς ἐξέλειπον. καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς φερεπονώτατα δὴ κακοπαθοῦσιν ὅμως γε τοῦ τείχους ἐκαύθη τι καὶ συνέπεσεν ἐς ἐσπέραν. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασέ τις ἐσαλάμενος ἔτι θερμόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νυκτὸς αὐτίκα περιωκοδόμησαν οἱ Κυζικηνοί. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν πνεῦμα σφοδρὸν ἐπιγενόμενον περιέκλασε τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων τοῦ βασιλέως.

[75] λέγεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐμπροίκιον ὑπὸ Διὸς τῇ κόρῃ δοθῆναι, καὶ σέβουσιν αὐτὴν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μάλιστα θεῶν. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς, ἐν ἣ ἰθύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπλαττον ἀπὸ σίτου, μέλαινα δὲ βοῦς ἐκ πελάγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς διενήχeτο, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον τοῦ στόματος ὑποδύσά τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσα ὤδευσεν ἀφ' αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς παρέστη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μετὰ χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος ἔθυσον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνεβούλευον ὡς ἱερᾶς τῆς πόλεως ἀποπλεῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Δίνδυμον ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον ἀνήει, καὶ χῶμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔχου, πύργους τε ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεκρήμνη. τοὺς δ' ἵππους ἀχρεῖους οἱ τότε ὄντας, καὶ ἀσθενεῖς δι' ἀτροφίαν καὶ χωλεύοντας ἐξ ὑποτριβῆς, ἐς Βιθυνίαν περιέπεμπεν· οἷς ὁ Λευκόλλος περῶσι τὸν Ῥύνδακον ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς, καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς μυρίουσ καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππους δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ σκευοφόρα πολλὰ.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Κύζικον, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Φρυγίαν Εὐμαχος Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐπιτρέχων ἔκτεινε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, Πισίδας τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὑπήγeτο καὶ Κιλικίαν, μέχρι τῶν τις Γαλατικῶν τετραρχῶν Δηϊόταρος ἐπιπολάζοντα αὐτὸν συνεδίωξε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν.

[76] καὶ περὶ μὲν Φρυγίαν τοιάδε ἐγίνετο, Μιθριδάτου δὲ χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος ἀφήρητο καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγοράν, εἴ τις ἦν, ὥστε πάμπαν ὁ στρατὸς ἐλίμωττε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σπλάγγων ἐγείνοντο βαρβαρικῶς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ποηφαγοῦντες ἐνόσουν. καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σφῶν ἀγχοῦ ἄταφα ρίπτούμενα λοιμὸν ἐπήγεν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμῷ. διεκαρτέρει δ' ὅμως ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἐλπίζων ἔτι τὴν Κύζικον αἰρήσειν τοῖς χώμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Δινδύμου. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπεσύροντο οἱ Κυζικηνοί, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν μηχανὰς ἐπίμπρασαν, καὶ αἰσθήσει τοῦ λιμοῦ πολλάκις ἐπεκθέοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενεστάτοις γεγονόσιν ἐπετίθεντο, δρασμὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐβούλευε, καὶ ἔφευγε νυκτὸς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐς Πάριον, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐς Λάμψακον. περῶντας δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Αἴσηπον ὃ τε ποταμὸς τότε μάλιστα ἀρθεὶς μέγας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Λευκόλλος ἐπιδραμὼν ἔφθειρεν. ὧδε μὲν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ πολλὴν βασιλέως παρασκευὴν διέφυγον, αὐτοὶ τε γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενοι, καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντος ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου. ἀγῶνά τε αὐτῷ θέμενοι μέχρι νῦν τελοῦσι, τὰ Λευκόλλεια καλούμενα. Μιθριδάτης δὲ

τοὺς ἐς Λάμψακον ἐσφυγόντας, ἔτι τοῦ Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, ναῦς ἐπιτέμψας ἐξεκώμισε σὺν αὐτοῖς Λαμψακηνοῖς. μυρίους δ' ἐπιλέκτους ἐπὶ νεῶν πεντήκοντα Οὐαρίῳ, πεμφθέντι οἱ στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Παφλαγονί καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καταλιπών, ταῖς πλέοσιν αὐτῶν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔπλει. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος πολλὰς ἐκατέρων διέφθειρεν.

[77] Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ γῆν εἵργαστο διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγείρας διέδωκε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦσιν. καὶ Τριάριος μὲν Ἀπάμειαν εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Ἀπαμέων συμφυγόντων ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο σφαγὴ· Βάρβας δὲ Προυσιάδα εἶλε τὴν πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, καὶ Νίκαιαν ἔλαβε, τῶν Μιθριδάτου φρουρῶν ἐκφυγόντων. Λεύκολλος δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς εἶλε τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐάριον δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Διονύσιον περὶ Λῆμνον ἐν ἐρήμῃ νήσῳ καταλαβόν, ἔνθα δαίκνυνται βωμὸς Φιλοκτῆτου καὶ χαλκοῦς ὄφεις καὶ τόξα καὶ θώραξ ταινίαις περιδέτος, μνῆμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης, ἐπέπλει μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥοθίῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, εὐσταθῶς δ' ἐκείνων ὑπομενόντων ἔστησε τὴν εἰρεσίαν, καὶ κατὰ δύο ναῦς ἐπιπέμπων ἡρέθιζεν ἐς ἔκπλουν. οὐ σαλευόντων δ' ἐκείνων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμυνομένων, περιέπλευσε τὴν νῆσον ἐτέραις ναυσί, καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκβιβάσας συνήλασε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πέλαγος οὐκ ἠφίεσαν, τὸν Λευκόλλου στρατὸν δεδιότες, παρὰ δὲ τὴν γῆν πλέοντες, ἕκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι κατετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ φόνος πολλὸς ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ φυγὴ. ἐλήφθησαν δ' ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενοι Οὐάριός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ εὐνούχος. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος, πῶν ὅπερ ἤγετο φάρμακον, αὐτίκα ἀπέθανε, Οὐάριον δ' ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξε Λεύκολλος· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν θριαμβεύειν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς τὴν πομπὴν ἐφυλάσσετο. καὶ Λεύκολλος περὶ τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέστελλε, τὰ γράμματα δάφνη περιβαλόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ νίκαις· αὐτὸς δὲ ἡπείγετο ἐς Βιθυνίαν.

[78] Μιθριδάτῃ δ' ἐς Πόντον ἐσπλέοντι χειμῶν ἐς δις ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα διεφθάρησαν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διερρίφησαν, ὡς ἐκάστην ὁ χειμῶν ἐξήνεγκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ῥηγνυμένης τῆς στρατηγίδος ἐς ληστῶν σκάφος, ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν φίλων, ὅμως ἐνέβη. καὶ ἐς Σινώπην αὐτὸν οἱ λησταὶ διέσωσαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀμισὸν ἀπὸ κάλῳ διαπλέων, πρὸς τε τὸν κηδεστὴν Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ ἐς Μαχάρην τὸν υἱόν, ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου, περιέπεμπεν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπείγων ἐκάτερον. ἔς τε Σκύθας τοὺς ὁμόρους χρυσὸν καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ Διοκλέα φέρειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτοῖς τε δώροις καὶ αὐτῷ χρυσίῳ πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἠυτομόλησε, Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ θρασέως προῖων ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα χειρούμενος προυνόμευεν. οἷα δ' εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπολεμήτου, τὸ μὲν ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων δραχμῶν αὐτίκα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ βοῦς μιᾶς, αἶγες δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούτων κατὰ λόγον. Λεύκολλος δ' Ἀμισὸν τε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν τινα τῇ Ἀμισῷ παρφοκοδόμησεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης Εὐπατορίαν τε ὠνόμαζεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ βασιλεία ἡγεῖτο, περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Θεμίσκυραν, ἣ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων

τινὸς ἐπώνυμος οὕσα παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν ἔστιν. τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν τοῖς Θεμισκυρίοις ἐπικαθήμενοι πύργους ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς καὶ χώματα ἐχώννουν καὶ ὑπονόμους ὥρυττον, οὕτω δὴ τι μεγάλους ὥς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπιχειρεῖν· καὶ οἱ Θεμισκύριοι ὅπας ἄνωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρύττοντες, ἄρκτους τε καὶ θηρία ἕτερα καὶ σμήνη μελισσῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον. οἱ δ' ἅμωι τὴν Ἀμισὸν ἕτερον τρόπον ἐμόχθουν, ἀπομαχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀμισέων καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθεόντων καὶ ἐς μονομαχίας προκαλουμένων. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Καβείρων, ἔνθα χειμάζων στρατὸν ἄλλον συνέλεγεν. καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

[79] ἰσταμένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Λεύκολλος διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐχώρει. προφυλακαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐκείνῳ κωλύειν τε Λεύκολλον, καὶ διαπυρσεύειν οἱ συνεχῶς, εἴ τι γίνοιτο. καὶ ἦρχε τῆσδε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου τις ἀνὴρ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· ὅς, ἐπεὶ Λεύκολλος ἐπέλαξε, Μιθριδάτῃ μὲν διεπύρσευσεν, ἐς δὲ Λεύκολλον ἠυτομόλησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὰ ὅρη διεξελθὼν ἐς Κάβειρα κατέβη. γενομένης δ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὸς ἵππομαχίας, ἡττώμενος αὐθις ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέθορεν. ὁ δὲ ἵππαρχος αὐτοῦ Πομπώνιος ἐς Μιθριδάτην τετρωμένος ἀνήχθη· καὶ πυθομένῳ βασιλεῖ τίνα χάριν οἱ περισωθεὶς δύναιτο ἀποδοῦναι, 'εἰ μὲν,' ἔφη, 'σὺ φίλος γένοιο Λευκόλλῳ, πάνυ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν· εἰ δ' ἐχθρὸς εἴης, οὐδὲ βουλεύσομαι.' ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνειν ἀξιούντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν οὐκ ἐξυβριεῖν ἐς ἀτυχοῦσαν ἀρετήν. ἐκτάσσω δὲ συνεχῶς, οὐ κατιόντος ἐς μάχην τοῦ Λευκόλλου, περιῶν ἀνάβασιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήτει. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ Σκύθης, ὄνομα Ὀλκάβας, αὐτόμολος ὢν ἐς Λεύκολλον ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἵππομαχίαν πολλοὺς περισώσας, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τραπέζης τε καὶ γνώμης καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀξιούμενος, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀναπαυομένου, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐβιάζετο, βραχὺ καὶ σύνηθες ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωστήρος ἐγχειρίδιον περικείμενος. κωλυόμενος δ' ἡγανάκτει, καὶ χρεῖαν τινὰ ἐπείγειν ἔλεγεν ἐξαναστῆσαι τὸν στρατηγόν. τῶν δὲ θεραπευτῶν οὐδὲν εἰπόντων χρησιμώτερον εἶναι Λευκόλλῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπέβη τὸν ἵππον αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐξήλασεν, εἴτε ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ δόξας ὑποπτεύεσθαι, εἴτε σὺν ὀργῇ, περιωβρίσθαι νομίζων. ἕτερόν τε Σκύθην, ὄνομα Σοβάδακον, ἐνέφηγε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ βουλεύειν ἐς Λεύκολλον αὐτομολίαν. Σοβάδακος μὲν δὴ συνελαμβάνετο,

[80] Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν κάθοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἱποκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ περίοδον ἐτέραν οὐχ ὁρῶν, ἠῦρεν ἐν σπηλαίῳ κυνηγὸν ὀρεῖων ἀτραπῶν ἐπιστήμονα, ᾧ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι κατὰ ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς περιῆλθεν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ κατῆι μὲν ἐκκλίνας καὶ τότε τὸ πεδῖον διὰ τοὺς ἵππους, χαράδραν δὲ ὕδατος ἐν προβολῇ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἀπορῶν δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡκροβολίζετο, μέχρι, φευγόντων ποτὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιδραμών καὶ ἐπιπλήξας ἐπέστρεφεν αὐτούς,

καὶ Ῥωμαῖους οὕτω κατεφόβησεν ὥς ἄνω διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν φεύγοντας οὐδ' ἀποστάντων αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς πολὺ, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἡγείσθαι τὸν συμφεύγοντά οἱ καὶ ἐπιόντα ὅπισθεν εἶναι πολέμιον· οὕτω πάνυ κατεπεπλήγεσαν. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης περὶ τῆσδε τῆς νίκης πανταχοῦ γράφων περιέπεμπεν. τῶν δ' ἱππέων πολὺ μέρος, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ μαχιμώτατον, ἐφεδρεύειν ἔταξε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τὴν ἀγορὰν τῷ Λευκόλλῳ φέρουσιν, ἐλπίζων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῶν αὐτὸν γενόμενον πείσεσθαι οἷον αὐτὸς ἔπαθε περὶ Κύζικον.

[81] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα μέγα ἦν, ἀποκλείσαι τροφῶν Λεύκολλον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντα Καππαδοκίας· οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς οἱ βασιλέως τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν σιτοφόρων ἐν στενῷ περιτυχόντες, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντες ἐς εὐρυχωρίαν προελθεῖν, ἀχρεῖον ὥς ἐν στενῷ σφίσι τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησαν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι φθάσαντες ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσασθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν τῶν βασιλικῶν, βοηθούσης οἷα πεζοῖς τῆς δυσχωρίας, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν, τοὺς δὲ διέρριψαν ὑποφεύγοντας. ὀλίγοι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαδραμόντες τε καὶ μόνοι περιγενέσθαι λέγοντες, μέγα ὄν σφίσι τὸ συμβὰν μειζόνως διεθρόησαν. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου πυθόμενός τε, καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τοσσηδε ἱππέων ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτίκα οἱ προσπεσεῖσθαι, φυγὴν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπενόει, καὶ τότε τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἐξέφερεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δέ, πρὶν τι γενέσθαι παράγγελμα, νυκτὸς ἔτι, σπουδῇ τὰ ἴδια ἕκαστος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ ὠθουμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας σκευοφόρων πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν. ὅπερ ἡ στρατιὰ θεωμένη καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐπιγινώσκουσα, καὶ τοπάζουσα πολλὰ ἀτοπώτερα, σὺν δέει, καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλθαι, τὸν χάρακα σφῶν ἐπιδραμόντες ἔλυνον, καὶ διέφευγον ὥς ἐκ πεδίου πάντοθεν ἀκόσμως, ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ἄνευ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάτου παραγγέλματος. ὣν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁξύτερόν τε καὶ σὺν ἀταξίᾳ γιγνομένων αἰσθόμενος, ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν τι ἐπεχειρεῖ, οὐδενὸς δ' ἑσakoύνοντος ἔτι, συνθλιβείς ὥς ἐν πλήθει κατέπεσε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵππον ἀναβληθεὶς ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐφέρετο.

[82] Λεύκολλος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐπραγίας πυθόμενος, καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐκφυγόντας ἔπεμπε διώκειν ἱππείας πολλούς, τοῖς δὲ συσκευαζομένοις ἔτι κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς πεζοὺς περιστήσας ἐκέλευε μὴ διαρπάζειν ἐν τῷ τότε μηδέν, ἀλλὰ κτείνειν ἀφειδῶς. οἱ δὲ σκευὴ τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆτας πολυτελεῖς θεώμενοι ἐξέστησαν τοῦ παραγγέλματος. αὐτόν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην οἱ καταλαμβάνοντες, ἡμίονόν τινα τῶν χρυσοφόρων ἐς τὸ σάγμα πατάξαντες, προπεσόντος τοῦ χρυσίου περὶ τότε γινόμενοι διαφυγεῖν ἐς Κόμανα περιεῖδον· ὅθεν ἐς Τιγράνην ἔφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίαις. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς ὅψιν οὐ προσέμενος, ἐν χωρίοις ἐκέλευσε διαίτης βασιλικῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπογνοὺς ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βάκχον εὐνοῦχον ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παλλακάς, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, ἀνελούντα. αἱ μὲν δὴ διεφθείροντο ξίφεσι καὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ βρόχοις, δεινὰ ποιοῦσαι· ταῦτα δ' ὀρῶντες οἱ φρούραρχοι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀθρόως ἐς τὸν

Λεύκολλον μετετίθεντο, χωρίς ὀλίγων. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ καθίστατο, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις περιπλέων ἦρει, Ἄμαστρίν τε καὶ Ἡράκλειαν καὶ ἐτέρας.

[83] Σινώπη δ' ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι καρτερῶς, καὶ διεναυμάχησεν οὐ κακῶς. πολιορκούμενοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς τὰς βαρυτέρας σφῶν διέπρησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας ἐμβάντες ἀπέδρασαν. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἠφίει δι' ἐνύπνιον, ὃ τοιόνδε ἦν. Αὐτόλυκόν φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι: ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς οὐ φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὀθόναις καὶ καλωδίοις περιέδησαν: οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Λεύκολλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθῶν ἔδοξεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεὶς ὄρᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλῦσαι κελεύσας, εἶδεν οἶον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἑωρακέναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐνύπνιον τοιόνδε ἦν, Λεύκολλος δὲ καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Σινώπῃ συνώκιζεν, ἐκφυγόντων μὲν ὁμοίως τῶν Ἀμισέων διὰ θαλάσσης, πυνθανόμενος δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς θαλασσοκρατούντων συνφοκίσθαι, καὶ δημοκρατία χρησαμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Περσικοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀναγαγόντος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκ προστάγματος Ἀλεξάνδρου πάλιν δουλεῦσαι τοῖς Ποντικοῖς. ἐφ' οἷς ἄρα συμπαθῆς ὁ Λεύκολλος γενόμενός τε, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενός γε καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ περὶ γένος Ἀττικόν, αὐτόνομον ἠφίει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμισέας κατὰ τάχος συνεκάλει. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Σινώπην καὶ Ἀμισὸν Λεύκολλος ἐπόρθει τε καὶ συνώκιζε, καὶ Μαχάρη τῷ παιδί τῷ Μιθριδάτου, Βοσπόρου τε βασιλεύοντι καὶ στέφανόν οἱ πέμψαντι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, φιλίαν συνέθετο, Μιθριδάτην δ' ἐξῆτει παρὰ Τιγράνους. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν, ὀφείλουσαν ἔτι τῶν Συλλείων ἐπιβολῶν, τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριζεν. καὶ ἐπινίκια ἔθυεν ὡς δὴ τὸν πόλεμον κατωρθωκώς.

[84] ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην, οὐκ ἐκδιδόντα οἱ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἐστράτεψε σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις. καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας, μόνα τὰ χρήσιμα τοὺς βαρβάρους αἰτῶν διώδευεν: οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐπολέμουν, οὐδ' ἠξίουσαν τι πάσχειν, ἔστε Λεύκολλον καὶ Τιγράνην ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις διακριθῆναι. Τιγράνη δ' οὐδεὶς ἐμήνυνεν ἐπὶόντα Λεύκολλον: ὁ γάρ τοι πρῶτος εἰπὼν ἐκεκρέμαστο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνταράσσειν αὐτόν τὰς πόλεις νομίσαντος. ὡς δὲ ποτε ἦσθετο, Μιθροβαρζάνην προὔπεμπε μετὰ δισχιλίων ἱππέων, Λεύκολλον ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ δρόμου. Μαγκαίῳ δὲ Τιγρανόκερτα φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψε, ἣν τινα πόλιν, ὥς μοι προείρηται, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι τῷ χωρίῳ συνώκιζε, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐς αὐτὴν συνεκάλει, ζημίαν ἐπιτιθεῖς, ὅσα μὴ μεταφέρειεν, δεδημεῦσθαι. τείχη τε αὐτοῖς περιέβαλε πεντηκονταπῆχη τὸ ὕψος, ἱπποστασίων ἐν τῷ βάθει γέμοντα, καὶ βασιλεία καὶ παραδείσους κατὰ τὸ προάστειον ἐποίει μακροῦς, καὶ κυνηγέσια πολλὰ καὶ λίμνας: ἀγχοῦ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἀνίστη καρτερόν. καὶ πάντα τότε Μαγκαίῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτρέψας, περιήει στρατιὰν ἀγείρων. Μιθροβαρζάνην μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεύκολλος εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκε, Μαγκαίον δὲ Σεξτίλιος ἐς

Τιγρανόκερτα κατακλείσας τὰ μὲν βασίλεια αὐτίκα, ἀτείχιστα ὄντα, διήρπασε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπετάφρευε, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἀνεκρήμνη τὸ τεῖχος.

[85] καὶ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Τιγράνης δέ, πεζῶν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀγείρας καὶ ἰππείας ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, προὔπεμψεν αὐτῶν ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα περὶ ἐξακισχιλίους, οἱ διὰ μέσων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ φρούριον ὡσάμενοί τε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαρπάσαντες ἐπανῆλθον. τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ στρατῷ Τιγράνης αὐτὸς ἤλανεν ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον. καὶ αὐτῷ τότε πρῶτον Μιθριδάτης ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν συνεβούλευε μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἱππικῷ μόνῳ περιτρέχοντα καὶ τὴν γῆν λυμαινόμενον ἐς λιμὸν αὐτοῦς, εἰ δύναιτο, περικλείσαι, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου περὶ Κύζικον ἀμαχὶ κάμινων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπολέσαι. ὁ δὲ γελάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν, προῆει συνεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγότητα ἰδὼν ἐπέσκωπεν οὕτως· ‘εἰ μὲν πρέσβεις εἰσὶν οἶδε, πολλοί, εἰ δὲ πολέμιοι, ἀάμπαν ὀλίγοι.’ Λεύκολλος δὲ λόφον εὐκαιρον ἰδὼν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Τιγράνου, τοὺς μὲν ἰππείας ἐκ μετώπου προσέτασεν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ περισπᾶν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἐκόντας, ἵνα τῶν βαρβάρων διωκόντων ἡ τάξις παραλυθῇ· τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν λόφον περιοδεύσας ἀνῆει λαθὼν. καὶ ὡς εἶδε τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῆς διώξεως οἷα νικῶντας ἐς πολλὰ διεσκεδασμένους, τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν πάντα ὑποκείμενα, ἀνεβόησε· ‘νικῶμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες,’ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα πρῶτος ἵετο δρόμῳ. τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα σὺν θορυβῷ φεύγοντα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. τροπὴ τε ἦν εὐθὺς ὀλοσχερής· οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ διώξει μακρὰν ἀπεσπασμένοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἰππέων ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέπιπτεν ὡς ἐνοχλούμενα. πάντων τε ὡς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει θλιβομένων, καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδόντων, ὁπόθεν ἡ ἥσσα αὐτοῖς ἄρχοιτο, πολὺς ἦν φόνος, οὐδενὸς σκυλεύοντος οὐδέν· ἀπηγόρευτο γὰρ ἐκ Λευκόλλου μετ’ ἀπειλῆς, ὥστε καὶ ψέλια καὶ περιανχένια παροδεύοντες ἔκτεινον ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἔστε νῦν ἐπέλαβε. τότε δ’ ἀναστρέφοντες ἐσκύλευον· ἐδίδου γὰρ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἤδη.

[86] γιγνομένην δὲ τὴν ἥτταν ὁ Μαγκαῖος ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ Τιγρανοκέρτων, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἱ ἐμισθοφόρουσαν αὐτῷ, πάντας ἐξώπλισεν ὑποπτεύων· οἱ σύλληψιν δεδιότες, ἀθρόοι σκυτάλας ἔχοντες ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ ηὔλιζοντο. Μαγκαίου δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπάγοντος αὐτοῖς ὠπλισμένους, διαδησάμενοι τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων, μετὰ τόλμης ἐσέδραμον ἐς αὐτούς· καὶ ὅσους ἀνέλοιεν, εὐθὺς ἐμερίζοντο τὰ ὅπλα. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἶχον αὐτάρκως, μεσοπύργιά τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξωθεν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας ἐδέχοντο. οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ πλοῦτος διηρπάζετο πολὺς, οἷα πόλεως νεοκατασκευοῦ, φιλοτίμως συνωκισμένης.

[87] Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτης στρατὸν ἄλλον ἡθροίζον περσιόντες, οὗ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπετέτραπτο Μιθριδάτης, ἡγουμένου Τιγράνου αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὰ παθήματα διδάγματα. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες. ἀντιπρεσβεύοντος δὲ Λευκόλλου, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ἢ οἷς συμμαχεῖν ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὁ μὲν κρύφα συντιθέμενος

ἐκατέροις, οὐκ ἔφθασεν οὐδετέροις ἀμύναι, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὄπλα τε εἰργάζετο κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην, καὶ ἐστρατολόγει σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἀρμένιους. ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἐς ἐπτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἡμίσεας, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέλυσε, τοὺς δ' ἐς Ἰλας τε καὶ σπεύρας ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἰταλικῆς συντάξεως καταλέγων Ποντικοῖς ἀνδράσι γυμνάζειν παρεδίδου. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λευκόλλου, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ λόφου συνεῖχε, τῇ λοιπῇ δ' ἵππῳ Τιγράνης τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις περιπεσὼν ἡσᾶτο. καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλησίον αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐσιτολόγουν τε καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον. κονιορτὸς δ' αὖθις ἠγείρετο πολὺς ὥς ἐπιόντος τοῦ Τιγράνου: καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Λεύκολλον ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους τῶν ἵππεων προῦπεμψε πορρωτάτω συμπλέκεσθαι τῷ Τιγρᾷ καὶ καλύειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὁδοιορίας ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην ... καὶ περιταφρεύων οὐκ ἠρέθιζεν, ἕως χειμῶν ἐπιπεσὼν διέλυσε τὸ ἔργον ἅπασιν.

[88] καὶ Τιγρᾷ μὲν ἐξ ὅλης Ἀρμενίας ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς ἀνεξεύγνυνεν, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς ἠπείγετο, τετρακισχιλίους οἰκείους ἔχων, καὶ τοσοῦσδε ἐτέρους παρὰ Τιγράνου λαβών. ἐφείπετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος, ἀναξευγνὺς καὶ ὅδε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. φθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέθετο Φαβίῳ τῷ δεῦρο ἐκ Λευκόλλου στρατηγεῖν ὑπολελειμμένῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε πεντακοσίους. ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θεράποντας ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας αὖθις ἀγωνιζομένου, παλίντροπος ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν, μέχρι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, πληγέντα λίθῳ τε ἐς τὸ γόνυ καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βέλει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀποκομισθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς σωτηρίας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων ἡρεμῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν οὖν ἐθεράπευον Ἄγαροι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, ἰοῖς ὄφεων ἐς τὰς θεραπείας χρώμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αἰεὶ βασιλεῖ συνόντες: Φαβίῳ δὲ Τριάριος, ἕτερος Λευκόλλου στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν μετ' οἰκείου στρατοῦ, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα παρελαμβάνεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ χωροῦντων ἐς μάχην αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου, πνεῦμα, οἷον οὐκ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, τὰς τε σκηνὰς ἀμφοτέρων διέρριψε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια παρέσυρε καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν οὓς κατεκρήμνισεν.

[89] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἑκάτεροι, ἀπαγγελλομένου δὲ Λευκόλλου προσιέναι, προλαβεῖν τὸ ἔργον ὁ Τριάριος ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπεχειρεῖ ταῖς Μιθριδάτου προφυλακαῖς. ἰσομάχου δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἐπιβαρήσας ἔκρινε τὴν μάχην, καὶ διασπᾶσας τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατέκλεισεν ἐς δώρυχα πηλοῦ, ἔνθα διεφθείροντο στήναι μὴ δυνάμενοι. τοὺς δ' ἵππεας ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐδίωκεν, ἐκθύμως τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας καταχρώμενος, ἔστε τις αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖος λοχαγός, οἷα θεράπων αὐτῷ συντροχάζων, ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε ξίφει πληγὴν βαθεῖαν, οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ νῶτα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐφίξεσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν εὐθὺς οἱ πλησίον συνέκοπτον, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπεφέρετο ὀπίσω, καὶ οἱ φίλοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ νίκης λαμπρᾶς ἀνεκάλουν σὺν ἐπείξει βαρεῖα.

ἐνέπιπτε δὲ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἀνακλήσεως θόρυβός τε καὶ ἀπορία, μὴ τι δεινὸν ἐτέρωθεν εἶη, μέχρι μαθόντες εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὸ σῶμα περίσταντο καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἕως Τιμόθεος αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰατρός, ἐπισχὼν τὸ αἶμα, ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ μετεώρου, οἷόν τι καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεδιόσιν, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῷς θεραπευόμενον ἐπέδειξεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἀνακαλέσασιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κατεμέμφετο, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἦγεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἐπεφεύγесαν ἤδη σὺν δέει. σκυλευομένων δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐφαίνοντο χιλίαρχοι μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ἐκατόνταρχοι δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ὅσον ἡγεμόνων πλῆθος οὐ ῥαδίως συνέπεσε Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἡττῇ μιᾷ.

[90] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι βραχυτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀνεξεύγνυ, τὰ μὲν εὐκόμιστα πάντα σιτολογῶν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερῇ διαφθείρων τε καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐπιόντα προαφαιρούμενος. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Ἀττίδιος ὄνομα, διὰ δίκην φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐς Μιθριδάτην πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ φιλίας ἀξιούμενος, ἐάλω τότε ἐπιβουλευὼν αὐτῷ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ δικαῶν βασανίσαι, Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ βουλευτὴν γενόμενον, ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ συναμαρτόντας ἠκίσατο δεινῶς. ἀπελεύθεροι δ' ὅσοι τῷ Ἀττιδίῳ συνεγνώκεσαν, ἀπαθεῖς ἀφῆκεν ὡς δεσπότη διακονησαμένους. Λευκόλλου δ' ἤδη τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς περιπέμπων ἐκήρυσσε Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλεῖν Λευκόλλῳ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος πολεμοῦντι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῶν οὐ πειθομένων τὰ ὄντα δημεύσειν. ὧν ἐξαγγελθέντων ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα διελύετο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. ὅσοι πάνυ πένητες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ δεδιότες τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέμενον.

[91] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Λευκόλλου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πόλεμος ἐς οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδὲ κεκριμένον τέλος ἔληξεν: ἀφισταμένης γὰρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνοχλούμενοι, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς θαλάσσης λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο πολεμεῖν ἄλλον τοσόνδε πόλεμον, πρὶν τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα διαθέσθαι. ὧν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης αἰσθανόμενος ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐσέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ὠχύρου. καὶ τάδε αὐτὸν πράσσοντα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περιεώρων ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἡ θάλασσα ἐκαθαίρετο. ὡς δ' ἐκεκάθαρτο καὶ ὁ καθήρας Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν Μιθριδάτειον πόλεμον ἀνελάμβανον αὐτίκα, καὶ ἐπέστελλον καὶ τοῦδε τῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατηγῆσαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ μέρος ὄντα τῆς Πομπηίου στρατείας τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτῷ πρὸ Μιθριδάτου κατειργασμένα, καὶ ἐς οὐδεμίαν συγγραφὴν οἰκειάν ἄλλην ἀπαντῶντα, ἐς τότε τὸ μέρος συναγαγεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν, ὡς ἐγένετο.

[92] Μιθριδάτης ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτει, Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πονούμενου, ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολὺν καθέξειν τῆς Ἀσίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πάντα ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πειρατὰς καθῆκεν, οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοις σκάφεσι καὶ μικροῖς οἷα λησταὶ περιπλέοντες ἐλύπουν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐμηκύνετο, πλέονες ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλας ἐπέπλεον. γευσάμενοι δὲ κερδῶν μεγάλων, οὐδ' ἥττωμένον καὶ σπενδομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος ἔτι ἐπαύοντο: οἱ γὰρ

βίου καὶ πατρίδων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφηρημένοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροαν, ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκαρποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν, μυοπάρωσι πρῶτον καὶ ἡμιολίαις, εἶτα δικρότοις καὶ τριήρεσι κατὰ μέρη περιπλέοντες, ἡγουμένων ληστάρχων οἷα πολέμου στρατηγῶν. ἐς τε ἀτειχίστους πόλεις ἐμπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐτέρων τὰ τεῖχη διορῦττοντες ἢ κόπτοντες ἢ πολιορκία λαμβάνοντες, ἐσύλων· καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἷς τι πλεόν εἴη, ἐς ναυλοχίαν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἀπῆγον. καὶ τάδε τὰ λήμματα, ἀδοξοῦντες ἤδη τὸ τῶν ληστῶν ὄνομα, μισθοὺς ἐκάλουν στρατιωτικούς. χειροτέχνας τε εἶχον ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους, καὶ ὕλην ξύλου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συμφέροντες οὐποτε ἐπαύοντο· ἐπαιρόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κέρδους, καὶ τὸ ληστεύειν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες ἔτι μεθεῖναι, βασιλεῦσι δ' ἤδη καὶ τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλους ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοιοῦντες, καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅτε συνέλθοιεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες, ἅμαχοι γενήσεσθαι, ναῦς τε καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο, μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τραχεῖαν λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὕφορμον ἢ στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι, φρούρια μὲν καὶ ἄκρας καὶ νήσους ἐρήμους καὶ ναυλοχίας ἔχοντες πολλαχοῦ, κυριωτάτας δὲ ἀφέσεις ἡγούμενοι τὰς περὶ τήνδε τὴν Κιλικίαν, τραχεῖαν τε καὶ ἀλίμενον οὖσαν καὶ κορυφαῖς μεγάλαις ἐξέχουσαν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ πάντες ὀνόματι κοινῷ Κίλικες ἐκαλοῦντο, ἀρξαμένου μὲν ἴσως τοῦ κακοῦ παρὰ τῶν Τραχεωτῶν Κιλικῶν, συνεπιλαβόντων δὲ Σύρων τε καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ τῶν Ποντικῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐφ' ἔθνων οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ χρονίου σφίσιν ὄντος τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ὁρᾶν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀσχεῖν αἰρούμενοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπελέγοντο,

[93] ὥστε πολλαὶ τάχιστα αὐτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐ μόνης ἔτι τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπάσης· καὶ γὰρ τινες ἤδη Ῥωμαίων στρατηγούς ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνενίκηκεσαν, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας περὶ αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ. ἅπλωτά τε ἤδη πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἡ γῆ τῶν ἔργων ἐνδεὴς διὰ τὴν ἀνεπιμιξίαν. ἢ τε πόλις ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἦσθετο μάλιστα τοῦ κακοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπηκόων σφίσι καμνόντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἴδιον ἐπιπόνως λιμώττοντες. τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο μέγα καὶ δυσχερές, ἐξελεῖν τοσάδε στρατόπεδα ἀνδρῶν ναυτικῶν, μεμερισμένα μὲν ἐς πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, κοῦφα δὲ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐς τὸ ὑποφεύγειν, οὐκ ἐκ πατρίδων ἢ φανερᾶς χώρας ὀρμώμενα, οὐδ' οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἴδιον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸ προστυχὸν ἔχοντα. ὥστε πολὺς ὢν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παράλογος, ἔννομον οὐδὲν ἔχοντος οὐδὲ βέβαιον οὐδὲ φανερόν, ἀμηχανίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον εἰργάζετο. Μουρήνας τε ἐγχειρήσας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξείργαστο μέγα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικός ἐπὶ τῷ Μουρήνᾳ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰταλικῆς τοῖς παραλίοις, ἀμφὶ τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἐπέβαινον οἱ λησταὶ σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ γύναια παροδεύοντα τῶν εὐπατρίδων καὶ δύο στρατηγούς αὐτοῖς σημείους συνηρπάκεσαν.

[94] ὧν οὕτε τὴν βλάβην οὕτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ἔτι φέροντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τότε σφῶν ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντα μεγίστης Γναῖον Πομπήιον αἰροῦνται νόμφ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τριετὲς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι θαλάσσης τε ἀπάσης ἢ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐντός ἐστι, καὶ γῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους ἄνω. βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ἐπέστελλον ἐς

πάντα συλλαμβάνειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν καταλέγειν ἔδοσαν καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν. συνέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ σφῶν στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ καταλόγου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, καὶ χρημάτων ἐς ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα Ἀττικά. οὕτω μέγα καὶ δυσεργές ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τοσῶνδε κρατῆσαι στρατοπέδων, ἐν τοσῇδε θαλάσῃ καὶ μυχοῖς τοσοῖσδε διαλανθανόντων τε εὐμαρῶς καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ῥαδίως καὶ ἐμπιπτόντων αὐθις ἀφανῶς. ἀνὴρ τε οὐδεὶς πω πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐπὶ τοσῇδε ἀρχὴν αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπλευσεν, ᾧ στρατιὰ μὲν αὐτίκα ἦν ἐν δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισχίλιοι, νῆες δὲ σὺν ἡμιολίαις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσiai, ὑπηρεταὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οὓς καλοῦσι πρεσβευτάς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδήρει τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ναῦς ἐδίδου καὶ ἱππείας ἐκάστω καὶ στρατὸν πεζόν, καὶ στρατηγίας σημεῖα περικεῖσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐντελὴς οὗ πιστεύοιτο μέρους ἕκαστος ὑπάρχοι, αὐτὸς δ', οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, αὐτοὺς περιθείοι καὶ ἐφορῇ μένοντας ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθησαν, μηδὲ μεταδιώκων τοὺς ληστὰς περιφέροιο ἐξ ἔργων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὄντων ἐς ἕτερα, ἀλλ' εἶεν οἱ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶντές τε καὶ τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαδρομάς ἀποκλείοντες.

[95] οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντα, ἐπέστησεν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείοις στήλαις Τιβέριον Νέρωνα καὶ Μάλλιον Τορκουάτον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν τε καὶ Κελτικὴν θάλασσαν Μάρκον Πομπώνιον, Λιβύῃ δὲ καὶ Σαρδόνι καὶ Κύρνῳ, καὶ ὅσαι πλησίον νῆσοι, Λέντλον τε Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ Πόπλιον Ἀτίλιον, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν Λεύκιον Γέλλιον καὶ Γναῖον Λέντλον. Σικελίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἴονιον ἐφύλασσον αὐτῷ Πλώτιος τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων μέχρι Ἀκαρνανίας, Πελοπόννησον δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἔτι δ' Εὐβοίαν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Βοιωτίαν Λεύκιος Σισινῶς, τὰς δὲ νήσους καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἅπαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Λεύκιος Λόλλιος, Βιθυνίαν δὲ καὶ Θράκην καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πόντου στόμα Πούπλιος Πείσων, Λυκίαν δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην Μέτελλος Νέπων. ὧδε μὲν αὐτῷ διετετάχατο οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν τε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκφεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ διώκοντες ἀφίσταντο μακράν, μηδὲ ὡς ἐν δρόμῳ περιφέροιντο, καὶ χρόνιον εἴη τὸ ἔργον, αὐτὸς δ' ἅπαντας ἐπέπλει. καὶ τὰ ἐς δύσιν πρῶτα ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ἐπιδὼν ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθεν. ὅθεν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, καὶ ἐκ Βρεντεσίου τοσῶδε διαστήματι τὴν ἑω περιπλεύσας, ἐξέπληξεν ἅπαντας τάχει τε ἐπίπλου καὶ μεγέθει παρασκευῆς καὶ φόβῳ δόξης, ὥστε τοὺς ληστὰς ἐλπίσαντας αὐτῷ προεπιχειρήσειν, ἢ οὐκ εὐμαρές γε τὸ κατὰ σφῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξειν, δέισαντας εὐθὺς τῶν τε πόλεων ἃς ἐπολιόρκουν ἐξαναχθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνήθεις ἄκρας καὶ ναυλοχίας ὑποφεύγειν, καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν αὐτίκα ἀμαχί κεκαθάρθαι, τοὺς δὲ ληστὰς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πανταχοῦ κατὰ μέρη.

[96] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Κιλικίαν ἠπείγετο μετὰ ποικίλου στρατοῦ καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν, ἐλπίσας παντοίας μάχης καὶ πολιορκίας αὐτῷ δεῖσιν ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀποκρήμνους. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐδέησε: τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ λησταὶ καταπλαγέντες, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ μὴ διὰ μάχης ἔλθοιεν, τεύξεσθαι

φιλανθρώπου, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, ὅπλα τε ὁμοῦ πολλά, τὰ μὲν ἔτοιμα τὰ δὲ χαλκευόμενα, παρέδωκαν, καὶ ναῦς τὰς μὲν ἔτι πηγνυμένας τὰς δ' ἤδη πλεούσας, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἐς ταῦτα συνενηνεγμένον καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ κάλως καὶ ὕλην ποικίλην, αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔργοις δεδεμένων. ὣν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἐνέπρησε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀπήγαγε, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀφῆκε· καὶ πολλοὶ κενοτάφια σφῶν κατέλαβον ὥς ἐπὶ νεκροῖς γενόμενα. τοὺς δὲ πειρατὰς οἱ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν οὐχ ὑπὸ μοχθηρίας ἀλλ' ἀπορία βίου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, ἐς Μαλλὸν καὶ Ἄδανα καὶ Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα ἔρημον ἢ ὀλιγάνθρωπον ἦν τῆσδε τῆς τραχείας Κιλικίας, συνώκιζε· τοὺς δὲ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐξέπεμπεν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ ληστρικός πόλεμος, χαλεπώτατος ἔσεσθαι νομισθεὶς, ὀλιγήμερος ἐγένετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε τὰς μὲν ἀλούσας μίαν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, τὰς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδοθείσας ἑξ καὶ τριακοσίας, πόλεις δὲ καὶ φρούρια καὶ ὀρμητήρια ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. λησταὶ δ' ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

[97] ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ὀξέως τε οὕτω καὶ παραδόξως γενομένοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πομπήιον μέγα ἐπαίροντες, ἔτι ὄντα περὶ Κιλικίαν εἵλοντο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα, ὅπη θέλοι, συντίθεσθαι τε καὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ φίλους ἢ πολεμίους Ῥωμαίοις οὕς δοκιμάσειε ποιεῖσθαι· στρατιᾶς τε πάσης, ὅση πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν ἔδωκαν. ἅπερ οὐδενὶ πῶ παντάπασι πρὸ τοῦδε ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐδόθη. καὶ ἴσως αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τὰδε μέγαν ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ γάρ τοι πόλεμος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν ἐξήνυστο ἤδη.

Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατὸν ἀγείρας μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἦν ἐπιλέκτος οἰκεῖος στρατός, τρισμῦριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ προῦκάθητο τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι δ' αὐτὴν Λευκόλλου διεφθαρκότος ἀπόρως εἶχεν ἀγορᾶς· ὅθεν αὐτομολίαις ἐπετίθεντο πολλοί. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐρευνώμενος ἐκρήμνη καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἔκαιεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν αὐτομολῶν ἦσσαν ἠνώχλει διὰ φόβον τῶν κολάσεων, ἐπέτριβε δ' ἡ ἀπορία.

[98] πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Πομπήιον πέμψας ἡξίου μαθεῖν, τίς ἂν εἴη τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσις, ὁ δ' 'ἐὰν τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἡμῖν παραδῶς' ἔφη, 'καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψῃς.' ὣν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος τοῖς αὐτομόλοις τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔφρασε, καὶ δεδιότας ὁρῶν ὤμοσεν ὅτι οἱ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ἄσπονδα διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσει τινά, οὐδὲ πράξει ποτὲ ὃ μὴ κοινῇ πᾶσι συνοίσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐνέδραν ποι καθεὶς ἰππέων, ἐτέρους ἔπεμπεν ἐκ φανεροῦ τοῖς προφύλαξι τοῦ βασιλεῶς ἐνοχλεῖν· καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς ... ἐρεθίζειν καὶ ὑποφεύγειν ὥσπερ ἡττωμένους, ... ἔστε περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας περιλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ φεύγουσι τάχ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνεσεπήδησαν, εἰ μὴ δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς προήγαγε τὸ πεζόν. οἱ δ' ἀπεχώρουν. καὶ τέλος ἦν τοῦτο τῇ πρώτῃ Πομπηίου καὶ Μιθριδάτου πεῖρα ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵππομαχίαν.

[99] ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄκων ὑπεχώρει, καὶ ἐσεδέχετο Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐλπίζων καθήμενον ἐν τῇδε τῇ διεφθαρμένῃ κακοπαθήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀγορὰν μὲν ἐπακτὸν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν εἶχε, περιελθὼν δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἔω τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ φρουρία αὐτῷ καὶ στρατόπεδα πολλὰ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους περιθεις ἀπετάφρευε τοῦ μὴ σιτολογεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐμαρῶς. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποταφρεύοντι μὲν οὐκ ἐπετίθετο, εἴθ' ὑπὸ δέους εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας, ἢ νᾶσιν ἐγγίγνεται πλησιαζόντων τῶν κακῶν, κάμνων δ' αὖθις ἐξ ἀπορίας τὰ ὑποζύγια ὅσα εἶχε κατέκοπτε, τοὺς ἵππους μόνους περιποιούμενος, ἔστε μόλις ἐς πεντήκοντα διαρκέσας ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἀπεδίδρασκε σὺν σιωπῇ βαθεῖαν δι' ὁδῶν δυσχερῶν. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν μόλις ἡμέρας ὁ Πομπήιος καταλαβὼν εἶχετο τῶν ὑστάτων, ὁ μὲν καὶ τότε τῶν φίλων ἐκτάζει κελευόντων οὐκ ἐμάχετο, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι μόνοις τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀνακόπτων ἐσπέρας ἐν ὕλαις ἠϋλίστατο πυκναῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ χωρίον κατέλαβε περίκρημον, οὗ μία ἐς αὐτὸ ἄνοδος ἦν, καὶ τέσσαρες αὐτὴν σπεῖραι προϋφύλασσαν. ἀντεφύλασσαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν Μιθριδάτην.

[100] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτῶν ὥπλιζεν ἐκάτερος, οἱ προφύλακες δ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ πρᾶνὲς ἀπεπειρῶντο· καὶ τινες ἰππεῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χωρὶς τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐβοήθουν τοῖς σφετέροις προφύλαξιν. πλειόνων δὲ σφισι Ῥωμαίων ἰππέων ἐπιόντων, οἱ ἄνιπποι τῶν Μιθριδατείων οἶδε ἀθρόως ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, ἀναβησόμενοί τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐπιούσι Ῥωμαίοις συνοισόμενοι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνω ἔτι ὀπλιζόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ προσθέοντας, καὶ τὸ γινόμενον οὐκ εἰδότες ἀλλὰ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβόντες, ὥς εἰλημμένου σφῶν ἤδη καθ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὰ

ὄπλα μεθέντες ἔφευγον. ἀδιεξόδου δ' ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου προσέπαιον ἀλλήλοις ἀναστρέφονοι, μέχρι καθήλαντο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ στρατιὰ τῇ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ προπέτειαν τῶν ἄνευ προστάγματος τοῖς προμάχοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐλομένων θορυβηθεῖσα διέφθαρτο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον εὐκόλον ἦν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κτείνοντι καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι ἀνόπλους ἔτι καὶ ἐν περικρήμῳ συγκεκλεισμένους. καὶ ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐς μυρίους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅλη τῇ παρασκευῇ κατελήφθη.

[101] Μιθριδάτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν μόνων ὠσάμενος ἐς τὰ κατακρημνα καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐνέτυχέ τισιν ἱππεῦσι μισθοφόροις καὶ πεζοῖς ὡς τρισχιλίοις, οἱ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συνείμοντο ἐς Σινόρηγα φρούριον, ἔνθα αὐτῷ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐσεσώρευτο· καὶ δωρεὰν καὶ μισθὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς συμφυγοῦσι διέδωκεν. φέρων δ' ἐς ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πηγὰς ἠπείγετο ὡς ἐκείθεν ἐς Κόλχους περάσων. δρόμῳ δ' ἀπαύστῳ χρώμενος τὸν μὲν Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα τετάρτῃ, τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις καθιστάμενος καὶ ὀπλίζων τοὺς συνόντας ἢ προσιόντας ἐς τὴν Χωτηνὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ἔνθα Χωτηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἰβήρας, κωλύοντας αὐτὸν βέλεσι καὶ σφενδόλαις, ἐλαύνων διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψαρον ποταμόν. Ἰβήρας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ οἱ μὲν προγόνους οἱ δ' ἀποίκους ἡγοῦνται τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν Ἰβήρων, οἱ δὲ μόνον ὁμωνύμους· ἔθος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅμοιον, ἢ γλῶσσα. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκούροις χειμάζων, ἦν τινα πόλιν οἱ Κόλχοι σύμβολον ἡγοῦνται τῆς Διοσκούρων σὺν Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιδημίας, οὐδὲν σμικρόν, οὐδ' οἶον ἐν φυγῇ, διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πόντον ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Βόσπορον ἐμβαλεῖν, τὴν τε Μαχάρους τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν, ἀχαρίστου περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένου, παραλαβὼν αὐθις ἐκ μετώπου Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης οὓσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν πόρον ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος, ὃν κληθῆναι νομίζουσι Βόσπορον Ἰοῦς διανηξαμένης, ὅτε βοῦς γενομένη κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν Ἰβήρας ἔφευγεν.

[102] ἐς τοσοῦτο παραδοξολογίας ἐπειγόμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐφικέσθαι ὅμως ἐπενόει, καὶ διώδευσεν ἔθνη Σκυθικὰ καὶ πολεμικὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια πείθων ἢ βιαζόμενος· οὕτω καὶ φεύγων καὶ ἀτυχῶν αἰδέσιμος ἔτι καὶ φοβερός ἦν. ἡνιόχους μὲν οὖν δεχομένους αὐτὸν παρῶδενεν, Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἐτρέψατο διώκων· οὓς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανιόντας φασὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ὡς Ἑλληνας ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, πέμψαντας δ' ἐπὶ ναῦς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὑπεροφθέντας μηνῖσαι τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ γένει, καὶ Σκυθικῶς ὅσους ἔλοιεν Ἑλλήνων καταθῆναι, πρῶτα μὲν ἅπαντας ὑπ' ὀργῆς, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ τοὺς καλλίστους αὐτῶν μόνους, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κληρουμένους. καὶ τότε μὲν περὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν· ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιν ἐμβαλὼν, ἥς εἰσὶ πολλοὶ δυνάσται, πάντων αὐτὸν κατὰ κλέος ἔργων τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ δυνάμεως ἔτι οἱ παρούσης ἀξιολόγου, δεχομένων τε καὶ παραπεμπόντων, καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ φερόντων καὶ κομιζομένων ἕτερα, ὁ δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, ἐπινοῶν ἕτερα καινότερα, διὰ Θράκης ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ διὰ Μακεδόνων ἐς Παίονας ἐμβαλὼν ὑπερελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὰ Ἀλπεῖα ὄρη· γάμους τε θυγατέρων ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς

δυνατωτέροις αὐτῶν ἡγγύα. Μαχάρης δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς πυνθανόμενος ὁδόν τε τοσαύτην ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἄγρια ἔθνη καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν, οὐδενὶ πῶ γεγονότα περατά, διοδεῦσαι, πρέσβεις μὲν τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ἀπολογησομένους ὥς ἀνάγκη θεραπεύσειε Ῥωμαίους, ὀργὴν δὲ ἄκρον εἰδὼς ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ χερρόνησον, τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσας, ἵνα μὴ διώξειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ. ἐτέρας δ' ἐπιπέμψαντος ἐκείνου, προλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιόντι ἐδεδώκει, πάντας ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαθεῖς ὥς ὑπηρετάς ἰδίου φίλου γενομένους ἀφῆκεν.

[103] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν εὐθύς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μέχρι Κόλχων ἐδίωξε, μετὰ δέ, σὺν δαμὰ δόξας αὐτὸν οὔτε τὸν Πόντον οὔτε τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην περιελεύσεσθαι, οὐδὲ μεγάλους ἔτι πράγμασιν ἐγχειρήσειν ἐκπεσόντα, τοὺς Κόλχους ἐπῆει καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπιδημίας, τὸ πάθος μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐθέλων ὁ Προμηθεὶ φασὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος. χρυσοφοροῦσι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου πηγαὶ πολλαὶ ψῆγμα ἀφανές· καὶ οἱ περίοικοι κώδια τιθέντες ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα βαθύμαλλα, τὸ ψῆγμα ἐνισχύμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκλέγουσιν. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν ἴσως καὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον Αἰήτου δέρος. τὸν οὖν Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀνίοντα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρέπεμπον, ὅσα ἔθνη γείτονα· Ὀροΐζης δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρτώκης ὁ Ἰβήρων ἐπὶ ταῖς μυριάσιν ἐλόχων ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρτον ποταμὸν, ὃς δώδεκα στόμασι πλωτοῖς ἐς τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν ἐρεύγεται, πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντων ποταμῶν, καὶ μεγίστου πάντων Ἀράξου. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξεύγνυ, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους συνελάσας ἐς λόχμην βαθεῖαν ὕλομαχῆσαι δ' εἰσὶ δεινοί, κρυπτόμενοί τε καὶ ἐπιόντες ἀφανῶς· αὕτῃ λόχμῃ τὸν στρατὸν περιστήσας ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ἅπαντες ὀμηρὰ τε καὶ δῶρα ἤνεγκαν. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε. πολλὰ δὲ ἔν τε τοῖς ὁμήροις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἠυρέθησαν γυναῖκες, οὐ μείονα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τραύματα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἐδόκουν Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι, εἴτε τι ἔθνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς γειτονεῦον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἐπὶ κλητοὶ τότε ἐς συμμαχίαν γενόμενοι, εἴτε τινὰς πολεμικὰς ὅλως γυναῖκας οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν Ἀμαζόνας.

[104] ἐπανίων δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἐγκλημα ἐς Τιγράνῃ τιθέμενος ὅτι συνεμάχει Μιθριδάτῃ· καὶ ἦν ἡδὴ περὶ Ἀρτάξατα τὴν βασιλείαν. Τιγράνῃ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωστο μὲν πολεμεῖν ἔτι, παῖδες δ' ἐκ τῆς Μιθριδάτου θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, ὧν δύο μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης ἀνιρῆκει, τὸν μὲν ἐν μάχῃ, πολεμοῦντά οἱ, τὸν δ' ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ, αὐτοῦ πεσόντος ἀμελήσαντα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενον ἔτι κειμένου. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Τιγράνης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίῳ ὑπεραλγῆσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστεφάνωτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπὼν ἀπέστη καὶ ὅδε, καὶ πολεμῶν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡττώμενος ἐς Φραάτην ἐπεφεύγει τὸν Παρθυαίων βασιλέα, ἄρτι τὴν Σιντρίκου τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν διαδεδεγμένον. πλησιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου κοινωσάμενος Φραάτῃ, συγχωροῦντός τι κάκεινον καὶ φιλίαν ἰδίαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον μνωμένου, κατέφυγεν ὁ παῖς ἰκέτης ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ ταῦτα ὧν

Μιθριδάτου θυγατριδοῦς. ἀλλὰ μέγα δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως κλέος ἦν τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ᾧ δὴ πίσυνος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Τιγράνης οὐδ' ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ἦει, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ δίκαια Πομπηίῳ, καὶ κατηγορήσων τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ Πομπηίου. χιλιάρχους δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱπάρχους ἐπὶ τιμῇ κελεύσαντος ὑπαντᾶν τοῦ Πομπηίου, οἱ μὲν ὄντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Τιγρὰν τὸ ἀκήρυκτον τῆς ὁδοῦ δεδιότες ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, ὁ δὲ Τιγρὰνς ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς κρεῖττον αὖ βαρβαρικῶς προσεκύνησεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις αὐτὸν ἄχθῆναι, μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενον. ὁποτέρως δ' ἦλθεν, ἐξελογεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ μὲν αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἑξακισχίλια, τῇ στρατιᾷ δὲ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἐκάστω, καὶ λοχαγῷ χιλίας, καὶ χιλιάρχῳ μυρίας.

[105] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε τῶν γεγονότων καὶ συνήλασσε τῷ παιδί, καὶ διήτησε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυνῆς, αἱ νῦν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ παιδί κληρονόμῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶκτητον αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευεν ἤδη μεθεῖναι. καὶ μεθεῖ Συρίαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης· εἶχε γὰρ δὴ καὶ τήνδε καὶ Κιλικίας τινὰ ὁ Τιγρὰνς, Ἀντίοχον ἐκβαλὼν τὸν εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα. Ἀρμενίων δ' ὅσοι τὸν Τιγρὰν πρὸς Πομπήιον ὁδεύοντα ἐγκατελελοίπεσαν, ἐν ὑποψία τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔτι ὄντα πείθουσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἐδέθη, καὶ μεταξὺ Παρθυαίους ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐθριαμβεύθη καὶ ἀνῆρέθη· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκτετελέσθαι οἱ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ᾧκιζε πόλιν ἔνθα τὴν μάχην ἐνίκα Μιθριδάτην, ἣ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου Νικόπολις κληίζεται, καὶ ἔστιν Ἀρμενίας τῆς βραχυτέρας λεγομένης. Ἀριοβαρζάνη δ' ἀπεδίδου βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας, καὶ προσεπέδωκε Σωφηνὴν καὶ Γορδυνήν, ἃ τῷ παιδί ἐμεμέριστο τῷ Τιγράνου· καὶ στρατηγεῖται νῦν ἅμα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τῷδε. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν Καστάβαλα καὶ ἄλλας. Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ παιδί περιὼν ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ πολλὰ μεταβολὰι μέχρι Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ, καθάπερ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ ἦδε ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθεν ἐς στρατηγίαν.

[106] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερελθὼν ἐπολέμησε μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ, ἕως ἐς φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αὐτῷ συνήλθεν, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ τῷ Μήδῳ, μέχρι ἔφυγεν, εἴτε Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχῶν εἴτε Τιγράνῃ πρότερον. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Ἀραπὶ τοῖς Ναβαταίοις, Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ἕως εἵλεν Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν. καὶ Κιλικίας δὲ ὅσα οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις ὑπῆκουε, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν, ὅση τε περὶ Εὐφράτην ἐστὶ καὶ κοίλη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Παλαιστίνη λέγεται, καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Ἰτουραίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὀνόματα Συρίας, ἐπιὼν ἀμαχί Ῥωμαίοις καθίστατο, ἐγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐσεβοῦς, παρόντα καὶ δεόμενον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς πατρῴας, ἡγούμενος δέ, Τιγράνῃ τὸν κρατήσαντα τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τῆς γῆς ἀπελάσας, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸδε προσκεκτήσθαι. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διοικουμένῳ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο Φραάτου καὶ Τιγράνου ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις συμπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν Τιγράνους ὡς φίλῳ συμμαχεῖν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀξιοῦντες,

οἱ δὲ τοῦ Παρθυαίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τιθέμενοι. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀζῶν Παρθυαίοις πολεμεῖν ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσματος, ἔπεμψεν ἀμφοτέροις διαλλακτάς.

[107] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἦνυστο τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ Παντικάπαιον, ἐμπόριον Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Πόντου καταλαβὼν κτείνει τῶν υἱέων Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου διὰ μητρὸς ἀμάρτημα τοιόνδε. φρούριον ἦν τι Μιθριδάτῃ, ἔνθα λανθάνοντες ὑπόγειοι θησαυροὶ πολλῶν σιδηροδέτων χαλκῶν πολλὰ χρήματα ἔκρυπτον. Στρατονίκη δέ, μία τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακῶν ἢ γυναικῶν, ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπετέτραπτο, περιόντος ἔτι τὸν Πόντον τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὸ φρούριον ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀγνοουμένους ἐμήνυσεν, ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ μόνῃ τῇδε, ὅτι οἱ τὸν υἱὸν Ξιφάρην ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰ λάβοι, περισώσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπιτυχὼν ὑπέσχητο αὐτῇ τὸν Ξιφάρην καὶ ἐδεδώσει φέρεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια· αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ὁ Μιθριδάτης κτείνει τὸν Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου, ἐφορώσης τῆς μητρὸς πέραθεν, καὶ ἐξέρριπεν ἄταφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν υἱοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἐς ἀνίαν τῆς ἀμαρτούσης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἔτι περὶ Συρίαν ὄντα καὶ οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ἔπεμψεν, οἱ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις τελέσειν φόρους ὑπισχνοῦντο· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δεῖσθαι τὸν Μιθριδάτην κελεύοντος, καθὰ καὶ Τιγράνης ἀφίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔφη ποτὲ ὑποστήσεσθαι, Μιθριδάτης γε ὢν, πέμψειν δὲ τῶν παίδων τινὰς καὶ φίλους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ στρατιὰν ἀθρόως κατέλεγεν ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυ, φειδόμενος οὔτε τινὸς ὕλας οὔτε βοῶν ἀροτήρων ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, ἐσφοράς τε πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βραχύτατα τῆς περιουσίας ἐπέγραφεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται τούτου πολλοὺς ἐνύβριζον, οὐκ αἰσθανομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· νόσον γάρ τινα ἐλκῶδη τοῦ προσώπου νοσῶν ὑπὸ τριῶν εὐνούχων ἐθεραπεύετο καὶ ἐωρᾶτο.

[108] ὥς δ' ἔληγε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ ἀγίγηρτο ἤδη, ἐπίλεκτοι μὲν ἐξήκοντα σπεῖραι, ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας, πολλὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος καὶ νῆες, καὶ χωρία ὅσα οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρὰ τὴν νόσον ἡρήκεσαν, ἐπέρα τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς Φαναγόρειαν, ἕτερον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔξων τὰς ἐσβολὰς, ἔτι Πομπηίου περὶ Συρίαν ὄντος. Κάστωρ δὲ Φαναγορεὺς ἠκισμένος ποτὲ ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος εὐνούχου βασιλικοῦ, τὸν Τρύφωνα ἐσιόντα κτείνει προσπεσών, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει. οἱ δέ, καίπερ ἤδη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐχομένης ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ ἐτέρων υἱέων τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, ξύλα περιθέντες τὴν ἄκραν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης καὶ Ὁξάθρης καὶ Εὐπάτρα, παῖδες τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, δείσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀρταφέρνης ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μόνος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παῖδες εὐμορφοί. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀντεῖχεν, ἐτέρα παῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγάμενος τῆς εὐψυχίας, δίκροτα πολλὰ ἐπιπέμψας ἐξήρπασεν. ὅσα δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν φρούρια, ἀρτίληπτα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενα, πρὸς τὴν θερμουργίαν τῶν Φαναγορέων ἀφίστατο τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Χερρόνησός τε καὶ Θεοδοσία καὶ Νύμφαιον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐστὶν εὐκαιρα ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ

τὰς ἀποστάσεις ὁρῶν πυκνάς, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων μὴ οὐ βέβαιος ἦ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς στρατείας καὶ δι' ἐσφορῶν βαρύτητα καὶ τὴν αἰε τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς ἡγεμόνας ἀτυχοῦντας ἀπιστίαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας δι' εὐνουχῶν τοῖς δυνάσταις τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς γάμους, αἰτῶν στρατιὰν κατὰ τάχος ἥδη οἱ παρεῖναι. πεντακόσιοι δ' αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἄνδρες· οἱ Μιθριδάτου βραχὺ διασχόντες ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς ἄγοντας εὐνούχους, αἰε πρὸς εὐνούχους κρατοῦντας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πεπολεμωμένοι, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήγαγον.

[109] ὁ δὲ καὶ τέκνων τοσῶνδε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἀφρημένος, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ὢν, οὐδὲ τῆς Σκυθῶν συμμαχίας ἡγούμενος ἂν τυχεῖν, ὅμως οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ συμφορῶν ἄξιον ἐνεθυμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς Κελτοὺς, ἐκ πολλοῦ φίλους ἐπὶ τῷδέ οἱ γεγονότας, ἐπενόει διελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐλπίζων οἱ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς ἔχθρῃ Ῥωμαίων προσέσεσθαι, πυνθανόμενος ὧδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν πρᾶξαι πολεμούμενον ἐν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ἐπιφοβώτατον ἐκ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. ἦδει δὲ καὶ ἔναγχος τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσαν ὑπὸ ἔχθους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτοῖς πεπολεμηκυῖαν, Σπαρτάκῳ τε μονομάχῳ συστᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνδρὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἀζιώσεως ὄντι. ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐς Κελτοὺς ἡπείγετο. τοῦ δὲ τολμήματος ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτου γενομένου, ὁ στρατὸς ὥκνει δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῆς τόλμης τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τε χρόνιον στρατείαν καὶ ἐς ἄλλοτρίαν γῆν ἀγόμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ὧν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ κρατοῦσιν. αὐτόν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἡγούμενοι, πάντων ἀπογιγνώσκοντα, βούλεσθαι τι δρῶντα καὶ βασιλιζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀργίας ἀποθανεῖν, ὅμως ἐνεκαρτέρουν καὶ ἡσύχαζον· οὐ γάρ τοι σμικρὸς οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

[110] ὧδε δ' ἐχόντων ἀπάντων, Φαρνάκης ὁ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ τιμωτάτος τε καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος, εἴτε δείσας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥς νῦν μὲν ἔτι συγγνωσόμενων τι Ῥωμαίων, ἀπολουμένης δὲ πάμπαν ὀλοκλήρως εἰ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ πατὴρ στρατεύσειεν, εἴθ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρί. ληφθέντων δὲ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς βασάνους ἀγομένων, Μηνοφάνης μετέπεισε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὥς οὐ δέον, ἀποπλέοντα ἤδη, τὸν ἔτι οἱ τιμωτάτον υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν· εἶναι δ' ἔφη τὰς τοιαύτας τροπὰς ἔργα πολέμων, ὧν παυσασμένων καὶ τάδε καθίστασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς προὔτεινε τῷ παιδὶ συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ δείσας τι μήνιμα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν εἰδὼς κατοκνοῦντα τὴν στρατείαν, νυκτὸς ἐς πρῶτους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτομόλους, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπεδεύοντας, ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅσος εἶη, σαφῶς εἰδόσιν ὑπερεπαίρων, πολλὰ δὲ μένουσιν ἐπελπίσας ἔσεσθαι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, προήγαγεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ὥς δ' ἐπείσθησαν οἶδε, τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ ἐγγὺς ἄλλα στρατόπεδα ἔπεμπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης. συνθεμένων δὲ κάκεϊνων, πρῶτοι μὲν ἅμα ἔφ' ἡλάλαξαν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις οἱ αἰε πλησίον τὴν βοήην μετελάμβανον. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπήχησεν, οὐ προειδότες μὲν ἅπαντες ἴσως, ὁξύρροποι δ' ὄντες ἐς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸ δυστυχοῦν ὑπερορῶντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ καινῷ τὸ εὐελπι

ἀεὶ τιθέμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συνεγνωκότων, ἡγούμενοι πάντας διεφθάρθαι καὶ μόνοι ἔτι ὄντες ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς πλείοσιν εὐκαταφρόνητοι, φόβῳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ συνεπήχουν. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐργόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἔπεμπε τινὰς ἐρησομένους ὃ τι χρῆζοιν οἱ βοῶντες. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, 'τὸν υἱόν,' ἔφασαν, 'βασιλεύειν, νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος εὐνούχοις τε ἐκδεδομένου καὶ κτείναντος ἤδη πολλοὺς υἰέας τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους.'

[111] ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος, ἐξῆι διαλεζόμενος αὐτοῖς. καὶ τι πλῆθος ἐκ φρουρίου τοῖς αὐτομόλοις συνέτρεχεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς προσήσεσθαι πρὶν τι ἀνῆκεστον ἐς πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, δεικνύντες ὁμοῦ τὸν Μιθριδάτην. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἵππον ἔφθασαν αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι φυγόντος, καὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ὡς ἤδη κρατοῦντες ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα: καὶ βύβλον τις πλατεῖαν φέρων ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ διαδήματος. ἅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ περιπάτου θεώμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὸν Φαρνάκην ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, φυγὴν αἰτῶν ἀσφαλῆ. οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν πεμπομένων ἐπανιόντος, δείσας μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδοθεῖν, τοὺς μὲν σωματοφύλακας αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους ἔτι παραμένοντας ἐπαινέσας ἔπεμψε ἐς τὸν νέον βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς προσιόντας ἔκτεινεν ἢ στρατιὰ παραλόγως, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλύσας ὁ περὶ τῷ ξίφει φάρμακον ἀεὶ περιέκειτο ἐκίρνη. δύο δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρες ἔτι κόραι συντρεφόμεναι, Μιθριδάτις τε καὶ Νύσσα, τοῖς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου βασιλεῦσιν ἡγυυμέναι, προλαβεῖν τοῦ φαρμάκου παρεκάλουν, καὶ σφόδρα εἶχοντο, καὶ πίνοντα κατεκώλυνον ἕως ἔπιον λαβοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ φάρμακον ἤπτετο, τοῦ δὲ Μιθριδάτου, καίτοι συντόνως ἐξεπίτηδες βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτο δι' ἔθος καὶ συντροφίαν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων, οἷς ἐς ἄμυναν δηλητηρίων ἐχρήτο συνεχῶς: καὶ νῦν ἔτι φάρμακα Μιθριδάτεια λέγεται. Βίτοιτον οὖν τινὰ ἰδὼν, ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν, 'πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς,' ἔφη, 'δεξιᾶς ἐς πολεμίους ὠνάμην, ὀνήσομαι δὲ μέγιστον εἰ νῦν με κατεργάσαιο, κινδυνεύοντα ἐς πομπὴν ἀπαχθῆναι θριάμβου τὸν μέχρι πολλοῦ τοσησδε ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βασιλέα, ἀδυνατοῦντα ἐκ φαρμάκων ἀποθανεῖν δι' εὐήθη προφυλακὴν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων: τὸ γὰρ δὴ χαλεπώτατον καὶ σύνοικον ἀεὶ βασιλεῦσι φάρμακον, ἀπιστίαν στρατοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ φίλων, οὐ προειδόμην ὁ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ πάντα προϊδὼν καὶ φυλαξάμενος.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Βίτοιτος ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐπεκούρησε χρήζοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ,

[112] καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθνησεν, ἑκκαίδεκατος ὢν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου Περσῶν βασιλέως, ὄγδοος δ' ἀπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀποστάντος τε καὶ κτησαμένου τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀρχήν. ἐβίω δ' ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι, καὶ τούτων ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβασίλευσεν: ἐς γὰρ ὀρφανὸν ὄντα περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. ἐχειρώσατο δὲ τὰ περίοικα τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ Σκυθῶν ὑπηγάγετο πολλούς, Ῥωμαίοις τεσσαρακοντούτῃ πόλεμον ἐγκρατῶς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν ᾧ Βιθυνίας ἐκράτησε πολλάκις καὶ Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίαν τε ἐπέδραμε καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμβάλων πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔδρασε, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἤρξε, μέχρι Σύλλας αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν συνέκλεισεν, ἑκκαίδεκα στρατοῦ μυριάδας

ἀποβαλόντα. καὶ τοσῶδε παίσματι συμπεσὼν ὁμῶς ἀνεκίνησε τὸν πόλεμον εὐμαρῶς. στρατηγοῖς τε συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, Σύλλα μὲν ἡττᾶτο καὶ Λευκόλλου καὶ Πομπηίου, πολλὰ καὶ τῶνδε πλεονεκτήσας πολλάκις, Λεύκιον δὲ Κάσσιον καὶ Ὀππιον Κόιντον καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον αἰχμαλώτους ἐλὼν περιήγετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ἐνῖκα δὲ καὶ Φιμβριαν καὶ Μουρήναν καὶ Κότταν ὑπατον καὶ Φάβιον καὶ Τριάριον. τὸ φρόνημα δ' ἦν ἀεὶ, κὰν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, μέγας καὶ φερέπονος. οὐδεμίαν γέ τοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπιχείρησιν, οὐδ' ἡττώμενος, παρέλειπεν, ὃς καὶ Σαυνιταῖς καὶ Κελτοῖς συνετίθετο, καὶ ἐς Σερτώριον ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. τρωθεὶς τε τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὸ πολεμίων, καὶ ἐτέρων κατ' ἐπιβουλᾶς, οὐκ ἀπέστη τινὸς οὐδ' ὥς, καίπερ ὦν πρεσβύτης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν τις αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν, οὐδ' ἡ τελευταία, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν ταύτην ὑπεριδὼν ἀπώλετο δι' αὐτήν: οὕτως ἀχάριστον ἢ πονηρία συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσα. φονικὸς δὲ καὶ ὠμὸς ἐς πάντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔκτεινε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρας. τὸ σῶμα δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν, ὥς ὑποδεικνύουσιν ὅσα ὄπλα αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν ἐς Νεμέαν τε καὶ Δελφούς, εὐρωστος δέ, ὥς μέχρι τέλους ἱππευσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίσαι καὶ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας, περιμενόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ διαστημάτων ἵππων, δραμεῖν. καὶ ἄρμα ἤλαυνεν ἐκκαίδεκα ἵππων ὁμοῦ. καὶ παιδείας ἐπεμέλετο Ἑλληνικῆς, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἦσθετο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ μουσικὴν ἠγάπα. καὶ σῶφρων ἐς πολλὰ καὶ φερέπονος ὦν περὶ μόνας ἡττᾶτο τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡδόνας.

[113] ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐπάτωρ τε καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπικληθεὶς Μιθριδάτης ὧδε ἐτελεύτα, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἐώρταζον ὥς ἐχθροῦ δυσχεροῦς ἀπηλλαγμένοι: Φαρνάκης δὲ Πομπηίῳ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Σινώπην ἐπὶ τριήρους ἔπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Μάνιον ἐλόντας, ὁμηρὰ τε πολλὰ ὅσα ἦν Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βαρβαρικά, δεόμενος ἢ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς ἢ Βοσπόρου γε βασιλεύειν μόνου, ἦν τινα καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν παρὰ Μιθριδάτου παρειλήφει. Πομπηίος δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χορηγίαν ἔδωκε, καὶ θάψαι βασιλείῳ ταφῇ τοῖς θεραπευτῆρσιν αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθέσθαι τάφοις, ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας ὥς τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων ἄριστον: Φαρνάκην δὲ ἀπαλλάξαντα πόνου πολλοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησατο, καὶ βασιλεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Βοσπόρου, χωρὶς Φαναγορέων, οὓς ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι πρῶτοι μάλιστα οἶδε ἀναρρωννυμένῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὀρμητήρια ἔχοντι, ἐπεχείρησαν, ἡγεμόνες τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ καταλύσεως αἰτίοι.

[114] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνὶ τῷδε πολέμῳ τά τε ληστήρια καθήρας καὶ βασιλέα καθελὼν μέγιστον, καὶ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας, ἄνευ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πολέμου, Κόλχοις τε καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ Ἰβηρσι καὶ Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ Ἀραβι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἐτέροις ἔθνεσιν ἐφόις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥρισατο Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἐς δὲ Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν οὐ παρήλθε, καίτοι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐσθῆτας ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα, εἴτε δείσας μέγεθος ἀρχῆς

ἔτι εὐτυχούσης, εἴτε φυλαξάμενος ἐχθρῶν φθόνον ἢ χρησμῶν ἀπαγόρευσιν, εἴτε ἐτέροις λογισμοῖς, οὓς ἐξοίσω κατὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἔθνων τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἠφίει συμμαχίας οὐνεκα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο, τὰ δ' ἐς βασιλεία διεδίδου, Τιγράνει μὲν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Φαρνάκη Βόσπορον καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνη Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ ὅσα προεῖπον ἕτερα. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ Σελεύκειαν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμεν. ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τετράρχας, Γαλλογραικῶν μὲν, οἱ νῦν εἰσι Γαλάται Καππαδόκαις ὁμοροί, Δηϊόταρον καὶ ἐτέρους, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Ἄτταλον καὶ Κόλχων Ἀρίσταρχον δυνάστην. ἀπέφηνε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαον ἱερέα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βασιλική, καὶ τὸν Φαναγορέα Κάστορα Ῥωμαίων φίλον. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις χώραν τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκεν.

[115] καὶ πόλεις ᾤκισεν ἐν μὲν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ Νικόπολιν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἐν δὲ Πόντῳ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ εὐπάτωρ Μιθριδάτης ἔκτισε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὑποδεξαμένην δὲ Ῥωμαίους καθιρήκει, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐγείρας Μαγνόπολιν ἐκάλει. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ Μάζακα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λελυμασμένην ἐς τέλος, ἤγειρεν αὖθις. καὶ ἐτέρας πολλαχοῦ κατενεχθείσας ἢ βεβλαμμένας διωρθοῦτο περὶ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἐν ἧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ληστὰς συνώκιζε. καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ πάλαι Σόλοι νῦν Πομπηιόπολις ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ Ταλαύροις, ἣν τινα πόλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἶχε ταμειῖον τῆς κατασκευῆς, δισχίλια μὲν ἐκπώματα λίθου τῆς ὀνυχίτιδος λεγομένης ἠϋρέθη χρυσοκόλλητα, καὶ φιάλαι καὶ ψυκτῆρες πολλοὶ καὶ ρυτὰ καὶ κλῖναι καὶ θρόνοι κατάκοσμοι, καὶ ἵππων χαλινοὶ καὶ προστερνίδια καὶ ἐπωμίδια, πάντα ὁμοίως διάλιθα καὶ κατάχρυσα, ὧν ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας παρέτεινε. καὶ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅσα Κλεοπάτρα Κῶις παρέθετο καὶ Κῶιοι Μιθριδάτῃ ἐδεδώκεσαν: τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ συνείλεκτο, φιλοκάλου καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν γενομένου.

[116] λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος διέδωκεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ, καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα χιλίας πεντακοσίας Ἀττικὰς, καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον: καὶ φασὶ γενέσθαι τάλαντα μύρια καὶ ἐξακισχίλια. αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Ἑφεσον καταβὰς διέπλευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, διαφεῖς ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα: ἐφ' ὅτῳ μάλιστα ὡς δημοτικῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπληξεν. καὶ αὐτῷ προσιόντι ἀπῆντων κατὰ μέρος, πορρωτάτω μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἐξῆς δὲ ὡς ἐδύναντο καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡ βουλὴ θαυμάζουσα τῶν γεγονότων: οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐχθρὸν τηλικούτον ἐλὼν τοσάδε ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσειλήφει, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὥρicket. ὁ δὲ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ λαμπροτάτης καὶ ἥς οὔτις πρὸ τοῦ δόξης, ἔτη ἔχων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, δύο ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας ὅλης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν καὶ Ἠνιόχων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἑώας. καὶ παρήγεν ἐς μὲν τοὺς λιμένας ἑπτακοσίας ναῦς ἐντελεῖς, ἐς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ θριάμβου ζεύγη καὶ φορεῖα χρυσοφόρα καὶ ἕτερα κόσμου ποικίλου, καὶ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάπου κλίνην, καὶ τὸν τοῦ

εὐπάτορος αὐτοῦ θρόνον. καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκόνα ὀκτάπηχυν ἀπὸ στερεοῦ χρυσοῦ παρήγε, καὶ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἐπτακισχλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ δέκα, ἀμάξας δὲ ὄπλων ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ νεῶν ἔμβολα, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων τε καὶ ληστῶν, οὐδένα δεδεμένον ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἐσταλμένους.

[117] αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου προῆγον ὅσοι τῶν πεπολεμημένων βασιλέων ἡγεμόνες ἢ παῖδες ἢ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἐς ὀμηρεῖαν δεδομένοι, τριακόσιοι μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Τιγράνους ἦν παῖς Τιγράνης, καὶ πέντε Μιθριδάτου, Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Ὁξάθρης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης, καὶ θυγατέρες Ὀρσάβαρις τε καὶ Εὐπάτρα. παρήγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κόλχων σκηπτοῦχος Ὀλθάκης, καὶ Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ οἱ Κιλικῶν τύραννοι, καὶ Σκυθῶν βασίλειοι γυναῖκες, καὶ ἡγεμόνες τρεῖς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δύο, καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ Λαοδικεύς, ἵππαρχος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου γενόμενος. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀφικομένων εἰκόνες παρεφέροντο, Τιγράνους καὶ Μιθριδάτου, μαχομένων τε καὶ νικωμένων καὶ φευγόντων. Μιθριδάτου δὲ καὶ ἡ πολιορκία, καὶ ἡ νύξ ὅτε ἔφευγεν, εἴκαστο, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἐδείχθη καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανεν αἱ τε παρθένοι αἱ συναποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐλόμεναι παρεξωγράφηντο, καὶ τῶν προαποθανόντων υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἦσαν γραφαί, θεῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν εἰκόνες καὶ κόσμοι πατέριοι. παρεφέρετο δὲ καὶ πίναξ ἐγγεγραμμένων τῶνδε: 'νῆες ἐάλωσαν χαλκέμβολοι ὀκτακόσιαι: πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν Καππαδοκῶν ὀκτώ, Κιλικῶν δὲ καὶ κοίλης Συρίας εἴκοσι, Παλαιστίνης δὲ ἡ νῦν Σελευκίς: βασιλεῖς ἐνικήθησαν Τιγράνης Ἀρμένιος, Ἀρτάκης Ἰβηρ, Ὀροΐξης Ἀλβανός, Δαρεῖος Μῆδος, Ἀρέτας Ναβαταῖος, Ἀντίοχος Κομμαγενής.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου τὸ διάγραμμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, γλαμύδα ἔχων, ὥς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πίστον ἔστιν: ἔοικε δ' αὐτὴν εὐρεῖν ἐν Μιθριδάτου, Κῶν παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἄρμα οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων οἱ δὲ πεζοί. παρελθὼν δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον οὐδένα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔκτεινεν ὥς ἕτεροι τῶν θριάμβους παραγόντων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπεμψε δημοσίοις δαπανήμασι, χωρὶς τῶν βασιλικῶν. καὶ τούτων μόνος Ἀριστόβουλος εὐθὺς ἀνῆρέθη, καὶ Τιγράνης ὕστερον. ὁ μὲν δὴ θρίαμβος ἦν τοιοῦσδε.

[118] ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιθυνοὺς καὶ Καππαδόκας ὅσα τε αὐτοῖς ὁμορὰ ἔθνη ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον κατοικεῖ τὸν Εὐξείνιον, βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἔτεσι μάλιστα καθελόντες, ὑπηγάγοντο σφίσιν ὑπήκοα εἶναι. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Κιλικίας τὰ μήπω σφίσι κατήκοα καὶ Συρίας τὴν τε Φοινίκην καὶ κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ προσήκοντα, ρύμη τῆσδε τῆς νίκης προσέλαβον, καὶ φόρους τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἔταξαν. Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Μυσίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Λυδίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμὸν ἔστι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν, Μιθριδάτου περισπάσαντος ὀξέως ἀνελάβοντο: καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὕτω σφίσιν ὑποτελέσιν οὖσιν,

ἐπέθηκαν φόρους. δι' ἃ μοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡγεῖσθαι μέγαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ νίκην μεγάλην καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγήσαντα Πομπήιον μέγαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μέχρι νῦν ἐπονομάζειν, ἐθνῶν τε πλήθους ἕνεκα ὧν ἀνέλαβον ἢ προσέλαβον, καὶ χρόνου μήκους, τεσσαρακονταετοῦς γενομένου, τόλμης τε αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φερεπονίας, δυνατοῦ σφίσιν ἐς ἅπαντα ὀφθέντος,

[119] ᾧ νῆες μὲν ἦσαν οἰκεῖαι πολλάκις πλείους τετρακοσίων, ἵππεῖς δ' ἔστιν ὅτε πεντακισμῦριοι καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ μηχαναὶ καὶ βέλη κατὰ λόγον, συνεμάχουν δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται ὃ τε Ἀρμένιος καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐπὶ τε Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὸν Θράκιον Βόσπορον περιπλέοντι. ἐς τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίων δυνατοῦς, στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις τότε μάλιστα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀνιστάντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, περιέπεμπε, καὶ Κελτοῖς φιλίαν ἐτίθετο ὥς καὶ τῇδε ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ληστῶν τε ἐνεπίμπλη τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ στήλας Ἡρακλείους, οἱ πάντα ἄμικτα καὶ ἄπλωτα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐποίουν, καὶ λιμὸν ἐπίπονον ἐξειργάσαντο ἐπὶ πλείστον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ δυνατόν ἐξέλειπεν ἢ πράττων ἢ διανοούμενος, ὥς μέγιστον δὴ τότε τὸ κίνημα ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν γενόμενον ἐνοχλῆσαι πᾶσιν ὥς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, ἢ πολεμουμένοις ἢ συμμαχοῦσιν ἢ ληστευομένοις ἢ γειτονεύουσιν. τοσόσδε εἷς οὗτος πόλεμος καὶ ποικίλος ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λήγων συνήνεγκε Ῥωμαίοις: ὥρισαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ δύσεως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην. διελεῖν δ' αὐτὰ κατὰ ἔθνος οὐκ ἦν, ὁμοῦ τεπραχθέντα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀναπεπλεγμένα. ἃ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐδύνατο αὐτῶν κεχωρίσθαι, κατὰ μέρη τέτακται.

[120] Φαρνάκης δ' ἐπολιόρκει Φαναγορέας καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Βοσπόρου, μέχρι τῶν Φαναγορέων διὰ λιμὸν ἐς μάχην προελθόντων ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ βλάψας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ φίλους ποιησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὄμηρα, ἀνεχώρει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Σινώπην εἴλε καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐνθυμιζόμενος καὶ Καλουίνῳ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπολέμησεν, ᾧ χρόνῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἦσαν, ἕως αὐτὸν Ἀσανδρος ἐχθρὸς ἴδιος, Ῥωμαίων οὐ σχολαζόντων, ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καθελόντι Πομπήιον, ἐπανιόντι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, περὶ τὸ Σκότιον ὄρος, ἔνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τριάριον ἐεκρατήκει: καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφευγε σὺν χιλίοις ἵππευσιν ἐς Σινώπην. Καῖσαρος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας οὐ διώξαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ Δομίτιον, παραδούς τὴν Σινώπην Δομίτῳ ὑπόσπονδος ἀφείθη μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐκτείνει πολλὰ δυσχεραίνόντων τῶν ἱππέων, ναυσὶ δ' ἐπιβάς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔφυγε, καὶ Σκυθῶν τινας καὶ Σαυροματῶν συναγαγὼν Θεοδοσίαν καὶ Παντικάπαιον κατέλαβεν. ἐπιθεμένου δ' αὐθις αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος Ἀσάνδρου, οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς ἀπορία τε ἵππων καὶ ἀμαθία πεζομαχίας ἐνικῶντο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκης μόνος ἡγωνίζετο καλῶς, μέχρι κατατρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, πεντηκοντούτης ὢν καὶ βασιλεύσας Βοσπόρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

[121] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Φαρνάκης ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Γάιος μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔδωκε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ συμμαχήσαντί οἱ προθύμως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ: νῦν δ' εἰσὶν οἰκεῖοι, Πόντου δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας πέμπεταί τις ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στρατηγὸς ἐτήσιος τὰ δ' ἑτέριοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου

δεδομένα ὁ μὲν Γάιος, ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὅτι Πομπηίῳ καθ' αὐτοῦ συνεμάχουν, ὅμως ἐφύλαξε, πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις ἱερωσύνης, ἣν ἐς Λυκομήδην μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου: πάντα δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, καὶ τάδε καὶ ὅσα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἢ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ἔχειν ἐτέροις ἐδεδώκεσαν, ἐς στρατηγίας Ῥωμαίων περιῆλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλόντος Αἴγυπτον, ὀλίγης ἔτι Ῥωμαίων προφάσεως ἐς ἐκάστους δεομένων. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ προελθούσης ἐξ τε τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον καὶ ἐπὶ ψάμμον τὴν πρὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν παρὰ στήλαις Ἡρακλείοις, εἰκότως ἢ τε νίκη μεγάλη καὶ ὁ στρατηγήσας Πομπήιος μέγας ἐκλήθη. ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Λιβύην, ὅση μέχρι Κυρήνης Κυρήνην γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἀπίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ Λαγιδῶν γένους νόθος ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν, Αἴγυπτος ἐς περίοδον τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης ἔτι ἔλειπεν.

THE CIVIL WARS

Book 1

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν: οὐ μὴν τι χειρῶν ἔργον ἔμφυλον ἦν, ἀλλὰ διαφοραὶ μόναι καὶ ἔριδες ἔννομοι, καὶ τάδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἰκόντες ἀλλήλοις διετίθεντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμός ποτε καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσὼν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅπλοις παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμών, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληζόμενον ἱερόν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρουμένων μὴ ἐντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶναι. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δυσμενέστερον ἔτι καὶ φιλονεικότερον ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ ἀρχαὶ διετίθεντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὥς ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε πλεονεξίαις ἑκάτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες. Μάρκιός τε ὁ Κοριοιανὸς ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἔρισιν ἐξελαθεὶς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἔφυγε τε καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πατρίδι.

[2] καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἂν τις εὔροι τῶν πάλαι στάσεων ἔργον ἔνοπλον, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτομόλου γενόμενον, ξίφος δὲ οὐδὲν πω παρενεχθὲν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐδὲ φόνον ἔμφυλον, πρὶν γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχῶν καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων πρῶτος ὅδε ἐν στάσει ἀπώλετο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἰλούμενοι περὶ τὸν νεὼν ἀνηρέθησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ μύσει, διαιρουμένων ἑκάστοτε σαφῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων κτιννυμένης τέ τινος ἀρχῆς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἀγοραῖς, δημάρχων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ ὑπάτων ἢ τῶν ἐς ταῦτα παραγγελλόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὕβρις τε ἄκοσμος ἐπεῖχεν αἰεὶ δι' ὀλίγου καὶ νόμων καὶ δίκης αἰσχροὶ καταφρόνησις. προϊόντος δ' ἐς μέγα τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανεραὶ καὶ στρατεῖαι μεγάλαί καὶ βίαιοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγίνοντο φυγάδων ἀνδρῶν ἢ καταδίκων ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς τιнос ἢ στρατοπέδου φιλονικούντων ἐς ἀλλήλους. δυναστεῖαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ στασιάρχοι μοναρχικοί, οἱ μὲν οὐ μεθιέντες ἔτι τὰ πιστευθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ξενολογοῦντες. ὁπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἐτέροις ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα: ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὥς ἐς πολεμίαν, καὶ σφαγαὶ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐγίνοντο νηλεεῖς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάντων ἐπαχθεῖς.

[3] ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς ἀπῆν, μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν στασιάρχων εἷς ἔτει πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Γράκχου, Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰώμενος μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον: οὗς δικτάτορας ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φοβερωτάταις χρεαῖς ἐξαμήνους τιθέμενοι ἐκ πολλοῦ διελελοίπεσαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας βίᾳ μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, λόγῳ δ' αἰρετός, ἐς αἰεὶ

δικτάτωρ γενόμενος ὁμος, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκορέσθη τῆς δυναστείας, πρῶτος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε μοι δοκεῖ θαρρῆσαι τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ἐπειπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μεμφομένοις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει, ιδιώτης τε ὁρῶντων ἀπάντων ἐς πολὺ βαδίσαι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθῆς οἴκαδε. τυσοῦτον ἦν ἄρα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέος ἢ τῆς ἀποθέσεως κατὰπληξίς ἢ τῶν εὐθυνῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αἰδῶς ἢ ἄλλη φιланθρωπία καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι.

ὥδε μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἔληξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἦν ὧν ὁ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο: [4] μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αὖθις ὅμοια ἀνερριπίζετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αἰρετὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναστεύων ἐν Γαλατία, τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι κελευούσης αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ Πομπήιον, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα οἱ καὶ στρατοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγούμενον, ὥς τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα παραλύειν, προυτίθει προκλήσεις ἢ ἄμφω τὰ στρατεύματα ἔχειν ἐς τῆς ἐχθρας τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον οὓς ἔχοι μεθέντα ιδιωτεύειν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ νόμοις. οὐ πείθων δ' ἐς οὐδέτερα ἐκ Γαλατίας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐσβαλὼν τε ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ διώκων ἐκφυγόντα περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἐνίκησε μεγάλην μάχην λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐδίωκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑποφεύγοντα. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπηίου πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐργασάμενός τε καὶ ἐπιμείνας, μέχρι καταστήσαιο αὐτῇ τοὺς βασιλέας. στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ᾧ διὰ μεγαλουργίαν πολεμικὴν Μέγας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελὼν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεύτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἤρέθη: καὶ στάσεις αὖθις κατεπαύοντο πᾶσαι, ἔστε καὶ τόνδε Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ζήλω τε τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατέκανον, δημοτικώτατον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον ἀρχῆς γενόμενον. ὁ γέ τοι δημὸς αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἐπεπόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐζήτουν περιόντες καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση καὶ νεῶν ἐπωκοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

[5] αἱ δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὖθις ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προῆλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ βουλευτῶν τε καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, κατὰ πλῆθος ἀθρώως ἐκατέρων, ἐγίνοντο, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελούντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν: τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα εὐνοίας ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία. προιόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὡς ιδιωτικὸν σφῶν κτῆμα διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἶδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτῳ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ὄνομα ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὧν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦδε μετωνομάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῇδε μετὰ βραχὺ συμπεσόντες, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρία προύχων Λέπιδον μὲν πρότερον αὐτῶν ἦν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, μεγίστοις δὴ φανεῖσι καὶ ἐς ἐκπληξιν ἅπαντας ἐμβαλοῦσιν, εἴλε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπιπλεύσας, ἢ χρονιωτάτη τε ἦν ἐς

τότε και δυνατωτάτη μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρχὴ καὶ μόνη Ῥωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥστε Σεβαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔτι περιών, ὅδε πρῶτος ὀφθῆναι τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ Γάιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δυνατώτερον ἔτι Γαῖου, ἄρχοντα ἀποφῆναι τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, οὐδὲν αἰρέσεως ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ προσποιήματος ἔτι δεηθεῖς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, ἐπιτυχῆς ἐς πάντα καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν γένος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπεν.

[6] ὥδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἢ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη: ταῦτα δ' ὅπως ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὄντα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἄμετρον καὶ φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἄρτυτον καὶ κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ', ὅτι μοι τῆς Αἰγυπτίας συγγραφῆς τάδε προηγούμενα καὶ τελευτήσοντα εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προαναγράψασθαι: ὥδε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Ἀντωνίῳ Κλεοπάτρας συμμαχοῦσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνθάδε μὲν, ὅσα ἐπὶ Κορνῆλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, ἐξῆς δ', ὅσα μέχρι Γαῖου Καίσαρος τῆς τελευτῆς. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν, ὅσα οἱ τρεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, τὸ περὶ Ἄκτιον Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς συγγραφῆς ἔσται.

[7] Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμῳ κατὰ μέρη χειρούμενοι γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνέγκιζον ἢ ἐς τὰς πρότερον οὔσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων ἐπενόουν, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς δορικτήτου σφίσιν ἐκάστοτε γιγνομένης τὴν μὲν ἐξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκίζομένοις ἐπιδιήρουν ἢ ἐπίπρασκον ἢ ἐξεμίσθουν, τὴν δ' ἄργον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὔσαν, ἢ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυνεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολὴν διαλαχεῖν ἐπεκλήρυττον ἐν τοσῶδε τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκπονεῖν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτη μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτη δὲ τῶν φυτευομένων. ὥριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ ἐλαττόνων ζώων. καὶ τάδε ἔπραττον ἐς πολυανδρίαν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν ὀφθέντος, ἵνα συμμάχους οἰκείους ἔχοιεν. ἐς δὲ τοῦναντίον αὐτοῖς περιήει. οἱ γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὐ τίνα σφᾶς ἔτι ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τά τε ἀγχοῦ σφίσιν ὅσα τε ἦν ἄλλα βραχεὰ πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ὠνούμενοι πειθοῖ, τὰ δὲ βία λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγεώργουν, ὠνητοῖς ἐς αὐτὰ γεωργοῖς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης ἅμα καὶ τῆσδε τῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολὺ κέρδος ἐκ πολυπαιδίας θεραπόντων ἀκινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ἀστρατείας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ πάντα ἐπλούτουν, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήθυε, τοὺς δ' Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενία τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρατεῖαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἀργίας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θέρāπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

[8] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὥς οὔτε συμμαχῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔτι εὐπορήσων οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γεννησομένης ἀκινδύνου διὰ πλῆθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων: διόρθωσιν δ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦντες, ὥς οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ὄν οὐδὲ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἄνδρας τοσοῦσδε ἐκ τοσοῦδε χρόνου κτήσιν τοσήνδε ἀφελέσθαι φυτῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἔκριναν μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα μηδὲ προβατεύειν ἑκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταζαν, οἱ τὰ γιγνώμενα φυλάττειν τε καὶ μνηύειν ἔμελλον.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε νόμῳ περιλαβόντες ἐπώμοσαν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ζημίαν ὥρισαν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ' ὀλίγον διαπεπράσσεσθαι: φροντίς δ' οὐδεμία ἦν οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε τῶν ὄρκων, ἀλλ' οἵτινες καὶ ἐδόκουν φροντίσαι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει διένεμον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τέλεον κατεφρόνουν, [9] μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν εἰπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ὁμοῦ πάντων γνωριμώτατος ἅπασι, δημαρχῶν ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους ὥς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγγενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ ὀλιγανδρίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς διόρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας ὥς ἀστρατεύω καὶ οὔποτε ἐς δεσπότης πιστῷ, τὸ ἔναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθος ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενον, ηὔξημένων κάκεινων ἀπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ ῥάδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε μῆκος χρόνου καὶ τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέντα. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα τῶν πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλέον ἔχειν. παισὶ δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων: καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τρεῖς αἶρετοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν τοῖς πένησι.

[10] τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὃ μάλιστα ἠνώχλει τοὺς πλουσίους, οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ὥς προτερον τοῦ νόμου καταφρονεῖν διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας οὐδὲ ὠνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κληρουμένων: ὁ γάρ τοι Γράκχος καὶ τότε προϊδόμενος ἀπηγόρευε μὴ πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος ὠλοφύροντο καὶ προῦφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχαῖά τε ἔργα ἑαυτῶν καὶ φυτὰ καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμὴν ἔνιοι δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εἰ καὶ τήνδε μετὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπολέσουσι, τάφους τε ἔνιοι πατέρων ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ διαίρέσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὥς πατράσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ προῖκας γυναικῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλωμένας ἢ τὴν γῆν παισὶν ἐμπροίκιον δεδομένην, δανεισταὶ τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης ἐπεδείκνυν, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἦν ὅλος οἰωγὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις. οἱ δ' αὖ πένητες ἀντωδύροντο ἐξ εὐπορίας ἐς πενίαν ἐσχάτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς ἀγονίαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι παιδοτροφεῖν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε ὅσας στρατεύσαιντο τὴν γῆν τήνδε περιποιούμενοι, κατέλεγον καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται, ὠνείδιζόν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς αἰρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν θεράποντας, ἄπιστον ἔθνος καὶ δυσμενὲς αἰεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀστράτευτον. τοιαῦθ' ἑκατέρων ὀδυρομένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικαλούντων, πλῆθος ἄλλο, ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκις πόλεσιν ἢ ταῖς ἰσοπολίτισιν ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, δεδιότες ὁμοίως ἐπήεσαν καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν διεμερίζοντο. πλήθει τε

θαρροῦντες ἐξετραχύνοντο καὶ στάσεις ἐξάπτοντες ἀμέτρους τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου περιέμενον, οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρήσοντες αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κύριον, οἱ δ' ὡς κυρώσοντες ἐξ ἅπαντος. φιλονικία δὲ ἐκατέρους προσέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῇ χρεΐα καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.

[11] Γράκχῳ δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλευματος ἦν οὐκ ἐς εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τῇ ὠφελείᾳ μάλιστα αἰωρούμενος, ὡς οὐ τι μείζον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον δυναμένης ποτὲ παθεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμεῖτο. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προεῖπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ δίκαιον τὰ κοινὰ κοινῇ διανέμεσθαι καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰεὶ θεράπωντος ὁ πολίτης καὶ χρησιμώτερος ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνούτερος ὁ κοινῶνός. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν ὡς ἄδοξον ἐπενεγκὼν αὐθις ἐπῆει τὰς τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας καὶ φόβους διεξιὼν, ὅτι πλείστης γῆς ἐκ πολέμου βία κατέχοντες καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης χώραν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχοντες κινδυνεύουσιν ἐν τῷδε περὶ πάντων, ἢ κτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ φθόνον ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ὦν τοῦ μὲν τὴν δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον ὑπερεπαίρων ἐκέλευε τοὺς πλουσίους ἐνθυμουμένους ταῦτα ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας τοῖς παιδοτροφοῦσι χαρίσασθαι καὶ μὴ, ἐν ᾧ περὶ μικρῶν διαφέρονται, τῶν πλεόνων ὑπεριδεῖν, μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτήσιν ἐς αἰεὶ βέβαιον ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίων πλέθρων, καὶ παισίν, οἷς εἰσὶ παῖδες, ἐκάστῳ καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεια. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὁ Γράκχος εἰπὼν τοὺς τε πένητας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πόθῳ κτήσεως ἐχρῶντο, ἐρεθίσας ἐκέλευε τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον ἀναγνῶναι.

[12] Μάρκος δ' Ὀκτάουιος δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὑπὸ τῶν κτηματικῶν διακωλύειν παρεσκευασμένος, καὶ ὦν αἰεὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων δυνατότερος. ἐκέλευε τὸν γραμματέα σιγᾶν. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ μεμψάμενος ὁ Γράκχος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀγορὰν ἀνέθετο ... φυλακὴν τε παραστησάμενος ἱκανὴν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος Ὀκτάουιον ἐκέλευε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγινώσκειν. καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ Ὀκταοίου κωλύοντος ἐσιώπα. λοιδοριῶν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου θορυβοῦντος ἱκανῶς, οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἡξίουσαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ βουλῇ, περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἀρπάσας τὸ λεχθέν, ὡς δὴ πᾶσι τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν ἀρέσοντος τοῦ νόμου, διέτρεχεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. ἐκεῖ δ' ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, αὐθις ἐκδραμὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφη διαψήφισιν προθήσειν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀγορὰν περὶ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ὀκταοίου, εἰ χρὴ δήμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπειτέ γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς αὐθις ἐνίστατο, ὁ δὲ προτέραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφον ἀνεδίδου.

καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισαμένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδεῖτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπῆγεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τότε φυλῶν πέντε καὶ

τριάκοντα καὶ συνδραμουσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ τῶν προτέρων ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἡ μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῃ τὸ κῦρος ἐμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὖθις, ἐν ὧσιν τοῦ δήμου, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῇ Ὀκταουίᾳ λιπαρῶς ἐνέκειτο μὴ ἔργον ὀσιώτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ἰταλία πάσῃ συγχέαι μηδὲ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου τοσὴνδε ἀνατρέψαι, ᾧ τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένῳ δήμαρχον ὄντα ἤρμοζε, καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρουμένην περιδεῖν ἐπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τὰδε λέγων καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ἄκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐπῆγε τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάουιος αὐτίκα ιδιώτης γενόμενος διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε, Κόιντος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἤρεϊτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο.

[13] διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτός, ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου καὶ ὃς ἐκίδευε τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος, πᾶν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὥς δεδιότος, μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθεῖ τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος δὲ μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἷα δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἐνὸς γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ' ἠσσημένοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν οὐ χαίρήσιν Γράκχον, αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ιδιώτης, ἀρχὴν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ στάσεως τοσὴνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβalόντα.

[14] θέρος δ' ἦν ἤδη καὶ προγραφαὶ δημάρχων ἐς τὸ μέλλον: καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι τῆς χειροτονίας πλησιαζούσης ἐνδηλοὶ σαφῶς ἦσαν ἐσπουδακότες ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς μάλιστα Γράκχῳ πολεμίαις. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένου δέισας, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔσοιτο δήμαρχος, συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὥς ἐν θέρει, συναλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ὀλίγης ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἔτι οὔσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἄστει δῆμον κατέφευγε, καὶ περιῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστων ἐδεῖτο δῆμαρχον αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐλέσθαι, κινδυνεύοντα δι' ἐκείνους. γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας δύο μὲν ἔφθασαν αἱ πρῶται φυλαὶ Γράκχον ἀποφῆναι, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων ἐνισταμένων οὐκ ἔννομον εἶναι δις ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν καὶ Ρουβρίου δημάρχου τοῦ προεστάναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης διειληχότος ἐνδοιάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, Μούμμιος αὐτόν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀκταουίᾳ δημαρχεῖν ἠρημένος, ἐκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δῆμαρχοι περὶ τῆς ἐπιστάσιος ἠξίουσαν ἀνακληροῦσθαι: Ρουβρίου γὰρ τοῦ λαχόντος ἐκστάντος αὖθις ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν διακλήρωσιν περιέειναι. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε πολλῆς γενομένης ὁ Γράκχος ἐλταττούμενος τὴν μὲν χειροτονίαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνέθετο, πάντα δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἐμελανειμόνει τε ἔτι ὢν ἔναρχος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπάγων ἐκάστοις συνίστη καὶ παρετίθετο ὥς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτίκα ἀπολούμενος.

[15] οἴκτου δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς πένητας ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὥς οὐκ ἐν ἰσονόμῳ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ δουλευσόντων κατὰ κράτος τοῖς πλουσίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου, τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σὺν τε οἰμωγῇ προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν

οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπικελευόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος ἔτι νυκτὸς τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγὼν καὶ σημείον, εἰ καὶ μάχης δεήσειεν, ὑποδείξας κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεῶν, ἔνθα χειροτονήσιν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οὐκ ἐόντων ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοῆς ἄφνω παρὰ τῶν συνειδόντων γενομένης χειρὲς τε ἦσαν ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττον οἷά τινες δορυφόροι, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, ῥάβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀρπάσαντές τε καὶ διακλᾶσαντες ἐς πολλά, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξήλαυνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῶδε ταραχῇ καὶ τραύμασιν, ὥς τοὺς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν ἐκ μέσον, καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλείσαι, δρόμον τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμον εἶναι καὶ φυγὴν καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἀκριβῆ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημάρχους ὁ Γράκχος παραλύσειε τῆς ἀρχῆς 'οὐ γὰρ ὁρωμένων αὐτῶν εἶκαζον οὕτως', τῶν δ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον δῆμαρχον ἄνευ χειροτονίας ἀποφαίνοι.

[16] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ βουλὴ συνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερὸν. καὶ μοι θαῦμα καταφαίνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῖσδε φόβοις διὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασεσωσμένους τότε μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώτατον τοῖς προτέροις τότε τὸ ἔργον εὐρεθὲν μὴδ' ἐν μνήμῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄρα γενέσθαι μήτε τότε μήθ' ὕστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν ἐς τὸ Καπιτω?λίον ἀνῆσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς λεγόμενος ἐξῆρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ, Κορνῆλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς: ἐβόα τε μέγιστον ἔπεσθαι οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σῶζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος πλεονάς οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπισπώμενος, εἴτε πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὥς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, εἴτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν. ἀνελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχείοις ἐπιδραμόντι εἶξαν μὲν ὥς κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἀνδρὶ ἀρίστῳ, καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἅμα οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιούσαν: οἱ δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περισπᾶσαντες, ὅσα τε βάθρα καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ὥς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνενήνεκτο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημα κατερρίπτουν. κὰν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοὶ τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀνῆρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρριψαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[17] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς, ἀρίστου βουλευμάτος ἔνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσίων, ἀνήρητο ἔτι δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τότε μύσος γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν, αἰεὶ τινος ὁμοίου γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχῳ φόνῳ διήρητο ἐς λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτείροντες αὐτοὺς τε κάκεῖνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὥς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαν, οἱ δ' ἐξειργάσθαι σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι πᾶν, ὅσον ἐβούλοντο.

[18] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν, ὅτε Ἀριστόνικος Ῥωμαίοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ: ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Γράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου,

ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἅμα τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γράκῳ διανέμειν Φούλβιος Φλάκκος καὶ Παπίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελούντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι κατηγόρους ἐκήρυττον ἐνδεικνύναι. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν δικῶν χαλεπῶν· ὅση γὰρ ἄλλη πλησιάζουσα τῇδε ἐπέπρατο ἢ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιδηρήτο, διὰ τὸ τῆσδε μέτρον ἐξητάζετο ἅπασα, ὅπως τε ἐπέπρατο καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδηρήτο, οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια οὔτε τὰς κληρουχίας ἔτι ἐχόντων ἀπάντων· ἃ δὲ καὶ εὐρίσκετο, ἀμφίλογα ἦν. ἀναμετρομένης τε αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐκ πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψιλὴν μετετίθεντο, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐνεργῶν ἐς ἀργὸν ἢ λίμνας ἢ τέλματα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτήτοις ἀκριβῆ πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπῆρε πολλοὺς τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας τὴν ἐκατέρας ὅψιν συγγέαι· χρόνος τε ἐπελθὼν ἐνεόχμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσιῶν ἀδίκημα καίπερ ὄν μέγα δυσεπίγνωστον ἦν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πάντων ἀνάστασις ἐγίνετο μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικιζομένων ἐς ἄλλότρια.

[19] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπέξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς Καγχηδόνα ἐπόρθησεν, ἡξίου προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐς τοὺς πολέμους αὐτοῖς κεκρημένος προθυμοτάτοις ὑπεριδεῖν τε ὤκησε καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸν μὲν Γράκχου νόμον οὐκ ἔψεγε διὰ τὸν δῆμον σαφῶς, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε δυσχέρειαν ἐπεξιῶν ἡξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν διαιρούντων ὡς ὑπόπτων τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐτέρων λέγεσθαι. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔπεισεν, εἶναι δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ· καὶ Τουδιτανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων ἐδόθη δικάζειν. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν ἀψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἰδὼν ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν· οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν διανέμοντες, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἐς δίκην, ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦσαν. καὶ μῖσος ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο εἰς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγανάκτησις, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὑπατόν τε δις ἐλόμενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα σφίσι ἐώρων. ταῦτα δ', ὅσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦσαν ἐχθροί, κατιδόντες ἐβόων, ὡς λῦσαι τὸν Γράκχου νόμον ὅλως διεγνωκῶς μέλλοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔνοπλον φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.

[20] ὣν ὁ δῆμος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδίει, μέχρις ὁ Σκιπίων, ἐσπέρας παραθέμενος ἑαυτῷ δέλτον, εἰς ἣν νυκτὸς ἔμελλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νεκρὸς ἄνευ τραύματος εὐρέθη, εἴτε Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἵνα μὴ ὁ νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συλλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο Σεμπρωνίας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἣ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γαμουμένη διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὐτ' ἐστέργετο οὐτ' ἔστεργεν, εἴθ', ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε συνιδὼν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν ὦν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ξένοι δι' ὀπισθοδόμου νυκτὸς ἐπεισαχθέντες ἀποπνίζαιεν καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὀκνήσαιεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὀργιζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συνηδόμενον.

Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς ἡξιοῦτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὠφελήσας· οὕτως ἢ παραντίκα ὀργῇ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἐπικρατεῖ. καὶ τότε ὄν τηλικούτον οἶα πάρεργον ἐπὶ τῇ Γράκχου στάσει συνέπεσε.

[21] τὴν δὲ διαίρεσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ προφάσεσι ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. καὶ τινες εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὥς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διοισομένου, καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσε τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων Φούλβιος Φλάκκος, ὑπατεύων ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανεμών. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἰσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.

καὶ τότε μὲν τὸ ἐγγεῖρημα οὕτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἠθύμει. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν γῆν διαιρούντων ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμφορᾷ: πολλῶν δ' αὐτοῦ καταφρονούντων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, παρήγγειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν. καὶ περιφανέστατα αἰρεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ βουλῇ, σιτηρέσιον ἔμμηνον ὀρίσας ἐκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀξέως οὕτως ἐνὶ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ Φουλβίου Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἤρητο δημαρχεῖν: καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δῆμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις, τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

[22] ὁ μὲν δὲ Γάιος Γράκχος οὕτως ἐδημάρχει τὸ δεύτερον: οἷα δ' ἔχων τὸν δῆμον ἔμμισθον, ὑπήγετο καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας, οἱ τὴν ἀξίωσιν εἰσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν μέσῳ, δι' ἑτέρου τοιοῦδε πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικαστήρια, ἀδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε, τὰ ὑπόγυα μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι Αὐρήλιος Κόττας καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλών, σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες ἀφείντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οἱ τε πρέσβεις οἱ κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι παρόντες σὺν φθόνῳ ταῦτα περιόντες ἐκεκράγεσαν. ἅπερ ἡ βουλὴ μάλιστα αἰδουμένη ἐς τὸν νόμον ἐνεδίδου: καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ἐκύρου. καὶ μετηνέχθη μὲν ὧδε ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια: φασὶ δὲ κυρωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀθρόως τὴν βουλὴν καθηρήκοι, τοῦ δ' ἔργου προϊόντος ἐς πῆραν μειζόνως ἔτι ἐκφανῆναι τὸ ἔπος τὸ Γράκχου. τό τε γὰρ δικάζειν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταῖς, ἐπὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οἷα τινὰς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὑπερεπῆρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἴσα καὶ ὑπηκόους ἐποίη. συνιστάμενοί τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τι θέλοιν, ἐπὶ μέγα φόβου τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐχώρουν: ταχύ τε περιῆν ἀνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν μόνην ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐχούσης, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν ἱππέων. προϊόντες γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάστευον μόνον: ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνύβριζον τοῖς βουλευταῖς παρὰ τὰς δίκας. τὴν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαβόντες καὶ γευσάμενοι καὶ οἷδε κερδῶν ἀθρόων αἰσχρότερον ἔτι καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο. κατηγοροὺς τε ἐνετοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπῆγοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν δωροδοκῶν δίκας, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμενοι, ἀάμπαν

ἀνήρουν, ὥς καὶ τὸ ἔθος ὅλως τῆς τοιαύτης εὐθύνης ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ στάσιν ἄλλην τὸν δικαστικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν προτέρων ἐς πολὺ παρασχεῖν.

[23] ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁδοὺς ἔτεμενεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μακράς, πληθὺς ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιούμενος, ἐτοίμων ἐς ὃ τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσηγεῖτο πολλάς. καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὥς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς συγγενέσι τῆς βουλῆς ἀντιστῆναι δυναμένης: τῶν τε ἐτέρων συμμάχων, οἷς οὐκ ἐξῆν ψῆφον ἐν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων χειροτονίαις φέρειν, ἐδίδου φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τούσδε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συντελοῦντας. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδὲνα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψῆφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶνδε τῶν νόμων χειροτονίαν. Λιβιόν τε Δροῦσον, ἕτερον δήμαρχον, ἔπεισε κωλύσαι τοὺς Γράκχου νόμους, οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς αἰτίας: δέδοται δὲ τῷ κωλύοντι μηδ' ἐπιλέγειν. ἔδωκαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι τὸν δῆμον δώδεκα ἀποικίας: ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἡσθεὶς τῶν Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.

[24] ὁ δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἅμα Φουλβίῳ Φλάκκῳ, κάκείνῳ μεθ' ὑπατείας διὰ τὰδε δημαρχεῖν ἐλομένῳ, διέπλευσεν, ἐνηφισμένης κατὰ δόξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶνδε αὐτῶν οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ἡρημένων, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημούντων ἀναπαύσαιο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀποικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν διέγραφον, ἔνθα ποτὲ ἦν ἡ Καρχηδονίων, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες, ὅτι Σκιπίων αὐτήν, ὅτε κατέσκαπεν, ἐπηράσατο ἐς αἰὶ μηλόβοτον εἶναι. διέγραφον δ' ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὸν δῆμον ὑπαζόμενοι. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ τὴν πόλιν ἔτι διαγραφόντων, ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς ὄρους Γράκχου τε καὶ Φουλβίου διέρριψαν ἀνασπάσαντες, καὶ τῶν μάντεων τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγουμένων ἀπαίσιον, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ προέγραφεν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ἣ τὸν νόμον ἔμελλε τὸν περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἀποικίας λύσειν: ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φούλβιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦδε ἐξέπιπτον, μεμνόνσιν εὐοκότες ἐψεῦσθαι τὴν βουλήν ἐφασκον περὶ τῶν λύκων. οἱ τε θρασύτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκκλησιάσειν ἔμελλον.

[25] ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένου καὶ Φουλβίου τι περὶ τούτων ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορούμενος. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ὥς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις βουλευμάσι τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν στοὰν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου κατιδὼν δημότης ἀνὴρ Ἀντύλλος ἐν τῇ στοᾷ θύων, ἐμβάλων τὴν χεῖρα, εἴτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτέων ἢ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαχθεὶς, ἡξίου φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον τε θορυβηθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὥς κατάφωρος ἐνέβλεψεν αὐτῷ δριμύ: καὶ τις τῶν παρόντων, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἐπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγματός πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντύλλον Γράκχου δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἡδὴ τὸν καιρὸν ἤκειν καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τι τῷ

Γράκχω δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἔργου, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπισπάσας διαχρήται τὸν Ἀντύλλον. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὀφθέντος ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπήδων σὺν ὁμοίου κακοῦ φόβῳ.

Γράκχος δ' ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν ἐβούλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος· οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένου, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐναγῇ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ὁ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὦν ἐβουλευόντο διὰ τὸ φθάσαι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀπολωλεκότες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνήεσαν ἐς αὐτάς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι κακῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ ὃς ἐπεδήμει τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὁπίμιος, διέτασσε μὲν τινὰς ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα ἔφ' συνιέναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

[26] τὰδε ἦν τοιαῦτα. ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Γράκχον καὶ Φλάκκον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ σὺν ὅλοις ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεντίνον λόφον, ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ τόνδε προλάβοιεν, ἐνδώσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλὴν. διαθέοντές τε τοὺς θεράποντας συνεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, σὺν ὅσοις εἶχον ἄμφ' αὐτούς, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταλαβόντες ἐκρατύνοντο καὶ Κόιντον Φλάκκου παῖδα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεμπον, δεόμενοι διαλλαγῶν τυχεῖν καὶ βιοῦν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα ἤκειν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν, ὃ τι θέλοιν, ἢ μηκέτι ἐμπειν μηδένα. τῶν δ' αὖθις τὸν Κόιντον ἐπιπεψάντων, τόνδε μὲν Ὁπίμιος ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τὴν προαγόρευσιν, ὡς οὐκέτι πρεσβευτὴν ὄντα, συνελάμβανε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράκχον τοὺς ὀπλισμένους ἐπέπεμπεν.

καὶ Γράκχος μὲν διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὼν ἐς ἄλσος τι μεθ' ἐνὸς θεράποντος ὑπέσχε τῷ θεράποντι τὴν σφαγὴν καταλαμβανόμενος· Φλάκκου δ' ἐς ἐργαστήριον ἀνδρὸς γνωρίμου καταφυγόντος, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες, τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅλον ἐμπρήσειν τὸν στενωπὸν ἠπεύλουν, ὁ δ' ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὤκνησε μηνῦσαι τὸν ἰκέτην, ἐτέρῳ δὲ προσέταξε μηνῦσαι. καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνηρέθη. Γράκχου μὲν δὴ καὶ Φλάκκου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔφερόν τινες Ὁπιμῖω, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὁπίμιος ἰσοβαρὲς χρυσίον ἀντέδωκεν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαξε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας ὁ Ὁπίμιος συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ ἀποπνιγῆναι προσέταξε. Κοῖντῳ δὲ τῷ Φλάκκου παιδί συνεχώρησεν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεῶν Ὁμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγεῖραι.

[27] καὶ ἡ στάσις ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ἐς τὰδε ἔληγε· νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐκυρώθη τὴν γῆν, ὑπὲρ ἧς διεφέροντο, ἐξεῖναι πιπράσκειν τοῖς ἔχουσιν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐκ Γράκχου τοῦ προτέρου καὶ τόδε. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλούσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἑωνοῦντο, ἢ ταῖςδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν ἐβιάζοντο. καὶ περιῆν ἐς χεῖρον ἔτι τοῖς πένησι, μέχρι Σπούριος Θόριος δημαρχῶν εἰσηγήσατο νόμον, τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι καὶ τὰδε τὰ χρήματα χωρεῖν ἐς διανομάς. ὅπερ ἦν μὲν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὄφελος δ'

οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν. ἅπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου παραλυθέντος, ἀρίστου καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτου, εἰ ἐδύνατοπραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον διέλυσε δῆμαρχος ἕτερος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀθρόως ἀπάντων ἐξεπεπτώκει. ὅθεν ἐσπάνιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοῦ πολιτῶν τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ διανομῶν καὶ νομῶν, πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργία γεγονότες.

[28] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκιπίων ὑπατος καθεῖλε τὸ θέατρον, οὗ Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ἦρκετο καὶ ἤδη που τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὥς καὶ τότε στάσεων ἄρξον ἐτέρων ἢ οὐ χρήσιμον ὅλως Ἑλληνικαῖς ἡδυπαθείαις Ῥωμαίους ἐθίζεσθαι. τιμητῆς δὲ Κόιντος Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Γλαυκίαν τε βουλευόντα καὶ Ἀπουλήιον Σατορνῖνον δεδημαρχηκότα ἤδη τῆς ἀξιώσεως παρέλυνεν, αἰσχροῶς βιοῦντας, οὐ μὴν ἐδυνήθη: ὁ γάρ οἱ συνάρχων οὐ συνέθετο. μικρὸν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ὡς ἀμννούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον ἐς ἑτέραν παρήγγελλε δημαρχίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε τῶν δημάρχων τῆς χειροτονίας προεστῶτα. Νώνιος μὲν οὖν, ἐπιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, ἔς τε τὸν Ἀπουλήιον παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐξονειδίζων δῆμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη. δείσαντες δ' ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος, μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀμύναιτο, ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπίνοντι ἐπιτέμπουσι σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ ἔς τι πανδοχεῖον συμφυγόντα κατεκέντησαν. τοῦ δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος οἱ περὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, οὐπω τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος, ἅμ' ἑφ' χειροτονοῦσι δῆμαρχον τὸν Ἀπουλήιον.

καὶ τὸ μὲν Νωνίου πάθος ὧδε ἐσιγήθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν Ἀπουληίου, δεδιότων αὐτὸν ἔτι ἐξελέγγχειν: [29] ἐξηλάθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γάιον Μάριον ἔκτην ἄρχοντα ὑπατείαν, ἐχθρὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ συνέπραξαν ὧδε ἅπαντες ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀπουλήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσῃν ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κίμβροι γένος Κελτῶν κατεilhέφσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἑναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δέ, εἰ κυρώσειε τὸν νόμον ὁ δῆμος, τὴν βουλὴν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἢ τὸν οὐκ ὁμόσαντα μήτε βουλευεῖν καὶ ὀφλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τάλαντα εἴκοσιν, ὑπονοοῦντες οὕτως ἄλλους τε τῶν δυσχεραινόντων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ Μέτελλον ὑπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἐνδῶσοντα ἐς τὸν ὄρκον. ὁ μὲν δὴ νόμος ὧδε εἶχεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ προυτίθει καὶ περιέπεμπε τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐθάρρουν ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίῳ. πλεονεκτούντων δ', ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσχεραίνε.

[30] καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ γενομένης, ὅσοι μὲν ἐκώλυον τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς νόμους, ὑβριζόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπουληίου κατεπῆδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν. βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ὥς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον οἱ πολιτικοὶ τά τε ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἀρπάσαντες τοὺς ἀγροίκους διέστησαν. οἱ δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπουληίου συγκαλούμενοι μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οἷδε τοῖς ἀστικοῖς ἐπήεσαν καὶ βιασάμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ' αὐτίκα Μάριος οἶα ὑπατος τῇ βουλῇ

προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου· καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον εἰδὼς στερρόν τε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ' ὃ τι φρονήσειεν ἢ εἰπεῖν φθάσειεν, ἐτίθει πρῶτος ἐς μέσον τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετ' ἐνέδρας καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐποτε τὸν ὄρκον ἐκὼν τόνδε αὐτὸς ὁμόσει. συναποφηνάμενου δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσαντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν βουλὴν. εἴτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἡ τῷ ὄρκῳ τελευταία κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἦν, ἀμφὶ δεκάτην ὥραν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν συναγαγὼν ἔφη τὸν δῆμον ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τὸν νόμον δεδιέναι, μηχανὴν δ' ὄραν καὶ σόφισμα τοιόνδε· ὁμόσειν γάρ, ἥ νόμος ἐστί, τῷδε πεισθῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὕτω διασκεδᾶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐνηδρευμένους, ὕστερον δ' οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐπιδείξειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὠνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[31] ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας, πάντων ἔτι σιωπῶντων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δεδαπανημένῳ, οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεῶν, οὗ τοῖς ταμίαις ἐχρῆν ὀμνύναι, καὶ ὦμνυε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος. ὦμνυον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιὼς ἕκαστος· Μέτελλος δ' οὐκ ὦμωσε μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως διέμεινεν ἀφόβως. καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπιτέμψας τὸν ὑπρέτην ἐξεῖλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ῥυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐς τοὺς ἀγροίκους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξελαθεῖν. ψήφισμά τε φυγῆς ἐπέγραφον αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρῶσαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλῳ κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης· ἔς τε τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡμέραν προύγραφον. δεινῆς δὲ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἀγανακτήσεως οὔσης καὶ παραπεμπόντων Μέτελλον αἰεὶ σὺν ξιφιδίοις, ὁ Μέτελλος αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔφη δι' ἑαυτὸν ἑάσειν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἐπιγενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ὑπεξήλθε τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐκύρου, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι Μάριος ἐπεκέρυττεν.

[32] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Μέτελλος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, ἔφευγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον ἐδημάρχει. καὶ τις αὐτῷ συνῆρχε δραπέτης εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ἑαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφων. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν πόθῳ Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δὲ ὑπάτων χειροτονίας, Μάρκος μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀναμφιλόγως ἡρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὁδε καὶ Μέμμιος μετήεσαν. Μεμμίου δ' ὄντος ἐπιδοξότερου παρὰ πολὺ, δείσας ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπιτέμπουσί τινες αὐτῷ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, οἱ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ὁρῶντων συνέκοψαν.

καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθεῖσα διελύετο οὔτε νόμων οὔτε δικαστηρίων οὔτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἔτι ὑπόουσης· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν μετ' ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ὡς κτενοῦντες τὸν Ἀπουλήιον. ὁ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀλίσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν μετὰ Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαῖου Σαυρηίου ταμίου τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβε. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ψηφισαμένης ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὁμῶς ὥπλιζέ τινας σὺν ὄκνῃ· καὶ βραδύνοντος ἕτεροι τὸ

ὑδωρ τὸ ἐπιρρέον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν νεῶν, ὑπὸ δίφης ἀπολλύμενος, ἤξιου, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλήιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσιν Μάριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἷδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὁ Σαυφήιος. Μάριος δ', αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίσαντες τὸν κέραμον ἐξέλουν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἔβαλλον, ἕως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι περικειμένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[33] πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐν τῇ στάσει διέφθαρτο καὶ δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὁ τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρώτην δημαρχῶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἔτι ὠφελοῦσης οὔτε ἐλευθερίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας οὔτε νόμων οὔτε ἀξιώσεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἕς τε κάλυσιν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικούρησιν τῶν δημοτῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὔσα, τοιάδε ὕβριζε καὶ τοιάδε ἔπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἡ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλον, Πούπλιος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὧσιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος ἐνεκλᾶο θη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὧσεως Εὐσεβῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐς δίκην Γάιος Κανουλῆιος δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑπομείνας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον: οὕτως αἰεὶ τι μῦσος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίνετο: Μετέλλω δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καὶ φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιούμενῳ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.

τρίτον μὲν δὴ τότε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἦν τὸ Ἀπουλίου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε εἵργαστο Ῥωμαῖους: [34] οὕτω δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίνεται ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως, καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθὼν, καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολὺ. λήγων δὲ καὶ ὁδε στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασιάρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν οὐ νόμων εἰσηγήσεσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ δημοκοπίαις, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόοις στρατεύμασι κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἕκ τε τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς πολὺ χεῖρονα στάσιν ἐτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἤρξατο δὲ ὧδε.

Φούλβιος Φλάκκος ὑπατεῶν μάλιστα δὴ πρῶτος ὅδε ἐς τὸ φανερώτατον ἠρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ὡς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένων. εἰσηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῇ καρτερῶς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τινα στρατείαν ἐξεπέμφθη διὰ τότε. ἐν ἣ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ὁ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἴλετο μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιάδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κἀκείνῳ. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἠρέθιστο ἡ Ἰταλία: οὔτε γὰρ ἡξίου ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει οὔτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε παθεῖν.

[35] ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίβιος Δροῦσος δημαρχῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ

γένους, δεθηεῖσι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις νόμον αὐθις ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπέσχετο· τούτου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν ὥς ἐνὶ τῷδε αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο προθεραπεύων ὑπήγετο ἀποικίαις πολλαῖς ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ, γεγονυῖαις δὲ οὐπω. τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανενεκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ἐς ἑκατέρους ὤδε. τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐτέρους τοσοῦσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια· εὐθύνας τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγραφεν, ἐγκλήματος ἴσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνωστομένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς δωροδοκίας ἀνέδην ἐπιπολαζούσης.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰδε πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐπενόει, περιήλθε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῷ. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀθρόως αὐτῇ τοσοῦσδε προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐξ ἱππέων ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα μεταβῆναι, οὐκ ἀδόκητον ἡγουμένη καὶ βουλευτὰς γενομένους κατὰ σφᾶς ἔτι δυνατότερον τοῖς προτέροις βουλευταῖς στασιάσειν· οἱ τε ἱππεῖς ὑπώπτευον, ὅτι τῇδε τῇ θεραπείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν μόνην τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων περιφέροιτο, γευσάμενοί τε κερδῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἀλύπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερον. τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἀξιώτεροι δοκοῦσιν ἐς τοὺς τριακοσίους καταλεγῆναι· καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς φθόνος ἐς τοὺς κρείττους ἐσῆι· ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ἡγανάκτουν ἀναφυομένου τοῦ τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκλήματος, ὃ τέως ἡγούντο καρτερῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόρριζον ἐσβέσθαι.

[36] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ, καίπερ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δρούσου μῖσος συνεφρόνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις. οἱ Ἰταλιῶται δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δρούσος ταῦτα ἐτέχνάζε, καὶ οἶδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὥς τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἣν ἀνέμητον οὐσαν ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ βίας, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐγεώργουν, αὐτίκα σφῶν ἀφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ ταῦτ' ἀειμαίνοντες τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις καί, ὥς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου, λόγῳ δ' ἐς κατηγορίαν, τοῦ νόμου φανερώς κατεβῶν καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὧν ὁ Δρούσος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προΐων, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπων ἐξεβόησεν ἄφρων πεπληῆσθαι καὶ λέγων ἔτι κατέπεσεν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον ἐμπεπηγμένον.

[37] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Δρούσος ἀνήρητο δημαρχῶν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπίβασιν ἐς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Οὐράιον δήμαρχον ἔπεισαν εἰσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ τῶν τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ φανερώς ἢ κρύφα βοηθούντων, ἐλπίσαντες τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἅπαντας αὐτίκα εἰς ἔγκλημα ἐπίφθονον ὑπάξεσθαι καὶ δικάσειν μὲν αὐτοῖ, γενομένων

δ' ἐκείνων ἐκποδὼν δυνατότερον ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρξειν. τὸν μὲν δὴ νόμον ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων μὴ τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν ξιφιδίοις γυμνοῖς ἐκύρωσαν: ὡς δ' ἐκεκύρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπεγράφοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν οὐδ' ὑπακούσας ἐκὼν ἔφευγεν ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσων ἑαυτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ Κόττας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ παρήλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεπολίτευτο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φανερῶς, ἐξήει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὤδε πρὸ τῆς ψήφου: Μούμμιος δ', ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλὼν, αἰσχυρῶς ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὑποσχομένων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσειν κατεκρίθη φεύγειν καὶ ἐν Δήλῳ διεβίωσεν.

[38] ἐπιπολάζοντος δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὃ τε δῆμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἴταλοι τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν τούτων προφάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν σφίσι ἐτι ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι ὀρῶντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων ἄντικρυς καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε καὶ ὄμηρα διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις.

ὧν ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπήσθοντο Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις: ὡς δ' ἐπύθοντο, περιέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἐκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γιγόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καὶ τις ἐκ τούτων μεράκιον ὄμηρον ἰδὼν ἐξ Ἀσκλου πόλεως ἐς ἐτέραν ἀγόμενον ἐμήνυσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουιλίῳ. ἦσαν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρχοντες ἀνθύπατοι κατὰ μέρη: ὃ καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ἄρα μιμούμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμεινεν ἐς βραχύ. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος θερμότερον ἐσδραμὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκλον καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις χαλεπῶν ἀπειλῶν ἀνηρέθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἤδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανηρέθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήιος, ὃς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ: καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν. πεσόντων δὲ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τις ἦν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι πάντας οἱ Ἀσκλαῖοι συνεκέντουν ἐπιτρέχοντες καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαζον.

[39] ἐκραγεῖσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἅπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἔθνη γείτονα ἦν, συνεξέφαινε τὴν παρασκευὴν, Μάρσοι τε καὶ Παιλίγνοι καὶ Οὐηστῖνοι καὶ Μαρρουκῖνοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πικεντῖνοι καὶ Φρεντανοὶ καὶ Ἴρπῖνοι καὶ Πομπητιανοὶ καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ Ἰάπυγες, Λευκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαννῖται, χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενόμενα, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀπὸ Λίριος ποταμοῦ, ὃν νῦν μοι δοκοῦσι Λίτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸν μυχόν ἐστι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου πεζεύοντι καὶ περιπλέοντι. πέμψασι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις αἰτιωμένους, ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεργασάμενοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων πολιτείας, ἢ βουλὴ μάλα καρτερῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ μεταγινώσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτήν, ἄλλως δὲ μή. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογνόντες ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο: καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ κοινὸς ἦν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἕτερος ἐς δέκα

μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπὸ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐτι συμμαχοῦντων σφίσιν ἐθνῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας.

[40] ἡγοῦντο δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὑπατοὶ Σέξτος τε Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος Ῥουτίλιος Λοῦπος· ἄμφω γὰρ ὡς ἐς μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐξήεσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ τεῖχη διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργῳ. τό τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερὲς ἐνθυμούμενοι ὑποστρατήγους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν Ῥουτίλῳ Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, τὸν πατέρα Πομπήιου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα καὶ Γάιον Περπένναν καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ δὲ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι Πούπλιον Λέντλον, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον καὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. τοσοῖδε μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις διελόμενοι τὴν χώραν ὑπεστρατήγουν. καὶ πάντας ἐπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὑπατοὶ· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐτέρους ὡς ἐς μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἔπεμπον ἐκάστοτε. Ἰταλοῖς δ' ἦσαν μὲν στρατηγοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἕτεροι, κοινοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Ἐγνάτιος καὶ Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Λαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐδακίλιος καὶ Ἔριος Ἀσίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων, οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἀντεκαθέζοντο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν, πολλὰ δ' ἔπαθον. ὧν ἐκατέρων, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἦν τοιάδε.

[41] Οὐέττιος μὲν Σκάτων Σέξτον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενός τε καὶ δισχιλίους κτείνας ἐπὶ Αἰσερνίαν ἦλασε ῥωμαΐζουσας· καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν συντάττοντες, Λεύκιός τε Σκιπίων καὶ Λεύκιος Ἀκίλιος θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ παρεστήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Μάριος δὲ Ἐγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἐλὼν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔκτεινε δύο Ῥωμαίων σπεύρας ἐν αὐτῇ. Πρησενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμενον ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβε· ἐφ' ὅτῳ Περπένναν Ῥουτίλιος ὑπατος παρέλυσεν τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαῖῳ Μαρίῳ προσέθηκεν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνείλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς Γρούμεντον πόλιν συνεδίωξε.

[42] Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νῶλάν τε εἶλεν ἐκ προδοσίας καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις, δισχιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθοῖντο, στρατεύσειν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν ὁ Πάπιος μεταθεμένους ἐστράτευεν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ λιμῷ πρὸς τοῦ Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Σταβίας εἶλε καὶ Μινέρουιον καὶ Σάλερνον, ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος ἦν· καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα κατέπρησεν, αἱ πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσετίθεντο στρατιάν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους· μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πάπιος Ἀχέρραις παρεκάθητο. Σέξτου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλατῶν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ Νομάδας Μαυρουσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας, ὁ Πάπιος Ὀξύνταν, υἱὸν Ἰογόρθου τοῦ Νομάδων ποτὲ βασιλέως,

ὕπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Οὐενουσίᾳ φυλαττόμενον, ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Οὐενουσίας καὶ περιθίς αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυ θάμινά τοις Νομάσι τοῖς σὺν Καίσαρι. πολλῶν δ' ὥς πρὸς ἴδιον βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς τῶν Νομάδων ὥς ὑπόπτους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε, Πασίου δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῷ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ μέρος ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος διασπῶντος, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμψας κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἔκτεινε τοῦ Παπίου περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξ Ἀχερρῶν ἀνεζεύγγυνεν, Οὐιδακιλίῳ δ' ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσετίθεντο Κανύσιοι καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ ἕτεραι πόλεις πολλάι. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπειθούσας ἐξεπολιόρκει, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευσεν.

[43] Ῥουτίλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ οὗ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπήγγυντο: καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε παρὰ τὴν Μαρίου μάλιστα γέφυραν ἔλαθέ τε νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν Ῥουτιλίου γέφυραν λόχους ἐν φάραγξιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἅμα δ' ἔφω τὸν Ῥουτίλιον διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν: ὃ τε Ῥουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπέθανε. καὶ Μάριος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ὦν γεφύρας τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα σωμάτων εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὥσατο καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα περάσας τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Σκάτωνος ὑπ' ὀλίγων φυλαττόμενον εἶλεν, ὥστε τὸν Σκάτωνα νυκτερεῦσαί τε, ἔνθαπερ ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγορᾶς ἀναξεδῆαι περὶ τὴν ἔω. Ῥουτιλίου δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ ταφήν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐνεχθέντων ἢ τε ὄψις ἀηδὴς ἦν ὑπάτου καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων καὶ πολυήμερον ἐπὶ τῷδε πένθος ἠγέρθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκρινεν, ἔνθαπερ ἂν θάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατειῶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πυθόμενοι περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

[44] Ῥουτιλίῳ μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξστου Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐς Ῥώμην: τῆς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γαίον τε Μάριον καὶ Κόιντον Καίπιωνα. τούτῳ τῷ Καίπιωνι Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἶα τις αὐτόμολος προσέφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδόνς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δοῦλα, καθάπερ υἱεῖς, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσι περιπορφύροις: ἐς δὲ πίστιν ἔφερε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολύβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ περιβεβλημένας: καὶ ἔδειτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ τὸν Καίπιωνα ἔπεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἔτι ἄρχοντος. Καίπιων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος εἶπετο, Ποπαίδιος δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τινὰ λόφον ὡς κατοψόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σημεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπῆρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐκφανέντες αὐτόν τε Καίπιωνα καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατέκοψαν: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς Καίπιωνος ἡ σύγκλητος Μαρῖον προσέξεν.

[45] Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακισχιλίων διεξιὼν τινὰ φάραγγα καὶ κρημνούς, ἄφνω προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρῖου

Ἐγνατίου, ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον ἐπὶ τινα ποταμόν, οὗ μία γέφυρα ἦν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τὰ ὄπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανὸν καταφυγὼν ὥπλιζεν, οὓς ἔτι εἶχεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ἐτέρου δὲ πλήθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπελθόντος, ἐπὶ Ἀχέρρας ἔτι πολιορκουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παπίου μετῇει.

καὶ οἷδε μὲν ἀλλήλαις ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδετέρῳ διὰ φόβον· [46] Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπιθεμένους σφίσι συντόνως ἐδίωκον, μέχρι θριγκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερέβαινον, Μαρίῳ δὲ καὶ Σύλλᾳ διώκειν ὑπὲρ τούτους οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δὲ Σύλλας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶνδε τῶν ἀμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπὴντα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Μάρσων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι περὶ πλείους ἐξακισχιλίων, ὄπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολὺ πλείονα.

Μάρσοι μὲν δὴ δίκην θηρίων, τῷ πταίσματι προσαναγκάζοντες, αὐθις ὥπλιζοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι, προεπιχειρεῖν μὴ θαρροῦσι μηδὲ ἄρχειν μάχης· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικώτατον, καὶ φασὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνῳ, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἄνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

[47] περὶ δὲ τὸ Φάλερνον ὄρος Γναῖον Πομπήιον Οὐδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέτιος, ἐς ταῦτόν ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντες, ἐτρέποντο καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἕτερα ὄχοντο, Λαφρήνιος δὲ παρεκάθητο Πομπήϊῳ ἐς τὸ Φίρμον κατακεκλεισμένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν ὀπλίζων τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει, προσελθόντος δὲ ἐτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον περιέπεμπεν ὀπίσω τοῦ Λαφρηνίου γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπῆει. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ πονουμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ πολέμιοι κατιδόντες ἐς Ἄσκλον ἔφευγον, ἀκόσμως ἅμα καὶ ἀστρατηγῆτως· Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον ἐπελθὼν ἐπολιόρκει.

[48] πατρίς δ' ἦν Οὐδακιλίου τὸ Ἄσκλον, καὶ δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠπείγετο, σπείρας ἄγων ὀκτώ. προέμψας τε τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἐκέλευεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἴδωσι πόρρωθεν ἐπίνοντα, ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ Ἀσκλαῖοι μὲν ἀπώκνησαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐδακίλιος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσδραμὼν μεθ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη, ὠνειδίσε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ δυσπειθειαν, οὐκ ἐλπίζων δ' ἔτι τὴν πόλιν περιέσεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθρούς, οἱ τέως αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ τότε διὰ φθόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἃ παρήγγελλεν ἀπέτρεψαν, ἔκτεινε πάντας· ἐν δὲ ἱερῷ πυρὰν νήσας καὶ κλίνην ἐπιθείς ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ, παρευωχήθη σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ πότου φάρμακόν τε προσηνέγκατο καὶ κατακλίνας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς φίλοις ἄψαι τὸ πῦρ· καὶ Οὐδακίλιος μὲν ὧδε φιλοτιμηθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν κατελύθη, Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνθύπατος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρεθεὶς ἐπέδραμεν ἀνδράσι δισμυρίοις

μεταστρατοπεδεύουσί ποι καὶ ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους ὅπλα τε πολὺ πλείονων ἔλαβε. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον οὔσης πολιορκίας, ἀποθνήσκων ἐκ νόσου ἀντιστράτηγον ἀπέφηνε Γάιον Βαίβιον.

[49] καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον: αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη γειτονέοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἠρεθίζοντο. δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλὴ, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ᾗ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ δι' ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατείαν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἔτι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα μόνον οὐ πάντες ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ τάδε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῇδε τῇ χάριτι ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν εὖνους εὖνουστέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦντας ἐλπίδι τινὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραοτέρους ἐποίησεν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῦσδε τοὺς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αἱ τότε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες ὄντες ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις ἐπικρατοῖεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπεφηναν ἐτέρας, ἐν αἷς ἐχειροτόνουν ἔσχατοι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ ψῆφος ἀχρεῖος ἦν, ἅτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα προτέρων τε καλουμένων καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς. ὅπερ ἢ λαθὼν αὐτίκα ἢ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἐτέρας στάσεως ἦρξεν.

[50] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον οὕτω τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετάνοιαν ἐγνωκότες μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ καὶ μακρὰν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὕπατος ὢν ἤδη, διέφθειρεν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους: καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα διὰ ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιπόνου διατρεχόντων οἱ ἡμίσεις βαλανηφαγοῦντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπηίου, Μάρσοις πολεμῶν ἀνηρέθη. Λεύκιος δὲ Κλοέντιος Σύλλα περὶ τὰ Πομπαιᾶ ὄρη στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευε. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας ἀναμείνας ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοεντίῳ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττώμενος ἔφευγε, προσλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν πορρωτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν αὐθις ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ συνιόντων τῶν στρατῶν Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμῶν προυκαλεῖτό τινα Ῥωμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὥς δ' αὐτὸν ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἀνὴρ βραχὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτίκα ἔφευγον. παραλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐδ' ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλοεντίου παρέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν ἐς τρισμύριους ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ τῶν Νωλαίων αὐτοὺς μᾶ πύλῃ δεχομένων, ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι σφίσι συνεσπέσοιεν, ἐτέρους ἔκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμύριους: καὶ σὺν τοῖσδε Κλοέντιος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσε.

[51] Σύλλας δ' ἐς ἔθνος ἕτερον, Ἰρπίνους, μετεστρατοπέδευε καὶ προσέβαλεν Αἰκουλάνῳ. οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὺς προσδοκῶντες αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καιρὸν ἐς σκέψιν ἤτουν. ὁ δ'

αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεχνάσματος ὥραν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε κὰν ἤδε ξυλίνῳ ὄντι τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθεῖς μετὰ τὴν ὥραν ὑψήπτεν. οἱ δὲ δεῖσαντες τὴν πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαζεν ὥς οὐκ εὐνοία προσελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἰρπίνων ἔθνος ἅπαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας, οὐχ ἢ Μοτίλος, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, τὰς παρόδους ἐφύλαττεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν ἀδόκητον ἐκ περιόδου. προσπεσὼν δ' ἄφνω πολλοὺς τε ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων σποράδην διαφυγόντων ὁ μὲν Μοτίλος τραυματίας ἐς Αἰσερνίαν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξελὼν ἐς Βουάνον παρῆλθεν, ἣ τὸ κοινοβούλιον ἦν τῶν ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς δ' ἄκρας τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλλας ἐκέλευε καταλαβεῖν, ἣν τινα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖεν ἄκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου καὶ μαχόμενος ὥραις τρισὶ καρτερῶς εἴλε τὴν πόλιν.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα Σύλλα: χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος ὁ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων, [52] Γναῖος δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρρουκίους καὶ Οὐηστίνους, καὶ Γάιος Κοσκώνιος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν Σαλαπίαν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ Κανύσιον περικαθήμενος Σαυνίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀντεμάχετο ἐγκρατῶς, μέχρι φόνος πολλὸς ἐκατέρων ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος ἐλαττούμενος ἐς Κάννας ὑπεχώρει. Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμοῦ διείργοντος, ἐκέλευεν ἢ περᾶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἵνα περάσειεν. ὁ δ' ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίῳ προσπεσὼν μάχῃ τε κρείττων ἐγένετο καὶ φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα αὐτοῦ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ἐς Κανύσιον. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Λαριναίων καὶ Οὐενουσίων καὶ Ἀσκλαίων γῆν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐς Ποιδίκλους ἐσέβαλε καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος παρέλαβε.

[53] Καικίλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβαλὼν ἐκράτει καὶ ὅδε μάχῃ τῶν Ἰαπύγων. καὶ Ποπαῖδιος, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστώτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἔπασεν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικίλιον διέφυγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δὴ μάλιστα μέχρι τῶνδε, ἕως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρὶς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν τότε: δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἶδε τυχεῖν, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ὕστερον. ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλάς ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἕκαστοι κατελέγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμειγμένοι ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, πλέονες ὄντες.

[54] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ οἱ χρῆσται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανεῖζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφῆναι γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες, τὸ δανεῖζειν ὥς καπηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιόν, ὃ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὥς ἀπατηλὸν τε καὶ φιλοψευδές. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τοὺς τόκους βεβαιούντος, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος

ἥτουν, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεων ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις· εἰσι δ' οἱ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπηλείουν.

ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Ἀσελλίων, ᾧ ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἐπεὶ διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐδίδου κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οἱ δανεῖσται δὲ χαλεπήναντες, ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὄντα ἀνεκαίνιξε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὧδε: ὁ μὲν ἔθυε τοῖς Διοσκοούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσία περιστάντος· ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἔετο δρόμῳ. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τι πανδοχεῖον ἔσφαξαν. πολλοὶ τε τῶν διωκόντων ἐς τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καταφυγεῖν ἐσέδραμον, ἔνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. οὕτω μὲν καὶ Ἀσελλίων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ σπένδων καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐν θυσία περικείμενος ἀμφὶ δευτέραν ὥραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ παρὰ ἱεροῖς. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκήρυσσεν, εἴ τις τι περὶ τὸν Ἀσελλίωνος φόνον ἐλέγξειεν, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, δούλῳ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότε δὲ ἄδειαν· οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν οὐδεὶς, τῶν δανειστῶν περικαλυψάντων.

[55] τὰδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἔτι ἦσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασίαρχοι πολέμου νόμῳ συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πατρίς ἄθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσῳ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἀρόδος, εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἥδε ἐγίγνετο.

ἐπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον αὐταῖς Ἀσίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν βίβλον εἴρηται τὴν πρὸ τῆσδε, Σύλλας μὲν ὑπατεύων ἔλαχε στρατηγεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου· καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχερῇ τε καὶ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπηγάγετό οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τοῦτο Πούπλιον Σουλπίκιον δῆμαρχον ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπήλπιζεν ἐς τὰς φυλὰς ἀπάσας διαιρήσειν, οὐ προλέγων μὲν τι περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρείας, ὡς δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἐς πάντα χρησόμενος εὖνοις. καὶ νόμον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦδε: οὗ κυρωθέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὃ τι βούλοιο Μάριος ἢ Σουλπίκιος ἔσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολιτῶν πολὺ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πλείονων ὄντων. οἱ δ' ἀρχαιότεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα ἐγκρατῶς τοῖς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ μεῖζονος αἰεὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δεῖσαντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ περὶ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησιαζούσῃ προύγραψαν ἡμερῶν ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὅποῖον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα τις ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

[56] Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων ἐκέλευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥκειν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι ἐπείγοι, μὴδ' αὐτῶν φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἔτοιμα ἦν, κατηγορεῖ τῶν ἀργιῶν ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα προθεῖη τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο

καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἠπειλουν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὡς βουλευσόμενος ὑπεχώρει. κὰν τῷδε Πομπηίου τὸν υἱόν, κηδεύοντα τῇ Σύλλᾳ, παρρησιαζόμενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιῶται. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν ἔς τε Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἔς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλὼν, ἠπείγετο: οὐ γὰρ πῶ τινος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πραττομένων ἦσθετο. ὁ δὲ Σουλπίκιος, ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς ἀργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον καί, οὗ χάριν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Μάριον εὐθὺς ἐχειροτόνει τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγεῖν ἀντὶ Σύλλα.

[57] πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακριθῆναι συνήγαγε τὸν στρατόν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀρεγόμενόν τε ὡς ἐπικερδοῦς καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἔς αὐτὴν ἐτέρους καταλέξειν ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἔς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπικίου τε καὶ Μαρίου καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκὼν 'οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πῶ λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦδε πολέμου, παρήνευσεν ἐτοίμοις ἔς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενόει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες, μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουσαν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἔς Ῥώμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἦγεν ἕξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ χωρὶς ἐνὸς ταμίου διέδρασαν ἔς Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενοι στρατόν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα: πρέσβεις δ' ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἠρώτων, τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλαύνει. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσωσαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων.

καὶ τοῦτο δις τρις ἐτέροις καὶ ἐτέροις πρέσβεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν εἰπὼν ἐπήγγελλεν ὅμως, εἰ θέλοιεν τὴν τε σύγκλητον αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον ἔς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον συναγαγεῖν, καὶ πράξειν, ὃ τι ἂν βουλευομένοις δοκῇ. πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ σύναρχος ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀφίκετο συμπράξων ἔς ἅπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἔς παρασκευὴν ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἔπεμπον ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρῳ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπιούσιν εἶποντο.

[58] καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυλείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος ἐνὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλῖνας ἐτέρῳ τέλει: καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔς διαδοχὴν ὑπέμενε. τοῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἔς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δόξῃ καὶ ἔργῳ πολεμίου: ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ περιοικοῦντες ἄνωθεν ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἠπειλήσεν ἐμπρήσειν: τότε δ' οἱ μὲν ἀνέσχον, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἀπήντων περὶ τὴν Αἰσκύλειον ἀγορὰν μεθ' ὅσων ἐφθάκεσαν ὀπλίσαι. καὶ γίγνεται τις ἀγὼν ἐχθρῶν, ὅδε πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, οὐχ ὑπὸ εἰκόνι στάσεως ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου νόμῳ: ἔς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἀμεληθέντα προέκοψε.

τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σύλλα στρατιωτῶν, ὁ Σύλλας σημεῖον ἀρπάσας

προεκινδύνευεν, ὥς αἰδοῖ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δέει τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σημείῳ εἰ ἀπέχοντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοὺς μετατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐκάλει τε τοὺς νεαλεῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐτέρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Σιβούραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἧ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Μάριον πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμηῆτας ἀσθενῶς μαχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοδεύουσι δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν ἔτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἐκήρυττον ἐλευθερίαν εἰ μετὰσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσιόντος ἀπογόνοντες ἀπάντων ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράχσαν.

[59] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην Ἰερὰν ὁδὸν παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτίκα ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαξε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῇ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, περιθέοντες ἐκάστους, ἵνα μὴ τι δεινὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐπιγένοιτο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ὠδύροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὥς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς δημοκοποῦσιν ἐκδεδομένης, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάδε πράξαντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. εἰσηγοῦντό τε μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλάς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὥς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διὰ δυοῖν τοῖνδε οὔτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσφερόμενον οὔτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ θραυστάτοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ γιγνομένας δώσειν ἔτι στάσεων ἀφορμάς. πολλὰ τε ἄλλα τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχῆς, τυραννικῆς μάλιστα γεγεννημένης, περιελόντες κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγανθρωπότατον δὴ τότε μάλιστα ὄν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀθρόους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίους. ὅσα τε ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου κεκύρωτο μετὰ τὴν κεκηρυγμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀργίαν, ἅπαντα διελύετο ὥς οὐκ ἔννομα.

[60] ὧδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὥς πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις ἔτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος. τότε δὲ Σουλπίκιον δημαρχοῦντα ἔτι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάριον, ἐξάκις ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίου παῖδα καὶ Πούπλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γναῖον καὶ Κοῖντον Γράνιον καὶ Πούπλιον Ἀλβινοσουανὸν καὶ Μᾶρκον Λαιτῳρίον ἐτέρους τε, ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ῥώμης διεπεφεύγεσαν, ὥς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀπόστασιν πολεμίους Ῥωμαίων ἐνήφιστο εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποινεῖ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους· τὰ τε ὄντα αὐτοῖς δεδήμευτο.

καὶ ζητηταὶ διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ Σουλπίκιον μὲν καταλαβόντες ἔκτειναν· [61] ὁ δὲ Μάριος αὐτοὺς ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἔρημος ὑπηρέτου τε καὶ θεράποντος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντες ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν οἴκῳ

ζοφώδει δεδιότες μὲν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένου αὐθένται γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην ἄνδρα ἐπιδημοῦντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐσέπεμψαν ἀνελεῖν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασὶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προσιόντα τῷ στιβαδίῳ δεῖσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρὸς αὐγὴν καὶ φλόγα ἀφίεναι: ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπανιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ: ‘σὺ τολμᾷς κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριον;’ προτροπάδην ὁ Γαλάτης ἔφευγεν ἔξω διὰ θυρῶν μεμνηνότει ἐοικῶς καὶ βοῶν: ‘οὐ δύναμαι κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριον.’ ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἅτε καὶ τέως ταῦτα σὺν ὅκνῃ κεκρικόσιν, ἐνέπιπτε τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ μνήμη τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιφημισθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας: παιδί γὰρ ὄντι φασὶν ἐς τὸν κόλπον ἀετοῦ νεοττοὺς ἐπτὰ καταρρυῖναι καὶ τοὺς μάντεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἔσοιτο.

[62] ταῦτ’ οὖν οἱ τῆς Μιντούρνης ἄρχοντες ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τὸν Γαλάτην ἐνθουν κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ περιδεᾶ νομίζοντες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμπον, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, σφῶζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ συγγινώσκων ἑαυτῷ ζητουμένῳ τε ἐκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἱππέων διωκομένῳ, ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤλατο καὶ καλύβης ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ σώματι. ψόφου δ’ αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπεκρύφθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι αἰσθόμενος ἐς σκάφος ἀλιέως πρεσβύτου παρορμοῦν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσήλατο χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα κόψας καὶ τὸ ἰστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῇ τύχῃ φέρειν. κατήχθη δὲ ἐς τινα νῆσον, ὅθεν νεῶς οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν παραπλευούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέρα. εἰργόμενος δὲ καὶ Λιβύης ὡς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξστιλίου ἡγουμένου, διεχεύμαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Λιβύην ἄνω, ἐν τοῖς Νομάδων ὄροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύοντι δεῦρο κατὰ πύστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγνωσμένων Κέθηγός τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ Ἀλβινοουανὸς καὶ Λαιτώριος καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου: οἱ ἐς μὲν Ἰεμψάλαν τὸν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διέφυγον, ὑποψία δ’ ἐκδόσεως ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέδρασαν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ, καθὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράχει, βιάσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα διανοοῦμενοι, στρατιὰν δ’ οὐκ ἔχοντες, περιέβλεπον, εἴ τι συμβαίῃ: [63] ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μὲν, ὅπλοις τὴν πόλιν ὅδε πρῶτος καταλαβὼν τε καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως ἤδη μοναρχεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμίνατο, τὴν βίαν ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Καπύην προπέμψας αὐτῆς ἤρχεν ὡς ὕπατος: οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐξελαθέντων στασιῶται, ὅσοι τῶν πλουσίων, καὶ γύναια πολλὰ πολυχρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπνεύσαντες ἠρεθίζοντο ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἢ δαπάνης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπέλειπον, ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν τῶνδε περιόντων ἐκείνοις κατελθεῖν. Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ παυσαμένῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατὸς ἦν, ὁ ἐνηφισμένος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ: Κόιντον δὲ Πομπήιον, τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον, ὁ δῆμος οἰκτεῖρων τοῦ δέους ἐψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐτέρου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ. τοῦθ’ ὁ Γναῖος πυθόμενός τε καὶ δυσχεράνας ἤκοντα μὲν τὸν Κόιντον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ὑπεχώρησε μικρὸν οἷα ιδιώτης, μέχρι τὸν ὕπατον πολλοὶ καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν

ἀκροάσεως περιστάντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ φυγῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γενομένης ὁ Γναῖος αὐτοῖς ὑπήντα, χαλεπαίνων ὡς ὑπάτου παρανόμως ἀνηρημένου: δυσχεράνας δ' ὁμως εὐθὺς ἤρχεν αὐτῶν.

[64] ἐξαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περιδεῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγετο πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐπιμείνας ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κάκειθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίννα, τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι, θαρροῦντες τοὺς νεοπολίτας ἠρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς πάσαις ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιχθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφιζόμενοι πάντων ὧσιν ἄκυροι. τοῦτο δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καθόδου. ἀνθισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίννας μὲν τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος Ὀκτάουιος, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων ἐβόων ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι: τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἐχώρει, καὶ οἶδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων.

ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περιορωμένῳ ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους καλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, θόρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀπογύμνωσιν ἤδη τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ ὁδὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπηδώντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν Ὀκτάουιος πυθόμενος κατέβαινε διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλῆθους καὶ οἷα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσὼν ὥσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστώτων καὶ διέστησεν αὐτούς: ὡς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρήλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπόμενος. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῷ συνῆσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐμπεσόντες τοῖς νεοπολίταις ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον.

[65] Κίννας δὲ θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκῆσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' ὁρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συγκαλῶν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσιόντος ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολίτιδας Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ Πραίνεστόν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων ἅπαντας ἐς ἀπόστασιν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλλέγων. ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννᾳ προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, Γαίος τε Μιλώνιος καὶ Κόνιντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἕτερος.

ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλή τὸν Κίνναν, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξαντα, ἐνηγίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολίτην ἔτι εἶναι καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτόνησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. λέγεται δ' οὗτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φλαμέντας καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος αἰεὶ, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐν μόναις πιλοφορούντων ταῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ' ἐς Καπύην τραπόμενος, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος ἦν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδήμουν, ἐθεράπευε καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὕπατος ἐς μέσους τὰς τε ράβδους καθεῖλεν οἷα ιδιώτης καὶ δακρύσας ἔφη: 'παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὧ πολῖται, τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἔλαβον: ὁ γὰρ δῆμος

ἐχειροτόνησεν: ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἀφείλετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τότε παθὼν ἐν οἰκείοις κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁμῶς ἀγανακτῶ: τί γὰρ ἔτι τὰς φυλάς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύομεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ χειροτονιῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἔτι κύριοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μέν, ἃ δίδετε, ἀφαιρήσεσθε δ', ὅταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσῃτε.'

[66] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐς ἐρέθισμα καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικτισάμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα κατέρρηξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταθορῶν ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἐς μέσους καὶ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἕως ἐπικλασθέντες ἀνέστησάν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καθίσαντες αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τάς τε ράβδους ἀνέσχον καὶ θαρρεῖν οἷα ὑπατον ἐκέλευον καὶ σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐφ' ὃ τι χρήζοι. τῆς δ' ἀφορμῆς εὐθὺς οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον καὶ ὦμνον τῷ Κίννᾳ τὸν ὄρκον τὸν στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἐξώρκου. ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ ταῦτα εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέθει καὶ ἡρέθιζε κάκεινους, ὥς διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῷ γενομένην: οἱ δὲ χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν: καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν ἕτεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο, οἷς ἀπῆρσκεν ἡ τῆς πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.

καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, Ὀκτάουιος δὲ καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὸ μὲν ἄστρῳ τάφροις καὶ τειχῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὠχύρουν καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιὰν ἕς τε τὰς ἐτέρας πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν κατηκόους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγχοῦ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπον Γναῖον τε Πομπήιον, ἀνθύπατον ὄντα καὶ στρατευμάτων περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἡγούμενον, ἐκάλουν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι.

[67] ὁ δ' ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε: καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ παρεστρατοπέδευε. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τούτων πυθόμενος ἐς Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν ἅμα τοῖς συνεξελαθεῖσι καὶ θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα που γεγονόσι. ῥυπῶν δ' ἔτι καὶ κόμης ἔμπλεως ἐπῆει τὰς πόλεις, οἰκτρὸς ὀφθῆναι: μάχας τε καὶ τρόπαια αὐτοῦ Κιμβρικὰ καὶ ἐξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενός τε καὶ πιστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, συνήγαγε Τυρρηγῶν ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐς Κίνναν διῆλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῶν παρόντων δεχόμενον. ὥς δὲ ἀνέμιχθησαν, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐς τρία διαιρεθέντες, Κίννας μὲν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺ, Σερτόριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ Μάριος πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ζευγνύντες οἶδε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ γεφυροῦντες, ἵνα τὴν πόλιν ἀφέλαιντο τὴν σιταγωγίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ Ὅστια εἶλε καὶ διήρπαζε, καὶ Κίννας ἐπιπέμπας Ἀρίμινον κατέλαβε, τοῦ μὴ τινα στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Γαλατίας.

[68] οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δεδιότες καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης δεόμενοι Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη πεπερακότα, Καϊκίλιον δὲ Μέτελλον, τὰ λείψανα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυνίτας διατιθέμενον, ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναίτο εὐπρεπῶς διαλυσάμενον ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι πολιορκουμένη. οὐ συμβαίνοντος δὲ Σαυνίταις ἐς ἃ ἦττον τοῦ Μετέλλου, ὁ Μάριος αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἦττον παρὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου. ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Σαυνῖται Μαρίῳ συνεμάχουν: Κλαύδιον δὲ Ἄππιον χιλίαρχον,

τειχοφυλακοῦντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, εὖ ποτε παθόντα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθείσης αὐτῷ πύλης περὶ ἔω, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐσεδέξατο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεώσθησαν Ὀκταουίου καὶ Πομπηίου σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων· κεραυνῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον καταρραγέντων ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπώλετο.

[69] Μάριος δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκ τε θαλάσσης καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης κατέσχευεν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεις διετρόχαζεν, ἔνθα σῖτος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεσωρευμένος. ἄφνω δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπίπτων εἶλε μὲν Ἄντιον καὶ Ἀρικήαν καὶ Λανούβιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προδιδόντων τινῶν· ὥς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν ἀγορᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ἀπίας, πρὶν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἄλλην ἐτέρωθεν ἀχθῆναι. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ἑκατὸν σταδίους αὐτός τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος ἀποσχόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Ὀκταουίου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανὸν αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιβλεπομένων, ἀρετῇ μὲν ἔτι καὶ πλήθει νομιζομένων εἶναι κρειττόνων, ὀκνούντων δ' ὑπὲρ ὅλης ὀξέως κινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος διὰ μάχης μιᾶς. ὥς δὲ περιπέμψας ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κήρυκας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν ἐλευθερίαν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἡτομόλουν αὐτίκα· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταραττομένη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ βραδύνειεν ἡ σιτοδεία, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου προσδοκῶσα μετέπιπτε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐς τὸν Κίνναν ἔπεμπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤρετο, πότερον ὥς πρὸς ὑπατον ἔλθοιεν ἢ πρὸς ιδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπανελθόντων, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἤδη κατὰ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν ἐξεπήδων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τῷ λιμῷ δεδιότες, οἱ δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ ἐκείνων αἰρούμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῶν γιγνομένων περιμένοντες.

[70] Κίννας δ' ἤδη καταφρονητικῶς τῷ τειχεὶ ἐπλησίαζε καὶ ἀποσχὼν ὅσον βέλους ὀρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀπορούντων ἔτι καὶ δεδιότων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀποροῦσα καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένη Λεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός, ὑπατεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἤκουσα δ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὥς πρὸς ὑπατον. οὐδὲν τε χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶντες τοῦτο μόνον ἤτουν, ἐπομόσαι σφίσι τὸν Κίνναν φόνον οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὁμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὧδε ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ σφαγῆς αἴτιος ἔσεσθαι. Ὀκτάουιον δ' ἤδη περιοδεύσαντα καὶ κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντα ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ μέσου, μὴ τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὑπατος, τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο· Μάριος δ' αὐτῷ παρεστῶς παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μὲν, ἐδήλου δὲ τῇ δριμύτητι τοῦ προσώπου, πόσον ἐργάσεται φόνον. δεξαμένης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν τε καὶ Μάριον ἥσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι, σὺν εἰρωνείᾳ σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδίων εἶπεν οὐκ

εἶναι φυγάσιν εισόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατον ἐξελέγησαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο λελύσθαι.

[71] οἱ μὲν δὴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσῆεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπράξαι σφίσι δοκούντων ἀκωλύτως πάντα διηρπάζετο: Ὀκταοῦϊω δὲ Κίννας μὲν καὶ Μάριος ὄρκους ἐπεπόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται καὶ μάντιες οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι φυγεῖν παρήνουν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν οὐποτε προλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπατος ὢν ἐς τὸ Ἰάνουκλον, ἐκστάς τοῦ μέσου, διήλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ τινος ἔτι καὶ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ θρόνου προυκάθητο, τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος, ῥάβδων καὶ πελέκεων ὡς ὑπάτῳ περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τινων ἱππέων Κηνσωρίνου καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρεστῶσης στρατιᾶς φυγεῖν παρακαλούντων καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος οὐδὲ ὑπαναστῆναι τὴν σφαγὴν περιέμενεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρίνος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν ἐς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρώτου τοῦδε ὑπάτου. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων ἐκρήμναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἔτι καὶ τότε τὸ μύσος, ἀρξάμενόν τε ἀπὸ Ὀκταοῦϊου καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους περιόν.

ζητηταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεον τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν κεφαλαὶ πᾶσαι προυτίθεντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδῶς τε θεῶν ἢ νέμεσις ἀνδρῶν ἢ φθόνου φόβος οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπῆν, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἔργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐς ὧσαι ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτινύνοντες τε ἀνηλεῶς καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τεθνεώτων καὶ προτιθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς φόβον ἢ κατάπληξιν ἢ θεῶν ἀθέμιστον.

[72] Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, δύο ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφῶ, καὶ Ἀτιλῖος Σερρανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμετώριος καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνηρέθησαν, Κράσσος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔφθασε προανελεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπανηρέθη. τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον ἔς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ξενίζων ἐς πανδοκεῖον ἐπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἶνον πρίασθαι: καὶ τοῦ καπήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αἰτοίῃ, πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐπιθύρισε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ πριάμενος ἐπανήλθεν, ὁ δὲ κάπηλος αὐτίκα ἔθει Μαρίῳ τοῦτο δηλώσων, καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσεν, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνέδραμεν ὡς αὐτὸς ὁρμήσων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπισχόντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων χιλιάρχος ἀποσταλεὶς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνέπεμψεν, οὗς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἡδὺς ὢν εἰπεῖν κατεκίλει λόγοις μακροῖς, οἰκτιζόμενός τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διεξιὼν, ἕως ὁ χιλιάρχος ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ αὐτὸς ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἀκροωμένους ἔκτεινε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ῥητορεύοντα ἔτι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔπεμψε τῷ Μαρίῳ.

[73] Κορνοῦτον δὲ ἐν καλύβαις κρυπτόμενον οἱ θεράποντες εὐμηχάνως περιέσωσαν: νεκρῷ γὰρ περιτυχόντες σώματι πυρὰν τε ἔνησαν καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιόντων ἄψαντες τὴν πυρὰν ἔφασαν τὸν δεσπότην καίειν

ἀπαγξάμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων περισέσωστο, Κόιντος δὲ Ἀγχάριος Μάριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν, ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν διαλλακτῆριον ἔσσεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀρχόμενος τῆς θυσίας προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγχάριον καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς παρεστώσι προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν γεγονότων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτέθησαν. ταφὴν τε οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ καὶ κύνες ἄνδρας τοιούσδε διεσπάσαντο. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἦν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνεύθυνος καὶ ἐξελάσεις ἐτέρων καὶ δημεύσεις περιουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνατροπαὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων. αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάντες ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο, καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμευτο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο: τὸ δὲ γύναιον καὶ ἡ γενεὰ ζητούμενοι διέφυγον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀπὴν ἀθρόων τε καὶ ποικίλων κακῶν.

[74] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννόμου μετὰ τοσοῦσδε φόνους ἀκρίτους, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῷ τε ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλα, κατ' ὀργὴν ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν Κίνναν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουτατίῳ Κάτλῳ, τῷ Μαρίου περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ συνάρχῳ, περισωθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, ἀχαρίστῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ πικροτάτῳ περὶ τὴν ἐξέλασιν γενομένῳ. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ φυλλασσόμενοι τε ἀφανῶς καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν δίκην ἀνακαλούμενοι ἑτεράκις δὲ ἐχρῆν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὀρισμένοις ὥρων διαστήμασιν ἀλῶναι, Μερόλας μὲν τὰς φλέβας ἐνέτεμεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῷ παρακείμενον ἐδήλου, ὅτι κόπτων τὰς φλέβας τὸν πῖλον ἀποθοῖτο ὅν γάρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἱερέα περικείμενον τελευτᾶν, Κάτλος δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ νεοχρίστῳ τε καὶ ἔτι ὑγρῷ καίῳ ἀνθρακας ἐκὼν ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' ὅσοι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύθεροι γεγέννητο καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννα τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαζον, ἀναιροῦντες ἅμα οἷς περιτύχοιεν: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις δεσπόταις μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας δ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε, Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀναπαυομένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας.

οἱ μὲν δὴ θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν τῆς ἐς δεσπότης πολλάκις ἀπιστίας: [75] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπατοὶ μὲν ἦρηντο Κίννας τε αὖθις καὶ Μάριος ἑβδομον, ὃ μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ ἐπικήρυξιν, εἴ τις ὥς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπῆντα τὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ νεογνῶν ἀετῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον ὁ Κίννας ἐλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπεμψε, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἴλετο συνάρχειν ἑαυτῷ.

[76] Σύλλας δ' ἐπέιξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὥς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανών, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβὼν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶνδε κατακλείσας, ἐπανήει στρατὸν ἄγων εὖνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένον καὶ πολὺν καὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπηρμένον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ νεῶν

πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς ἅπαντα ἀξίολογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος, ὥστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὃ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν τινὰς περιέπεμπον, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροίζειν, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίαις ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἠρέθιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολιτίδας, ὡς δι' αὐτὰς ὄντες ἐν τοσῷδε κινδύνῳ. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζον ἀθρόως καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξείας οὐδὲ οἶδε παρασκευῆς μετὰ δέους ἅμα καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξέλιπον.

[77] Σύλλας δ' ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστέλλε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καταλέγων, ὅσα περὶ Λιβύην ἐς Ἰογόρθαν τὸν Νομάδα ἔτι ταμιεύων ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρεσβεύων ἢ Κυλικίας ἡγούμενος ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς ἢ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε, τὰ δ' ἑναγχος ἐς Μιθριδάτην ὑπερεπαίρων τε μάλιστα καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτου γενόμενα Ῥωμαίοις ἀναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίννα καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποδέξαιτο ἀπορουμένους καὶ ἐπικουφίζοι τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν ἔφη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διαφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάση τιμωρὸς ἦξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περὶ οὐδενός.

ὧν ἀναγινωσκομένων δέος ἅπαντας ἐπέιχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἱ συναλλάξειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔμελλον καὶ προερεῖν, εἴ τινας ἀσφαλείας δέοιτο, τῇ βουλῇ τάχιστα ἐπιστεῖλαι· τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν εἰρητὸ μὴ στρατολογεῖν, ἔστε ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίνασθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, οἰχομένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεῖπον ὑπάτους αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θάττον ἐπανήκειν, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιιόντες στρατιὰν συνῆγον, ἣν ἐς Λιβυρνίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαντήσοντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ, κατὰ μέρος ἐπὶ νεῶν διεβίβαζον.

[78] τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέπλευσε· τῷ δ' ἐξῆς χειμῶν ἐπέπεσε, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἐλαμβάνοντο, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ὡς οὐ στρατεύοντες ἐκόντες κατὰ πολιτῶν· οἱ τε λοιποὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ περάσειν ἔτι ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν Λιβυρνίαν. Κίννας δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπιπλήξων συνεκάλει· καὶ οἱ σὺν ὀργῇ παρήεσαν ὡς ἀμνούμενοι. τῶν δὲ ῥαβδοφόρων τινὸς ὁδοποιοῦντος τῷ Κίννᾳ καὶ τινα τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, ἕτερος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπάταξε. καὶ Κίννα κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν συλλαβεῖν βοή παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη, καὶ λίθων ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις· οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπισπάσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίννας ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε· Κάρβων δ' ἔκ τε Λιβυρνίας τοὺς διαπεπλευκότας ἐς αὐτὴν μετεκάλει καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα δεδιώς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατῆει, καὶ πάνυ τῶν δημάρχων αὐτὸν καλούντων ἐπὶ συνάρχου χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν, ἐπανῆλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαισίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἐτέραν προύγραφε· κὰν ταύτη κεραυνοῦ πεσόντος ἐς τὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν οἱ μάντιες ὑπὲρ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἀνέτίθεντο τὰς

χειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἤρχεν ὁ Κάρβων.

[79] Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸς μὲν οὐποτε ἀνδράσι τολάδε ἐργασαμένοις ἔσσεσθαι φίλος, τῇ πόλει δ' οὐ φθονήσιν χαριζομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς: ἀσφάλειαν δὲ αὐτὸς μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν ἐς αἰὶ παρέξειν, στρατὸν ἔχων εὖνουν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δῆλος ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῷδε, οὐ διαλύσω τὸν στρατὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἤδη διανοοῦμενος. ἥτει δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο γέρας εἶχεν, ἐντελῇ πάντα ἀποδοθῆναι: καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίνναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας πέντε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἐξακισχιλίους, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακεδονίας προσλαβὼν, ἅπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας, ἐπὶ τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον χιλίαις καὶ ἑξακοσίαις ναυσὶ διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεῖ τῶν Βρεντεσίων, τοῖσδε μὲν ὕστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

[80] καὶ αὐτῷ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ Εὐσεβής, ἐκ πολλοῦ τε ἡρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσελθὼν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβυστίδι τὸ μέλλον περιορῶν, αὐτόκλητος σύμμαχος ἀπῆντα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε συμμαχίας, ἀνθύπατος ἔτι ὢν: ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν, ἔστε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μέγας παρονομασθεὶς, Πομπηίου μὲν ὢν παῖς τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐκ εὖνουν τῷ Σύλλᾳ νομισθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ἦλθε καὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος κατὰ κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς ισχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀγείρας. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ: ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἐπιόντος, φασίν, ὑπανίστατο μόνῳ. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἔπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φίλους καὶ Ἰεμψάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπαρθείς ἐς μέγα ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος ἀντιστασιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίου γενόμενος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσὼν, ἰκέτης τε γινόμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπηρετήν ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιο παρέχων.

[81] ὁ δὲ καὶ στρατιᾶς πολὺν πλῆθος ἔχων ἤδη καὶ φίλους πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, τοῖσδε μὲν ὑποστρατήγοις ἐχρήτο, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀνθυπάτῳ ὄντε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρουν: ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας, ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἀποθέσθαι πῶ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαιο Κίννας. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦει βαρυτάτη καὶ ἀφανεῖ ἔχθρα: οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧσται τῆς τε φύσεως αὐτοῦ καλῶς τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάληψιν ἔτι ἔχοντες ἐν

ὄψει τὰ τε ψηφίσματα, ἃ ἐπεκήρυξαν αὐτῷ, λογιζομενοὶ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὀρῶντες ἀνεσκαμμένην καὶ περιουσίαν δεδημευμένην καὶ φίλους ἀνηρημένους καὶ γενεὰν μόλις ἐκφυγοῦσαν ἐδείκναιον. καὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι νίκης ἢ πανωλεθρίας μέσον εἶναι νομίζοντες συνίσταντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μετὰ δέους, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπέμποντες στρατιὰν καὶ τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα συνήγου, οὐδὲν ὡς περὶ ἐσχάτων σφίσιν ἀπολείποντες οὔτε σπουδῆς οὔτε προθυμίας.

[82] γαίος τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων, τὼ τότε ὄντε ὑπάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Κάρβων, ὃς πέρυσιν ἦρχεν, ἔχθρα μὲν ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ὁμοία χρώμενοι, δέει δὲ καὶ συνειδότες ὧν ἔπραξαν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χεῖρονι, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως στρατόν, ὅσον εὐπόρουν, κατέλεγον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν κατὰ μέρος ἐχώρουν, σπεύrais ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίαις τότε πρῶτον: ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ἡ γὰρ εὖνοια τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἔπραττον, πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν τε ἀμαρτηθέντων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ συνεγνωκότες καὶ τοῦ φόβου μετέχειν ἡγούμενοι συνέπρασσον, εὗ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ἢ διόρθωσιν ἢ φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ὅλως ἀθρόαν ἐπινοοῦντα. ὧν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς δόξης. ὃ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἐφθειρε πάντας, ὧν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστυ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον: καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲν δεινὸν καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξέλιπε δρῶν, μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅλης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐχρηζέ τε καὶ ἐβούλετο.

[83] καὶ τὰδε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προσημῆναι. δειμάτα τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνευον, τέρατά τε πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κύουσα ἔχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκε, τὴν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἔσεισε καὶ νεῶς τινὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατήνεγκε, καὶ πάντῃ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαρυεργῶν. τό τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίοις πού πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γεγόμενον ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως κατάληψιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆναι.

[84] ἦρξατο μὲν οὖν ὁδε ὁ πόλεμος, ἐξ οὗ Σύλλας ἐς Βρεντέσιον παρῆλθεν, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων: μῆκος δ' αὐτοῦ, διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων, σὺν ἐπεῖξει ὥς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἰδίους ταχυνόντων, οὐ πολὺ ὥς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπείγομένοις ἐν βραχεῖ μείζω καὶ ὀξύτερα συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἐς δὲ τριετὲς ὅμως προῆλθε, κατὰ γε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας: ἐν γὰρ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολίαι καὶ πολιορκίαι καὶ πολέμων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο πολλά, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὧν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τοιαῦτα ἦν.

πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίνετο μάχη· καὶ θηήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἐξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐβδομήκοντα, τραυματῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί· καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην ἀνέζευξε. [85] Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὗσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπήει μεθ' ἐτέρου στρατοῦ, πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχοντος καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι· αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζοντες ἢ χρήζοντες, ὥς στασιάσειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀθύμως ἔχοντα. ὁ καὶ συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μὲν γὰρ ὄμηρα τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατήει, καὶ συνήεσαν τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ γινῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη· ἐδόκει δ' ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμπαι Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἐκατέρων ἡσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδῳ ζύεσαν, ἢ τὰ Σύλλεια ἦρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἡττιάτο πέμπων ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δέ, εἴτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκῶς εἴτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὥς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δὴ τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργῳ, τὰ ὄμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τε τῆς Συέσης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήψει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁμήρων οὐκ ἀπαιτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνετίθεντο μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειε. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ὥς τὸν ὑπατοὶ Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε οὐ στρατηγοῦ παθεῖν ὁ Σκιπίων, ἀγνοήσας ὅλου στρατοῦ τοσὴνδε συνθήκην.

[86] Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπειθὼν ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῇ. καὶ πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύην περὶ συμβάσεων ἔπεμπεν ἐτέρους, εἴτε δείσας τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης εἴτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν ὅ γάρ τοι Νωρβανός, ὡς οἶκε, μὴ διαβληθεῖται τὰ ὅμοια ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἔδεισεν· ἀναστήσας Σύλλας ἐχώρει πρόσω τὰ πολέμια πάντα δηρὼν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἔπραττε κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς. Κάρβων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ προδραμὼν Μέτελλον τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνῆσαν, ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολεμίους. αἷς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπίμπετο· καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινὲς ἐλογοποιοῦν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλας πέμψαντος εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἄδηλον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν, δι' ἣν ἂν οὕτως ἐγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος Ἰβηρίας μετὰ τὴν Συέσης κατάληψιν ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν οὐ δεχομένων, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὅδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκίνησε πόνους. πλέονος δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου περὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν Γαλατίας, οὐδ' ὁ Σύλλας ἡμέλει, περιπέμπων ἐς ὅσα δύναίτο τῆς Ἰταλίας, φιλία τε καὶ φόβος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀγείρων, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἐκατέρωις ἐς ταῦτα ἀνῆλθῃ.

[87] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπατοὶ μὲν ἐγενέσθην Παπίριός τε Κάρβων αὔθις καὶ Μάριος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Μαρίου τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη

γεγονώς· χειμῶν δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενον ἅπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστησεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος περὶ τὸν Αἰσῖνον ποταμὸν ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀγὼν καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Μετέλλω τε καὶ Καρρίνῃ, Κάρβωνος στρατηγῷ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ φεύγει μὲν ὁ Καρρίνας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, τὰ δὲ περίοικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμάτων μετετίθετο. Μέτελλον δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβὼν ἐφρούρει περικαθήμενος, ἔστε Μάριον τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον μεγάλη μάχῃ περὶ Πραϊνεστὸν ἡττῆσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνεστρατοπέδευεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον. καὶ τοῦδε μὲν Πομπήιος τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξαπτόμενος ἠνώχλει, ἡ δὲ περὶ Πραϊνεστὸν ἦσσα ὧδε ἐγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὥς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἰερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασεν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγωνίζετο προθύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδόναι τοῦ λαιοῦ μέρους, σπεῖραι πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἱππέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανεῖναι τὰ τε σημεῖα ἔρριψαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τόδ' εὐθὺς ἦρχε τῷ Μαρίῳ δυσχεροῦς ἥτης. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν ἔφευγον ἅπαντες, ἐπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραϊνεστῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους αὐτῶν εἰσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλωδίους ἀνιμήσαντο. πολὺς δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦδε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγίνετο φόνος, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὧν τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὥς αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους.

[88] ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μέτελλος ἐνίκα ἕτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κἀναῦθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μέτελλον. πομπήιος τε Μάρκιον ἐνίκα περὶ πόλιν Σήνας καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξεν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς οὐκέτι μάχῃ παραστησόμενος Μάριον, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο προανελεῖν καὶ Βρούτῳ στρατηγούντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστελλε τὴν σύγκλητον ὥς ἐπὶ ἄλλο συναγαγεῖν καὶ κτεῖναι Πόπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἕτερον καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν, τὸν τὴν μεγίστην Ῥωμαίοις ἱερωσύνην ἱερωμένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶνδε ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καθὰ Μάριος προσέταξε, τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσαχθέντων· Δομίτιος δ' ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἀνῆρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη· ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ ἤδη μὴ καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δι' ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ὁδῶν περιέπεμπεν, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεῖεν, ἐπὶ Ὅστια χωρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ αἱ τε πόλεις παροδεύοντας ξὺν φόβῳ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέωξαν, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ πιεζόμενοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἄρα αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατοῦντα φέρειν ἐθιζόμενοι.

[89] Σύλλας δ' ὥς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἴδρυσεν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσὼ παρῆλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἀπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων αὐτίκα ἐδημεύετο καὶ διεπιπράσκετο, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν

παρόντων ὠλοφύρετο καὶ θαρρεῖν προσέταξεν ὥς αὐτίκα τῶνδε παυσομένων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον ἐλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος δ' ὅσα ἤπειγε καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξώρμησεν ἐς Κλούσιον, ἔνθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἤκμαζεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσεγένοντο ἱππεῖς Κελτιβήρες, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμὸν ἱππομαχίας ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἔκτεινεν ἐς πεντήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων, διακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τῶνδε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἠυτομόλησαν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνεῖλεν, εἴτε χαλεπήνας τῆς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν αὐτομολίας εἴτε δείσας περὶ ὁμοίου. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Σατουρνίαν ἐτέρῳ μέρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐνίκα, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν περιπλέων τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ πυροφόρον οὖσαν, προκατελάμβανεν. ἔς τε Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας νυκτὸς ἕτεροι τῶν Συλλείων ἐσελθόντες ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλα καὶ Κάρβωνι περὶ Κλούσιον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν γίγνεται μάχη καρτερὰ· καὶ φανέντες ἀλλήλοις ἰσόμαχοι μετὰ σκότους διεκρίθησαν.

[90] ἐν δὲ τῷ πωλητίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσος, ἄμφω Σύλλα στρατηγοί, κτείνουσι τῶν Καρβωνείων εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ Καρρίναν τὸν ἀντιστρατηγὸντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν, ἔσπε Κάρβων μὲν ἕτερον τῷ Καρρίνῳ στρατὸν ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος καὶ ἐφεδρεύσας ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν παρὸδ οὐντων ἐς δισχιλίους, καὶ Καρρίνας δὲ νυκτός, ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ σκότους, αἰσθομένων μὲν τι τῶν περικαθημένων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ὄμβρον ἀμελούντων, διέφυγε. καὶ Κάρβων ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν Μαρίῳ τῷ συνάρχῳ Μάρκιον ἔπεμψεν, ὁκτὼ τέλη στρατιᾶς ἄγοντα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ κακοπαθεῖν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐν στενῷ προσπεσὼν τρέπεται τε καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἐς λόφον συνέκλεισε τοὺς λοιπούς. ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιος μὲν οὐ σβέσας τὸ πῦρ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθεὶς ἐστασίασε χαλεπῶς, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς σημείοις ὅλον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν, ὥς ἐπὶ σπείρας τῷ στρατηγῷ μόνας παραμεῖναι.

καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ὧδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρβωνα ἐπανήει, Μάρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσῖνον ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καυπαῖον Γούτταν, μεθ' ἐπὶ μυριάδων ἐπείγομένους Μάριον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἐξωθεν ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς ὃ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυημέρου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν αὐθις συνεκλείετο.

[91] καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαυεντία Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὁδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μετέλλου στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες, λοιπῆς οὔσης ὥρας μῖα καὶ ἀμπέλων πυκνῶν περικειμένων, ἀνοήτως μάλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐς μάχην ἐξέταττον, ἐλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλήξειν.

ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὡς ἐν ἀφνειῇ χωρίῳ τε καὶ ὥρα καὶ ἐς τὰ φυτὰ ἐμπύπτοντες ἐφθείροντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, αὐτομολῆσαι δ' ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διαρριφῆναι, μόνων ἐν τάξει χιλίων ἐπανελθόντων ἐς Ἀρίμινον. τέλος δ' ἄλλο Λευκανῶν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀλβενουανοῦ, τῆς ἡττης πυθόμενον, μετεχώρει πρὸς Μέτελλον δυσχεραίνοντος Ἀλβενουανοῦ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτὸν ἐς Νωρβανὸν ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ κοινολογησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἄδειαν, εἴ τι πράξειεν ἀξιόλογον, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγούς, Γάιον Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Φλάυιον Φιμβρίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν Καρβωνείων στρατηγοὶ τότε παρήσαν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρὶς γε Νωρβανοῦ ὁ μόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίκετό, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλβενουανὸς ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν διέφυγε. Νωρβανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀρίμινον ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατοπέδων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε παρόντων οἱ φίλων οὐδένα ἔτι πιστὸν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς τιθέμενος, ιδιωτικοῦ σκάφους ἐπιβὰς ἐς Ῥόδον διέπλευσεν: ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐξαιτούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, Ῥοδίῳν ἔτι ἀμφιγνοούντων, ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση διέφθειρε.

[92] Κάρβων δὲ ἕτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πραίνεστὸν ἄγειν ἔπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερεπειγόμενος Μάριον ἐκλῦσαι τῆς πολιορκίας: ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Γαλάται τε ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ῥαβέννης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια παρήκουσιν, ἀθρόως ἐς Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο: καὶ Λεύκολλος ἑτέρους τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐνίκα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὣν ὁ Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος, τρισμυρίους ὅμως ἔτι ἔχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον Σαυνιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλῇ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κατοποιοῦντων, ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶς ἔφευγε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὑπατος ἔτι ὢν, ὡς Λιβύην παρασησόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ Κλούσιον Πομπηίῳ συνενεχθέντες ἐς μάχην ἀπέβαλον ἐς δισμυρίους, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγίστῃ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθη: Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαυνίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἄστυ καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν.

[93] δεῖσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προύπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόω τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίταις πύλαις περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύοντων. μάχης δ' εὐθύς αὐτοῖς περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν γενομένης τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἡττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ γέροντες, ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς πύλας καθῆκαν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς: αἱ δ' ἐμπίπτουσαι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης

ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἀγωνισάμενοι πολὺ πλῆθος ἔκτειναν· ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Τελεσῖνόν τε καὶ Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. Λαμπωνίος τε ὁ Λευκανὸς καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνῆσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ θάνατος ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων· τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ὀκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαυνῖται τὸ πλεόν ἦν, κατηκόντισε. μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ἀλόντες προσήγοντο· καὶ οὐδὲ τῶνδε φειδόμενος οἶα Ῥωμαίων ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Πραίνεστόν Λουκρητίῳ περὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιενεγκεῖν ἔπεμψεν.

[94] Πραίνεστίοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεώμενοι καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνος στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναι πάντα πυνθανόμενοι αὐτόν τε Νωρβανὸν ἤδη φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ῥώμην ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σύλλαν ἐκτενῶς χειρῶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδοσαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς τάφρους ὑπονόμους καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἑαυτόν. Λουκρήτιος μὲν δὴ Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἰπεῖν· 'ἐρέτην δεῖ πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν.' Λουκρήτιος δ' ἐπεὶ Πραίνεστόν εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρῖῳ στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνείλε. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραίνεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὄπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάνπαν, ἐξεῖλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστήναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραίνεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὅμως, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γύναια δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὖσαν.

ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραίνεστός ἐάλω, Νῶρβα δ', ἑτέρα πόλις, ἀντείχεν ἔτι ἐγκρατῶς, ἔστε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου νυκτὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγνακτήσαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνήρουν, οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βρόχοις συνεπλέκοντο· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνέφραττον ἕτεροι καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν ... ἄνεμός τε πολλὸς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

[95] καὶ οἶδε μὲν οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον· ἡνυσμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες τὰ ὑποπτα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ἔς τε Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Κάρβωνος φίλους ἐστέλλετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν πολλὰ ἐμεγαληγόρησεν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ φοβερὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν εἶπεν ἕτερα καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμιον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολήν, εἰ πείθοντό οἱ, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ φείσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἢ ταμίας ἢ χιλιάρχους ἢ ὅσοι τι συνέπραξαν ἄλλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μεθ' ἣν ἡμέραν Σκιπίων ὁ ὕπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατὰ κράτος.

ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα βουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱπέων ἅμφι χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προύγραφεν. οὗτος γὰρ δοκεῖ πρῶτος, οὗς ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, προγράψαι καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναιρουσὶ καὶ μῆνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἄδοκῆτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτούμενοι: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασὶς τε ἐτέρων ἦν καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἐτέροις ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ζητηταὶ πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνῆρουν.

[96] πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσις τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἦν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανοῦ ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις στρατηγούντων ὑπήκουσαν. κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλευσεως ὅλως κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ' ἦν καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβόντος ἢ δόντος, ἥδη δέ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας ἠλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκμαζε μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ὥς δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετῆει καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαιρῶν ἢ κοινὰς ζημίας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἢ εἰσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις: ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπώκιζεν ὥς ἕξων φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τοῦσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν: ὁ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς εὖνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν: ὥς γὰρ οὐχ ἔξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ' εἶη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάντος.

καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἅμφι τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νῆσον ὑποφεύγοντα πέμψας τινὰς ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἄγουσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἐς ὄψιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρις ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς Σύλλαν ἔπεμψεν.

[97] ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα, ὥς ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διώκητο καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι πλὴν Σερτωρίου μακρὰν ὄντος, Μέτελλον μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίστατο ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἔτι, πεφρικότων ὑπὸ δέους πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ἢ σιωπώντων: οἱ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα διώκῃσιν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑέγραψαν 'Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς.' ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὠνόμαζον: καὶ προῆλθεν ἐς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἢ κολακεία. ἥδη δὲ που γραφῇ περιέτυχον ἡγουμένη τὸν Σύλλαν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς

ἐφαίνετό μοι καὶ τότε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο: δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἐπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ χρησμός αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαίον τάδε σκεπτομένων τὰ μέλλοντα. “πεῖθεδ μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν

Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε:
Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι
Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστρῳ
Καρῶν, οἱ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης:
ἢ ἐλέκευν θέμενος λήψη κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.”

ὁπότερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐσηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν εἰκόνα τιθέντες, δοκοῦσί μοι παρασκώπτοντες ἢ ἐκμειλισσόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον χρύσειον καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε: “τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,

ὃ σ' εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσιν
τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον.”

[98] ὁ δὲ ἔργῳ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἢ τύραννος, οὐχ αἰρετός, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βία, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ προσποιήματος αἰρετός εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὥδε καὶ τότε ἐμηχανήσατο. Ῥωμαῖοις πάλαι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἦσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς: καὶ ὅποτε τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἕτερος παρ' ἑτερον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦρχεν, ἕως τινὰ ἄλλον ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσειε βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθήμερον ἄρχοντα ἰντέρρηγα ἐκάλουν: εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν τοσῶδε βασιλεὺς. ἀρχαιρέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰεὶ προυτίθεσαν: καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν ὑπάτος οὐκ εἴη, ὥδε ὁ ἐν τοσῶδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε ἐγίγνετο ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραϊνεστόν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μὲν που τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ προσέταξεν ἐλῆσθαι τὸν καλούμενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα.

ἡ μὲν δὴ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον εἵλετο, ἐλπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθήσεσθαι χειροτονίαν: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεγκεῖν, ὅτι χρήσιμον ἡγοῖτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀρχήν, οὓς ἐκάλουν δικτάτορας, παυσάμενον ἔθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν: ὃν δὲ ἔλοιντο, ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην στάσει καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλλαν, καὶ οὐδ' ἀμφίβολον ἦν: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατασχὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκάλυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοίη μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος.

[99] ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἐπέστελλε, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἐκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔτι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορίᾳ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὥς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν, ἐς ὅσον θέλοι, τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῶν δικτατόρων ἀρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δ' ὀρίζομένη: τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα τυραννὶς ἐγίγνετο

ἐντελής. τοσόνδε μέντοι προσέθεσαν εἰς εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ῥήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αἰροῖντο δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσειε, καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις δημοκρατία τε καὶ ὑπάτοις ἐτησίους προστάταις ἐς ἄλλας ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας, αὐθις ἐπειρῶντο βασιλείας, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε ἀγωνίσματος πλὴν σταδίου δρόμου γιγνομένου: τοὺς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεάματα πάντα ὁ Σύλλας ἐς Ῥώμην μετετέκλετο ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἢ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. πρόφασις δ' ἦν ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ καμάτων.

[100] ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἐγένοντο Μάρκος Τύλλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας: αὐτοὺς δ' οἷα δὴ βασιλεύων δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἦν: πελέκεις τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα δικτάτορος, εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἡγοῦντο, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλήν. νόμους τε ἐξέλυε καὶ ἐτέρους ἐτίθετο: καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπέιπε, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἄρχειν ἐκώλυσε, πρὶν ἔτη δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφύνας καὶ νόμῳ κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν: διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἢ γένους ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ Σύλλας αὐτήν, καθὰ νῦν ἐστίν, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν. αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους πάμπαν ὀλιγανδρούση προσκατέλεξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἐκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοὺς δούλους τῶν ἀνηρημένων τοὺς νεωτάτους τε καὶ εὐρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, ἐλευθερώσας ἐγκατέλεξε καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορνηλίους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν, ὅπως ἐτοίμοις ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίοις χρῶτο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένοις τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπένειμεν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ.

[101] ἐς ἅπαντα δ' ἦν οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ ἄκρος ὀργήν, ὥς καὶ Κόιντον Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν τὸν Πραίνεστον αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκπεπολιορκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱππέα ὄντα, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ στρατηγήσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀξιοῦντα καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ κτεῖναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν: 'ἴστε μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι Λουκρήτιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθοῦντά μοι.' καὶ λόγον εἶπε: 'φθειρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον: ὁ δὲ δις μὲν,' ἔφη, 'τὸ ἄροτρον μεθεῖς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν: ὥς δ' αὐθις ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλακίς ἀργοίῃ, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσε. κἀγὼ τοῖς δις ἡττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεθῆναι.' Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε καταπληζάμενος αὐτούς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο, ἤρχε. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ. καὶ τινες

αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρνούμενην βασιλείαν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μετέφερον καὶ τυραννίδα ὁμολογοῦσαν ἔλεγον.

[102] ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὃδε προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις, ἄρτι δ' ἀποροῦντος τοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις εἰσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε γὰρ πάντα καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις, οὐχ ὅσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἑαυτὰς ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἔνορκοι καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔνιαι καὶ λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηροῦντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κῶν ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτῃ, διαφυγόντα δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη γενόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο βασιλεύειν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐρήμου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχῆς ἀνδρὸς οὔσης καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅσαι βασιλείου γένους, ἀνδρὸς συγγενοῦς δεομένων, ἐλπίσας χρηματιεῖσθαι πολλὰ ἐκ βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλα πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον, ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου προαγαγόντες ἔκτειναν. οὕτως ἔτι καὶ οἷδε διὰ τε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἰδίας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαθεῖς ἀφόβως εἶχον ἐτέρων.

[103] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σύλλας, καίπερ ὦν δικτάτωρ, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὅμως καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρατικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη καὶ ὕπατος αὐτῆς γενέσθαι σὺν Μετέλλῳ τῷ Εὐσεβεῖ. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως ἔτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέες, ὑπάτους ἀποφαίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν θεραπεύων ἡρεῖτο ὑπατεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερουίλιον Ἰσαυρικὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον Ποῦλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο. καὶ μοι θαῦμα μὲν καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ καταφαίνεται τοσὴνδε ἀρχὴν πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ μόνον ἐς τότε Σύλλαν οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος ἀποθέσθαι, οὐ παισίν, ὥς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Σέλευκος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις· ἄλογον δ' ἤδη καὶ τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥιποκινδύνως, ἐπεῖτε ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, ἐκόντα ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον, οἷον οὕτω τι ἕτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι νεότητος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πλέον μυριάδων δέκα ἀνηρημένης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτὸν ἀνελόντα βουλευτὰς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπάτους δ' ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους σὺν τοῖς ἐξεληλαμένοις· ὧν τῆς τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀτάφων ἐκριφέντων, οὔτε τοὺς οἴκοι ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τοὺς φεύγοντας καταπλαγεῖς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὧν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τείχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφήρητο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἰδιώτην.

[104] τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὃν γέ φασιν ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἴ τις αἰτοίῃ, τῶν γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ράβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπώσασθαι καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσαι θεωμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ καταπεπληγότος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μειράκιον ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος ὀργὴν γενόμενος εὐσταθῶς τὸ μειράκιον ἠνεγκε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσιῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε ἀπὸ ξυνέσεως εἴτε καὶ τύχῃ καταμαντευόμενος τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι κωλύσει τὸ μειράκιον τότε ἕτερον ἄνδρα ἀρχὴν τοιάνδε ἔχοντα ἀποθέσθαι.

καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνηénéθη μετ' ὀλίγον, Γαίῳ Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι μεθέντος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεῖ, ἐς πάντα σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τύραννος ἐξ ἰδιώτου γενέσθαι καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκ τυράννου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἀγροίκου διαγενέσθαι. διῆλθε γὰρ ἐς χωρία ἴδια ἐς Κύμην τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐρημίας θαλάσσης τε καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ ἐχρῆτο, οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τὸν κατὰ ἅστῳ ἰδιώτην βίον οὐδ' ἀσθενὴς ὧν αὐθις ἐς ὃ τι ὀρμήσειεν· ᾧ δυνατὴ μὲν ἔτι ἡ ἡλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δωδέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν ἔναγχος ὑπεστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ γῆν πολλὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἔτοιμοι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἅστῳ μύριοι Κορινθιοὶ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεῶς, εὐνοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ φοβερὸς ὧν ἔτι τοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀδεές, ὧν τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεπεπράχσαν, ἐν τῷ Σύλλαν περιεῖναι τιθέμενοι· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κόρον τε πολέμων καὶ κόρον ἀρχῆς καὶ κόρον ἄστεος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγροικίας ἐρασθῆναι.

[105] ἄρτι δ' ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι φόνου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡσυχῇ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερριπίζοντο ἑτέρας. καὶ ὑπατοὶ αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόιντος τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος

Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέρεσθαι. δῆλόν τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦδε γενησόμενον.

Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἤδη καλοῖη· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπὼν διαθήκας συνέγραφεν ἐπείγόμενος καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συνετέλει· σφραγισαμένῳ δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπίπτει καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη βιώσας, εὐτυχέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ἔς τε τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα πάντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὠνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκῶν, εἰ δὴ τις εὐτυχίαν ἡγοῖτο τυχεῖν ὅσων ἂν ἐθέλῃ. γίνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ᾧστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιοῦν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λεπίδον ἐνισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι, καὶ ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυσ ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπικταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππées καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐκ ποδὸς ὠπλισμένος εἵπετο. οἱ τε ὑποστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν ὠπλισμένοι συνέθεον καί, ὥς ἕκαστος ἀφικνοῖτο, εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον καθίσταντο· ἄλλο τε πλῆθος, ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ, συνέτρεχεν. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖα καὶ πελέκεις, ὅσοις περιὼν ἔτι καὶ ἄρχων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

[106] ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἤνέχθη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοί τε γὰρ δισχιλίῳν πλείους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δῶρα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων τελῶν καὶ καθ' ἓνα τῶν φίλων, ἄλλη τε τῶν ἐς τὴν ταφὴν πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατὴ φράσαι πολυτέλεια. καὶ τὸ σῶμα δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἱερέες τε ἅμα πάντες καὶ ἱέρειαι, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, τὰ σφέτερα σημεῖα ἐπικεῖμενοι. κόσμῳ δ' ἄλλῳ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων πλῆθος εἵπετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῷ· συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῇ, τὸ ἔργον ἅπαντες ἐπείγόμενοι καταλαβεῖν, σημεῖά τε φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὅπλα ἐπὶ σφίσι περιάγγυρα, οἷς ἔτι νῦν ἐς τὰς πομπὰς εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. σαλπικτῶν τε ἄπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὕγρότατα καὶ πένθιμα μελωδούντων. βοῇ δ' ἐπευφήμουν ἢ τε βουλὴ πρώτη καὶ οἱ ἱππées ἐν μέρει, εἴθ' ὁ στρατός, εἴθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ μὲν τῷ ὄντι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπιποθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δειμαίνοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐχ ἤττον ἢ περιόντος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν γιγνομένων ἀποβλέποντες καὶ ἐς τὴν μνήμην ὧν ἔδρασεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐξεπλήττοντο καὶ ὠμολόγουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐτυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι καὶ σφίσι καὶ θεθνεῶτα φοβερώτατον. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα δημηγοροῦσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, προυτέθη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιταφίους λόγους εἶπεν ὁ κράτιστος εἰπεῖν τῶν τότε, ἐπεὶ Φαῦστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ἦν ἔτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ὑποδύντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρες εὐρωστοὶ διεκόμιζον ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἄρειον, ἔνθα βασιλέες θάπτονται μόνοι· καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ τε ἱππées καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.

[107] καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τοῦτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς χωροῦντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὕπατοι λόγοις βλασφημίαις ἐς ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ ἀστικὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διήρητο. Λεπίδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν

αὐτοῖς, ἣν ὁ Σύλλας ἀφήρητο, ἀποδώσει. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ δείσασα ὥρκωσε μὴ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι, κληρωσάμενος δ' ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἑλπίων Γαλατίαν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια οὐ κατῆι ὡς πολεμῆσων τοῖς Συλλεῖσι τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄρκον ἀδεῶς· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτος ὥρκωσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ', ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλευεν, ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελευσόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ. κωλυόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκίρυντε Κάτλος. μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἡττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἔτι ἀντισχὼν ἐς Σαρδῶν διέπλευσεν, ἔνθα νόσῳ τηκεδόνι χρώμενος ἀπέθανε· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἤγαγε Σερτώριον.

[108] λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλεῖων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίου, γενόμενον μὲν ὀκτάετες, οὐκ εὐμαρὲς δὲ οὐδαμὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ἰβήρας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς Σερτώριον, ὃς ἦρητο μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Κάρβωνι δ' ἐπὶ Σύλλα συμμαχῶν Σύεσαν πόλιν ἐν σπονδαῖς κατέλαβε καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὄχετο. καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καὶ τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας τοὺς τε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, οὐ παραδιδόντας οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς χάριν Σύλλα, τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ πρὸς Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀπεμάχετο γενναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὢν ἐπὶ τόλμῃ, βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους καὶ τήνδε ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ' ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λεπίδου μετὰ Σύλλαν, στρατὸν ἔχων ἄλλον Ἰταλῶν, ὅσον αὐτῷ Περπέννας ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατηγὸς ἤγαγεν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ δείσασα ἡ βουλὴ στρατὸν τε ἄλλον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ Πομπήϊον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, νέον μὲν ἔτι ὄντα, περιφανῆ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατεῖργαστο.

[109] ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἑλπίων ὄρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνῆι, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἐτέραν δ' ἐχάρασσεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἑρριανοῦ, οἱ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλπίων ὀρῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ῥεῖ δ' ὁ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἑλπίων εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐνδοθεν τῶν Ἑλπίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον, Πάδος ἀντὶ Ἑρριανοῦ μετονομασθεῖς. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος ὄλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε καὶ Λαύρωνά πόλιν ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπήϊου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γυνὴ τις ἐνυβρίζοντος αὐτῇ τοῦ λαβόντος παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐξέτεμε τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς· καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος τὴν σπεῖραν ὅλην, ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ οὕσαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν κατέκανε.

[110] καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος διέστησαν, ἀρχομένου δ' ἡρὸς ἐπήεσαν ἀλλήλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπήϊος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἔνθα διεχειμάζον, Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πόλιν, ἣ ὄνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ' ἐν αἰθρία φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένων, τάδε μὲν ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον

ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολὺν δ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἐξειργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ὁ Πομπήιος. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης.

ἐλαφος δ' ἦν λευκὴ χειροῆθης τῷ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ ἄνετος: ἥς ἀφανοῦς γενομένης ὁ Σερτώριος οὐκ αἴσιον ἑαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυθύμει τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὥς δ' ὤφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμῳ φερομένη, ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, ἠκροβολίσατο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους.

οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἀγῶνα μέγαν ἠγωνίσατο περὶ Σεγοντίαν ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἄστρα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἵππομαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλὼν ἐς ἡμίσεας: Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας πολλοὺς βαρβάρους προσλαβὼν ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκίμως τῷ Μετέλλου στρατοπέδῳ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὥς ἀποταφρεύσων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμῃ, Πομπηίου δ' ἐπιδραμόντος ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως.

καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν διεκρίθησαν: [111] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἕκτης ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος οὔσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν ἔθνη Ῥωμαίοις προσεγίγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ Λαγίδου βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπίκλησιν ἦν Ἀπίων, πόλεμοι δ' ἤκμαζον οὗτός τε ὁ Σερτωρίου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ὁ τῶν ληιστῶν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ περὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρήτας ἕτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν μονομάχων ἀνά τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁδε καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ γενόμενος. διαιρούμενοι δ' ἐς τοσαῦτα, ὅμως καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ δύο τέλη, μεθ' ὧν ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ Μέτελλός τε καὶ Πομπήιος αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας.

[112] καὶ τότε μάλιστα πολλοὶ Σερτωρίου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον ἠτομόλουν, ἐφ' ᾧ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐλυμαίνετο πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγίγνετο. μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπῆγετο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος, Ῥωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τοῖσδε ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπέτρεπεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφερον ἐς ἀπιστίαν ὀνειδιζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ πολεμίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο: ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτούς, τὸ ἀπίστους ἐς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτωρίον γενομένους ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἠξίουσαν διὰ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγνῶσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι, ἐνύβριζον ὥς ἀπιστουμένοις. οἱ δ' οὐ τελέως ὅμως τὸν Σερτωρίον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὰς χρείας: οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπιτυχέστερος. ὥθεν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν ἐκάλουν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν θρασυτάτον τε καὶ ἀπατηλότατον στρατηγὸν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὧδε εἶχε Σερτωρίῳ, πόλεις δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπήκοα σφίσι μετήγον. Παλαντίαν δὲ Πομπηίου περικαθημένον

καὶ τὰ τείχη ξύλων κορμοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ Σερτώριος τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐξέλυσε, τὰ τείχη δ' ἔφθασεν ὑποκαύσας ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἐς Μέτελλον ἀνεχώρει. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ἤγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν χωρίον Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐπιδραμὼν ἔκτεινε τρισχιλίους. καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ.

[113] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον τι θαρρήσαντες ἐπήεσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ περιέσπων καὶ ἐτέροις ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρόμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις. οὐ μέντοι μεγάλη γὰρ μάχη συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' αὐθις ... , μέχρι τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐθις ἐπήεσαν σὺν πλεονὶ μᾶλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος βλάπτοντος ἤδη θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον ἐκὼν μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ κόμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. ὅθεν ἡττᾶτο συνεχῶς. καὶ γεγένητο ὀργὴν τε ἄκρος δι' ὑπονοίας ποικίλας καὶ ὠμότατος ἐς κόλασιν καὶ ὑπόπτῃς ἐς ἅπαντας, ὥστε καὶ Περπένναν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰμιλίου στάσεως ἐκόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, δεῖσαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλευσάι μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δέκα. ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶνδ' εἰς τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδειχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκολάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας παρὰ δόξαν λαθὼν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἡπείγετο καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθιέντα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν περιεστῶσαν τὸν ἀνδρῶνα φυλακὴν ἔκτεινεν ἀπὸ τῆς διαίτης.

[114] καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀνίστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὐνοίαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανούσι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν μεθιάσιν, οὐκ ἐμποδῶν ἔτι τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄντος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης ἐπανίασιν. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐκλογιζόμενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὥς ιδιώτου κατεφρόνουν, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν Σερτωρίου μόνῃν ἂν σφίσι ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Λυσιτανοί, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος ἐχρήτο.

ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσων τῶν Σερτωρίου ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῷ κλήρῳ, μᾶλλον τι πάντας ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος ἐς τὸν Περπένναν ἐσήει, ὥς οὐκ ἐς ἄρχοντα μόνον ἢ στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοσόνδε μύσος ἐργασάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ χειρῶν ἀπέσχοντο, εἰ μὴ περιθέων αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τοὺς μὲν δώροις ὑπηγάγετο, τοὺς δ' ὑποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐτέρων. ἐπὶ τε τὰ πλήθη παρερχόμενος ἐδημαγῶγει καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας αὐτῶν ἐξέλευν, οὓς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδησεν, καὶ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι τὰ ὄμηρα ἀπέλευν. οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑπήκουον μὲν ὥς στρατηγῷ τὸ γὰρ δὴ μετὰ Σερτώριον εἶχεν ἀξιώμα, οὐ μέντοι χωρὶς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε ἐγίνοντο: καὶ γὰρ ὠμότατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρρήσας ἐφαίνετο καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἔκτεινε τρεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑαυτοῦ.

[115] ὥς δὲ ἐφ' ἑτέρα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ὤχετο ὅτι γὰρ ἔτι δυσχερὲς ἐδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπὶ μὲν τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐγίνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι καὶ ἀπόπειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθρου τὸν

στρατόν, τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς μέγιστος ἐξεργάγῃ. ἐνὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ κρίναντες διακριθῆναι, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς Περπέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρόνει, Περπέννας δ' ὥς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τῷ στρατῷ, πάσῃ σχεδὸν τῇ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχὺ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος περιῆν ὥς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέροντος οὔτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπῆς πάντων ὁμαλοῦς γενομένης ὁ μὲν Περπέννας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ πόας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιὼς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων: λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν ἱππέες τινες εἶλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐπιβλασφημούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὥς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου καὶ βοῶντα πολλὰ μηνύσειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τῆς Ῥώμῃ στάσεως: ἔλεγε δὲ εἶτε ἀληθεύων εἶθ' ἵνα σῶος ἀχθείῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθειν, δεῖσας ἄρα, μὴ τι μηνύσειεν ἀδόκητον καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο. καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐμφρόνως πάνυ τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος πρᾶξαι καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε εἰς δόξαν ἀγαθὴν. τέλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμῳ, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ τοῦ βίου γενόμενον: δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε εὐμαρῶς οὕτως, ἔτι Σερτωρίου περιόντος, συντελεσθῆναι.

[116] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μονομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θράξ ἀνὴρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὢν, ἔπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε: καὶ τινῶν ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὀπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ἐλήστευε τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίζον μονομάχους. μεριζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν: καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν 'οὐ γὰρ πῶ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ ληστηρίῳ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, συμβαλόντες ἡττᾶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν: παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἤλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἐπὶ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν. [117] καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίζος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἡττᾶτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς: Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἕτερος ὑπάτος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας Κρίξῳ, δωδέκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντα ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπισφάζας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα κοῦφος εἴῃ: αὐτομόλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιόντων οὐδένα προσίετο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὐθις περὶ τὴν

Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὁδε γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσσα Ῥωμαίων.

ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνων, ὡς οὐπω γεγωνὼς ἀξιόμαχος οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιωτικῶς ὠπλισμένον 'οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις, ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλυδες', τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὠνοῦντο πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἠδίκουν. ὅθεν ἀθρόας ὕλης εὐπορήσαντες εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ λεηλασίας ἐξήεσαν. Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες ἐς χειρας ἐκράτους καὶ τότε καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες ἐπανήεσαν.

[118] Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας ὅκνος ἐπεῖχεν ἅπαντας καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὐδεῖς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανῆς, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἤλανυν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον: ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας ὡς πολλάκις ἡττημένων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε καὶ ἡττημένον, πάντων διακληρῶσαι τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοιάσαντα. ὁποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης φανεῖς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδεύοντων ἐκράτει καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλανε τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευσούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετεῖχιζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.

[119] βιαζομένου δ' ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν, ἔκτεινεν ὁ Κράσσος ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἑω καὶ περὶ δείλην ἐς τοσοῦσδε ἐτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ μόνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἐπτὰ τρωθέντων: τοσῆδε ἦν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἰππέας ποθὲν προσιόντας αὐτῷ περιμένων οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦι τῷ στρατῷ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους τε ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ, δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίῳ τὴν ὄψιν ὣν πείσονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧσται Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες, εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἡδὴ δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον.

[120] διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἀξίῳ, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλεῖτο. ὑπερορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε ἔγνω καί, παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἡδὴ, ὥσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διὰ τοῦ

περιτειχίσματος καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσου διώκοντος. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ νίκης ἐπανίοντα, εἶναι, πάντων ἀπογνούς ἐς χεῖρας ἦει τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους· γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὥς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον. ὃ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἦδη κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὥς φόνον γενέσθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ’ εὐαρίθμητον, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὗρεθῆναι. πολὺ δ’ ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόν· ἐφ’ οὗς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἐξακισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὄλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν.

[121] καὶ τάδε Κράσσος ἐξ μηνσὶν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήριστος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ δόξῃ τῇ Πομπηίου γίνεται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθίει, διότι μὴδὲ Πομπήιος. ἐς δὲ ὑπατείαν ἄμφω παρήγγελον, ὁ μὲν ἐστρατηγηκὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγήσας οὔτε ταμιεύσας ἔτος τε ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάξειν. αἰρεθέντες δὲ ὑπατοὶ οὐδ’ ὥς μεθίεσαν τὸν στρατὸν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπανίοντα Μέτελλον, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος, ὥς Πομπήιον δέον προδιαλῦσαι.

καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὀρῶν καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων συναλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο· ὥς δὲ καὶ θεόληπτοί τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ μὴ συναλλαγεῖεν οἱ ὑπατοὶ, ὁ δῆμος αὐθις αὐτοὺς μετ’ οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάνυ ταπεινῶς, ἔτι τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Κράσσος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δ’ ὑπανίστατο καὶ προσέτρεχε. καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἀλλήλους εὐφημίαι τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφέσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἦδε μεγάλη στάσις ἔσσεσθαι κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῷδε τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.

Book 2

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύλλα μοναρχίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σερτώριος τε καὶ Περπέννας περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔδρασαν, ἕτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιαύδε ἐγίνετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν καθεῖλεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τινὲς ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκανον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅπως ἀνηρέθησαν ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γάιος, ἡ δευτέρα τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε δηλοῖ.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ἄρτι τὴν θάλασσαν καθήρας ἀπὸ τῶν ληστηρίων τότε μάλιστα πανταχοῦ πλεονασάντων Μιθριδάτην ἐπὶ τοῖς λησταῖς καθηρῆκει, Πόντου βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη προσέλαβεν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἔω, διετάσσετο: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἔτι νέος, δεινὸς εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, τολμησαί τε ἐς πάντα καὶ ἐλπῖσαι περὶ ἀπάντων, ἐς δὲ δὴ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφειδήs ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀγορανομῶν ἔτι καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶναι κατάχρεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει δαιμονίως ὑπεραρέσκειν, τῶν δῆμων αἰεὶ τοὺς δαυλιεῖς ἐπαινούντων.

[2] Γάιος δὲ Κατιλίνας, μεγέθει τε δόξης καὶ γένους λαμπρότητι περιώνυμος, ἔμπληκτος ἀνὴρ, δόξας ποτὲ καὶ υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν δι' Αὐρηλίας Ὀρεστίλλης ἔρωτα, οὐχ ὑφισταμένης τῆς Ὀρεστίλλης παῖδα ἔχοντι γήμασθαι, Σύλλα φίλος τε καὶ στασιώτης καὶ ζηλωτὴς μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐκ δὲ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὅδε ἐς πενίαν ὑπενηνεγμένος καὶ θεραπεύόμενος ἔτι πρὸς δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παρήγγελλεν ὡς τῇδε παροδεύσων ἐς τυραννίδα. ἀγῶν δ' ἐλπίσας αἰρεθῆσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τήνδε ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ἤρχεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἡδιστος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι, Κατιλίνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐς ὕβριν τῶν ἐλομένων ἐπέσκωπτεν, ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους καινὸν ὀνομάζων 'καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους', ἐς δ' ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως ἰγκουιλῖνον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. αὐτὸς δὲ πολιτείαν μὲν ὅλως ἔτι ἀπεστρέφετο ἐκ τοῦδε, ὡς οὐδὲν μοναρχίαν ταχὺ καὶ μέγα φέρουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔριδος καὶ φθόνου μεστήν: χρήματα δ' ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἠλπίζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν, συνώνυμό τισιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, συνῆγε δὲ καὶ δημότας καὶ ξένους καὶ θεράποντας. καὶ πάντων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῷ Κορνήλιος Λέντιος καὶ Κέθηγος, οἱ τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατήγουν. ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπεμπεν ἐς τῶν Συλλεῖων τοὺς τὰ κέρδη τῆς τότε βίας ἀναλωκότας καὶ ὀρεγομένους ἔργων ὁμοίων, ἐς μὲν Φαισούλας τῆς Τυρρηνίας Γάιον Μάλλιον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα καὶ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐτέρους, οἱ στρατὸν αὐτῷ συνέλεγον ἀφανῶς.

[3] καὶ τάδε πάντα ἔτι ἀγνοούμενα Φουλβία γύναιον οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἐμήνυε τῷ Κικέρωνι: ἥs ἐρῶν Κόιντος Κούριος, ἀνὴρ δι' ὀνειδῆ πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεωσμένος καὶ τῆsδε τῆς Κατιλίνας συνθήκης ἡξιωμένος, κούφως μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξέφερεν οἷα πρὸς ἐρωμένην, ὡς αὐτίκα δυναστεύσων. ἦδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γιγνομένων λόγος ἐφοῖτα. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τὴν τε πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων φρουραῖς διελάμβανε καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξέπεμπε πολλοὺς ἐς

πάντα τὰ ὑποπτα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφεδρεῦειν. Κατιλίνας δ', οὐδενὸς μὲν παρρηγοῦντος αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἀγνωσίαν, δεδιὼς δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ἡγούμενος ὑποπτον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τὰ τε χρήματα προὔπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντειλάμενος κτείνειν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι μιᾶς ἐξῆι πρὸς Γάιον Μάλλιον ὡς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκεας ὥς τις ἀνθύπατος κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε προὐ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχῶρει στρατολογῶν: Λέντλω δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἔδοξεν, ὅτε Κατιλίαν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυνθάνοιντο γεγενῆσθαι, Λέντλον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κεθήγον ἐφεδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος θύραις περὶ ἕω μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων, ἐσδεχθέντας τε διὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ λαλοῦντας ὅτιδὴ μηκῦναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτῳ καὶ κτείνειν περισπᾶσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Λεύκιον δὲ Βησιτίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς αἰεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Βησιτίου δημηγορίᾳ, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα τῆς ἐπιούσης, ἑτέρους ἐν δυώδεκα τόποις ἐμπιπράναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαρπάζειν καὶ κατακτείνειν τοὺς ἀρίστους.

[4] ὧδε μὲν Λέντλω καὶ Κεθήγῳ καὶ Στατίλῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἔδεδόκτο, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν: Ἀλλοβρίγων δὲ πρέσβεις, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, ... ἐς τὴν Λέντλου συνωμοσίαν ἐπήχθησαν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους τὴν Γαλατίαν. καὶ Λέντλος μὲν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπεν ἐς Κατιλίαν Βουλτούρκιον, ἄνδρα Κροτωνιάτην, γράμματα χωρὶς ὀνομάτων γεγραμμένα φέροντα: οἱ δ' Ἀλλοβρίγες ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκοινώσαντο Φαβίῳ Σάγγα, ὃς ἦν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ὥσπερ ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Σάγγα μαθὼν ὁ Κικέρων συνέλαβεν ἀπιόντας τοὺς Ἀλλοβρίγας τε καὶ Βουλτούρκιον καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εὐθέως ἐπήγαγεν: οἱ δ' ὠμολόγουν, ὅσα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λέντλον συνήδεσαν, ἀχθέντας τε ἤλεγχον, ὡς ὁ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος εἶποι πολλάκις εἰμάρθαι τρεῖς Κορνηλίους γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων μονάρχους, ὧν ἡδὴ Κίνναν καὶ Σύλλαν γεγονέναι.

[5] λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Λέντλον παρέλυσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἕκαστον ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν στρατηγῶν διαθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν αὐτίκα καὶ ψήφον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδίδου. θόρυβος δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀγνωστοῦ μὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς, καὶ δέος τῶν συνεγνωκότων. αὐτοῦ δὲ Λέντλου καὶ Κεθήγου θεράποντες τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι, χειροτέχναι πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες, κατ' ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν οἰκίας ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐξαρπασόμενοι. ὧν ὁ Κικέρων πυθόμενος ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ διαθεὶς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶκαιρα φύλακας ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπετάχυνε. Σιλανὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἔλεγεν, ὃς ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἦρητο ὑπατεύειν: ὧδε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσειν πρῶτος ἐσφέρει γνώμην, ὡς αὐτός, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενος καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου. ἀξιοῦντι δὲ τῷ Σιλανῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτη κολάσει μετιέναι πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο, ἕως, ἐπὶ Νέρωνα τῆς

γνώμης περιούσης, ὁ Νέρων ἐδικαίου φυλάττειν αὐτούς, μέχρι Κατιλίαν ἐξέλωσι πολέμῳ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μάθωσι,

[6] γαίος τε Καῖσαρ οὐ καθαρεύων μὲν ὑπονοίας μὴ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κικέρωνος δ' οὐ θαρροῦντος καὶ τόνδε, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα προβαλέσθαι, προσετίθει διαθέσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας Κικέρωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ, μέχρι Κατιλίνα καταπολεμηθέντος ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπαχθῶσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐς ἀνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς ἢ πρὸ λόγου καὶ δίκης ἐξειργασμένους. δικαίου δὲ τῆς γνώμης φανείσης καὶ δεχθείσης, ἀκρατῶς οἱ πολλοὶ μετετίθεντο, μέχρι Κάτων ἤδη σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτων τὴν ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑποψίαν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεδιὼς ἀμφὶ τῇ νυκτὶ προσιούσῃ, μὴ τὸ συνεγνωκὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσι πλῆθος αἰωρούμενον ἔτι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεδιὸς περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐργάσῃται τι ἄτοπον, ἔπεισαν ὡς αὐτοφώρων ἄνευ κρίσεως καταγνῶναι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς συνεστώσης, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεταγαγὼν, τοῦ πλῆθους ἀγνοοῦντος, ἐπέιδεν ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ παροδεύων ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι τεθνᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ διελύοντο πεφρικότες τε καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἀγαπῶντες ὡς διαλαθόντες.

οὕτω μὲν ἡ πόλις ἀνέπνευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους πολλοῦ σφίσι ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιστάντος· [7] Κατιλίαν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα καὶ τούτων τεταρτημόριον ὀπίσαντα ἤδη καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπλέοντα Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος ὑπ' Ἀλπείοις καταλαβὼν, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπλήκτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν λαβόντος τε καὶ ἐς πείραν ἔτι ἐμπληκτότερον ἀπαρασκευῶς προαγαγόντος. οὐ μὴν ὁ γε Κατιλίνας οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπιφανῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ἐσδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπώλοντο.

ὥδε μὲν ἡ Κατιλίνα ἐπανάστασις, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἔσχατον ἐλθοῦσα κινδύνου τῇ πόλει, διελύετο. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, ἅπασιν ἐπὶ λόγου δυνάμει μόνῃ γνώριμος ὢν, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ διὰ στόματος ἦν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ἀπολλυμένη τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτές τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημίαι ποικίλαι. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἦδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθεῖν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖσδε, καίπερ οὗσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἦδε, ὡς ἐντελὴς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ψηφίζεται.

[8] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αἰρεθείς ἐπὶ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν χρήστων διεκρατεῖτο ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς παρουσίας ὀφλὼν διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας· ὅτε φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν· διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας, ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβάς χρηματίζειν μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ διαιτᾶν δίκας ἢ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα τούτοις, ἅπαντα ὑπερείδεν ὡς οὐδὲν οἷς ἐπενόει χρήσιμα, στρατιὰν δὲ ἀγείρας ἐπετίθετο τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς Ἰβήρων ἀνὰ μέρος, μέχρι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ταμιεῖον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλή θριαμβεῦσαι παρέσχεν

αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς τὸ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ρώμης προαστείοις διεκόσμη, ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις ὑπατείας ἦσαν παραγγελίαι, καὶ ἔδει τὸν παραγγέλλοντα παρῆναι, ἐσελθόντι δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς πολλὰ τυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν πομπὴν οὐχ ἔτοιμον ἔχων ἐσέπεμπε τῇ βουλῇ δεόμενος ἐπιτρέψαι οἱ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀπόντι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῶν φίλων, εἰδὼς μὲν παράνομον, γεγονὸς δὲ ἥδη καὶ ἑτέροις. Κάτωνος δ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευταίαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδὼν τοῦ θρίαμβου καὶ παραγγείλας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε τὴν χειροτονίαν.

[9] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐλθὼν, ἤξιον πολλά, ὅσα βασιλευσὶ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει, τὴν βουλήν βεβαιῶσαι. φθόνῳ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὡς ἀσθενέστατον αὐτὸν ἀπολιπὼν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, διεκώλυεν, ἴδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τὸ Μιθριδάτειον. καὶ Λευκόλλῳ συνελάμβανε Κράσσος. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προσεταιρίζεται Καίσαρα, συμπράξειν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπομόσας· ὁ δ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Κράσσον διήλλασσε. καὶ τρεῖς οἶδε τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ πᾶσι κράτος ἔχοντες τὰς χρείας ἀλλήλοις συνηράνιζον. καὶ τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Οὐάρρων, ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ περιλαβὼν ἐπέγραψε Τρικάρανον.

Ὑφορωμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ Λεύκιον Βύβλον ἐς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτῷ συνάρχην· [10] καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἐριδές τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰδία παρασκευαί. δεινὸς δ' ὢν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ὁμονοίας διέθετο πρὸς Βύβλον, ὡς τὰ κοινὰ λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαφέροιντο. πιστευθεὶς δ' οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἀπερίσκεπτον ἤδη καὶ ἀπαράσκευον καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπονοοῦντα τὸν Βύβλον ἔχων, χεῖρά τε πολλὴν ἀφανῶς ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν πενήτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσέφερε καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διένεμε, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεύουσαν αὐτῆς μάλιστα περὶ Καπύην, ἥ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ διεμισθοῦτο, τοῖς οὖσι πατράσι παίδων τριῶν, ἔμμισθον ἑαυτῷ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος πλῆθος τοσόνδε ποιούμενος· δισμῦριοι γὰρ ἀθρόως ἐφάνησαν οἱ τὰ τρία τρέφοντες μόνοι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶν, υποκρινάμενος δυσχεραίνειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιούντων, ἐξέδραμε καὶ βουλήν μὲν οὐκέτι συνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐδημηγόρει· Πομπηίον τε ἐν μέσῳ καὶ Κράσσον ἡρώτα περὶ τῶν νόμων· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπῆνουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἦει σὺν κεκρυμμένοις ξιφιδίοις.

[11] ἡ βουλὴ δὲ 'οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὴν συνῆγεν, οὐδ' ἐξῆν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων συναγαγεῖν αὐτήν' ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Βύβλου συνελθόντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἀντάξιον τῆς Καίσαρος ἰσχύος τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἐποιοῦν, ἐπενόουν δ' ὅμως Βύβλον ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ μὴ δόξαν ἀμελείας, ἀλλὰ ἥσσης ἐνέγκασθαι. πεισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Βύβλος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐριδος δὲ καὶ ἀταξίας γενομένης πληγαὶ τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ οἱ μετὰ τῶν ξιφιδίων τὰς ράβδους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Βύβλου περιέκλων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἔστιν οὓς περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἔτρωσαν. Βύβλος δ' οὐ καταπλαγεῖς

ἀπεγύμνου την σφαγήν και μετά βοής ἐκάλει τους Καίσαρος φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον: ‘εἰ γάρ οὐ δύναμαι πείσαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν,’ ἔφη, “Καίσαρα, τό γε ἄγος αὐτῷ και μύσος οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ἐπιβαλῶ.’ ἀλλά τὸν μὲν ἄκοντα ὑπεξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Στησίου Διός, Κάτων δ’ ἐπιτεμφθεὶς ὥσατο μὲν ὡς νέος ἐς μέσους και δημηγορεῖν ἤρχετο, μετέωρος δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀρθείς ἐξεφέρετο. και λαθὼν κατ’ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς αὐθις ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ βῆμα και λέγειν μὲν ἔτι οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἀπεγίνωσκε, τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγροίκως κατεβόα, μέχρι και τότε μετέωρος ἐξερρίφη και τους νόμους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκύρωσε.

[12] και ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δῆμον ὥρκωσεν ἐς αἰεὶ κυρίους νομεῖν και τὴν βουλὴν ἐκέλευεν ὁμνύναι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν και Κάτωνος, εἰσηγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ θάνατον τῷ μὴ ὁμόσαντι, και ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου: ὤμνουν δ’ αὐτίκα δείσαντες οἱ τε ἄλλοι και οἱ δήμαρχοι: οὐ γάρ ἔτι χρήσιμον ἀντιλέγειν ἦν κυρουμένου διὰ τους ἄλλους τοῦ νόμου. Οὐέττιος δ’ ἀνὴρ δημότης, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐσδραμὼν μετὰ ξιφιδίου γυμνοῦ, ἐπιτεμφθῆναι ἔφη πρὸς τε Βύβλου και Κικέρωνος και Κάτωνος ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Καίσαρός τε και Πομπηίου και τὸ ξιφίδιον αὐτῷ Βύβλου ράβδουχον ἐπιδοῦναι Ποστούμιον. ὑπόπτου δ’ ὄντος ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῦ πράγματος ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δ’ ἐπιούσαν ἐξετάσειν τὸν Οὐέττιον ἀνεβάλλοντο. και ὁ Οὐέττιος φυλασσόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ νυκτὸς ἀνηρέθη. εἰκαζόμενου δ’ ἐς ποικίλα τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀνίει και τοῦτο δρᾶσαι λέγων τους δεδιότας, ἕως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ συνεχώρησεν ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις. και Βύβλος μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν ἅπαντα μεθείς οἷά τις ιδιότης οὐ προῆει τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅπαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐζητεῖ περὶ τοῦ Οὐεττίου, μόνος ἔχων τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

[13] νόμους δ’ ἐσέφερεν, ἐκθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ἐτέρους και τὰ Πομπηίῳ πεπραγμένα ἅπαντα ἐκύρου, καθάπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ. οἱ δ’ ἱππέες λεγόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν τοῦ δήμου και τῆς βουλῆς ὄντες ἐν μέσῳ, δυνατώτατοι δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα περιουσίας τε οὐνεκα και μισθώσεως τελῶν και φόρων, οὓς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τελουμένους ἐξεμισθοῦντο, και πλῆθους βεβαιοτάτων ἐς ταῦτα θεραπόντων, ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἦτουν ἄφεσιν τινα μέρους τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. και ἀποδιέτριβεν ἡ βουλὴ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς οὐδὲν τότε τῆς βουλῆς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ δήμῳ χρώμενος τὰ τρίτα τῶν μισθώσεων αὐτοῖς παρήκεν. οἱ δέ, ὑπὲρ τὴν σφετέραν ἀξίωσιν ἀδοκῆτου τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐξεθεΐαζον αὐτόν, και στίφος ἄλλο καρτερώτερον τοῦ δήμου τότε τῷ Καίσαρι προσγεγένητο δι’ ἐνὸς πολιτεύματος. ὁ δὲ και θέας ἐπεδίδου και κυνηγέσια θηρίων ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, δανειζόμενος ἐς ἅπαντα και τὰ πρότερα πάνθ’ ὑπερβάλλων παρασκευῇ και χορηγία και δόσεσι λαμπραῖς: ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτὸν εἶλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων και ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν και ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.

[14] ὁ δὲ και τὴν ἀποδημίαν οἱ χρόνιον ὀρῶν ἐσομένην και τὸν φθόνον ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ τοῖς δεδομένοις μείζονα, Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἐξεύγνυ τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ἐνηγγυημένην Καιπίωνι, δεδιώς, μὴ και φίλος ὢν ἐπιφθονήσειε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τους δὲ θρασυτάτους τῶν

στασιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους παρήγε. καὶ ὑπατον μὲν ἀπέφηνεν Αὐλὸν Γαβίνιον, φίλον ἑαυτοῦ· Λευκίου δὲ Πείσωνος τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντος ὑπατεύσειν τὴν θυγατέρα Καλπουρνίαν αὐτὸς ἤγετο, βοῶντος Κάτωνος διαμαστροπεύεσθαι γάμοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. δημάρχους δὲ ἡρεῖτο Οὐατινίον τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπὶ κλην, ὃν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμπάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἐτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

[15] τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν εὐθὺς ἐξῆι· Κικέρωνα δὲ γράφεται Κλώδιος παρανόμων, ὅτι πρὸ δικαστηρίου τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνέλοι. ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο γενναιοτάτῳ λήματι κεχρημένος ἀσθενέστατος ἐς τὴν δίκην ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος γέμων τε αὐχμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου προσέπιπτεν οἷς ἐντύχοι κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγνώσιν ἐνοχλεῖν αἰδούμενος, ὥστε αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον διὰ τὴν ἀπρέπειαν ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα. ἐς τοσοῦτο δειλίας περὶ μίαν οἰκειὰν δίκην κατέπεσεν, ὅς τὸν ὅλον βίον ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ἐξήταστο λαμπρῶς, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένη φασὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὐδ' ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος φυγεῖν. Κλωδίου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις αὐτῷ σὺν ὕβρει διακόπτοντος ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀπέγνω πάνθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ἔφευγεν ἐκούσιον καὶ ὁδε φυγὴν, καὶ φίλων αὐτῷ πλῆθος συνεξῆι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίστη τὸν ἄνδρα πόλεσι τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις. Κλώδιος δ' αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπικατέσκαπτεν ἐπαιρόμενός τε καὶ τῷδε ἀντιπαρεβάλλετο ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει κράτος ἔχοντι.

[16] ὁ δὲ Μίλων, τὸν σὺν τῷ Κλωδίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεδεγμένον, θρασύτερον ὄντα τοῦ Κλωδίου, ἐς ὑπατείαν ἐπήλπιζε καὶ ἤλειπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τῷ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ἐκέλευεν, ἐλπίσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἐλθόντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας οὐκέτι φθέγγεσθαι μεμνημένον, οἷα ἔπαθε, δίκας δὲ καὶ πράγματα ἐποίσειν τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

Κικέρων μὲν δὴ διὰ Πομπήιον ἐκπεσὼν διὰ Πομπήιον κατήει, ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μάλιστα μηνὶ τῆς ἐξελάσεως· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀνίστη τέλεσι κοινοῖς. λαμπρῶς δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένης συνέβη κατιόντι, ἀναλῶσαι.

[17] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένος, ὅσα μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι εἴρηται, πλούτου γέμων ἐς τὴν ὁμορὸν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γαλατίαν, τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἑριδανὸν ποταμόν, ἦκεν, ἐκ συνεχοῦς πολέμου τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύσων ἐπ' ὀλίγον. ὅθεν αὐτῷ

περιπέμποντι ἐς Ῥώμην πολλὰ πολλοῖς χρήματα αἱ τε ἐτήσιοι ἀρχαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀπήντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ὅσοι τε ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἐξήεσαν, ὥς ἑκατὸν μὲν ποτε καὶ εἴκοσι ράβδους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, βουλευτὰς δὲ πλείους διακοσίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων, τοὺς δὲ χρηματιουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον αὐτοῖς ἐξεργασομένους. πάντα γὰρ ἤδη διὰ τούτου ἐπράσσετο στρατιᾶς τε πολλῆς οὖνεκα καὶ δυνάμεως χρημάτων καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς ἅπαντας φιλανθρώπου. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε Πομπήιον μὲν καὶ Κράσσον αὐθις ὑπατεῦσαι, Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν εἶχεν ἐθνῶν, ἄλλην ἐπιψηφισθῆναι πενταετίαν.

ὣδε μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεκρίθησαν, Πομπηίῳ δ' ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀντιπαρήγγελλε Δομίτιος Αἰνόβαρβος· καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἅμφω κατήεσαν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν. τῶν δ' ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἔριδες ἦσαν καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, μέχρι τις τὸν Δομίτιου δαδουχὸν ἐπάταξε ξίφει. καὶ φυγὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦν, Δομίτιός τε αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν διεσφώζετο μόλις, καὶ Πομπηίου τὴν ἐσθῆτά τινες ἡμαγμένην ἔφερον οἴκαδε. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἑκάτερος ἦλθε κινδύνου.

[18] αἵρεθέντες δ' οὖν ὕπατοι Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήιος Καίσαρι μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν ἐτέραν πενταετίαν προσεψηφίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη διακληρούμενοι καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος εἴλετο Ἰβηρίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ἐς τάσδε τοὺς φίλους περιπέμπων αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Συρίας πλησίον ἐπιθυμία πολέμου πρὸς Παρθυαίους ὥς εὐχεροῦς δὴ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ἐπικερδοῦς, ἀλλὰ τῷδε μὲν ἐξιόντι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπαίσια ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μὴ πολεμεῖν Παρθυαίοις οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐ πειθομένῳ δὲ δημοσίᾳς ἀρὰς ἐπηρῶντο, ὧν ὁ Κράσσος οὐ φροντίσας ἀπώλετο ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ σὺν τε παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατῷ· μύριοι γὰρ οὐδ' ἐντελεῖς ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἐς Συρίαν διέφυγον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κράσσου συμφορὰν ἡ Παρθικὴ δηλώσει γραφή, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι Πομπήιον εἴλοντο τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ οἱ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ληστηρίων εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὲρτάς ἐδωκαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διαθεὶς ἐπέτρεχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἐνέπλησεν ἀγορᾶς δαψιλοῦς, ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς μέγα δόξης ἐπῆρτο καὶ δυνάμεως.

[19] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἡ Καίσαρος θυγάτηρ κύουσα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θνήσκει. καὶ δέος ἅπασιν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀνηρημένης τῆς ἐπιγαμίας, ὥς αὐτίκα μεγάλους στρατοῖς Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου διοισομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἀσυντάκτου μάλιστα καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγεννημένης τῆς πολιτείας· αἱ τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἢ δωροδοκίαν σπουδῇ τε ἀδίκῳ καὶ λίθοις ἢ ξίφεσι καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἀναισχύντως τότε μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασεν, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτὸς ἔμμισθος ἐπὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἦει. ὥφθη δέ που καὶ μεσεγγύημα ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπωνύμου γεγόμενον ἀρχῆς. οἱ τε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὕπατοι στρατεῦειν μὲν που καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀπεγίνωσκον, διακληριόμενοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν

ἀτοπώτεροι, κέρδος ἀντὶ τῶν στρατειῶν ἐτίθεντο τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς τῶν ιδίων διαδόχων χειροτονίας. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάμπαν ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἄρχειν, ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρχον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσυνταξίας γενέσθαι, Πομπηίου πάνθ' ὑπερορῶντος ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἐν χρεία γένοιτο δικτάτορος.

[20] καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἀλλήλους διελάλουν, ὅτι μόνον ἂν γένοιτο φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἢ μόναρχος ἐξουσία, χρῆναι δ' ἐλέσθαι δυνατόν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥπιον, ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον, στρατιᾶς τε ἄρχοντα ἱκανῆς καὶ φιλόδημον εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐγκρατῆ καὶ σώφρονα, περὶ τε τὰς ἐντεῦξες εὐπρόσιτον ἢ ὄντα ἢ νομιζόμενον εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τὴν προσδοκίαν τήνδε λόγῳ μὲν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ἔργῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν πάντα ἔπραττεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὴν ἀσυνταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσυνταξίᾳ ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. Μίλωνός τε τὰ ἐς Κλωδίον ὑπηρετήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρεσκομένου τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν Κικέρωνος κάθοδον, ὑπατείαν ὡς ἐν καιρῷ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀναρχίαν μετιόντος ἀποδιέτριβε τὰς χειροτονίας, μέχρι βαρυθυμῶν ὁ Μίλων, ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπίστου γινομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐς τὴν πατρίδα Λανούβιον ἐξῆι, ἣν Διομήδη φασὶν ἀλώμενον ἐξ Ἰλίου πρώτην ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν.

[21] Κλωδίου δ' ἐξ ιδίων χωρίων ἐπανιόντος ἐπὶ ἵππου καὶ περὶ Βοΐλλας ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπείδοντο μόνον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρώδευσαν, θεράπων δὲ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπιδραμῶν τῷ Κλωδίῳ, εἶτε κεκελευσμένος εἶθ' ὡς ἔχθρὸν δεσπότου κτείνων, ἐπάταξεν ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον ξιφιδίῳ. καὶ τὸν μὲν αἵματι ῥέομενον ἐς τὸ πλησίον πανδοκεῖον ὁ ἵποκόμος ἐσέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Μίλων μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιστὰς ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἢ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐπανεῖλεν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν οὐ βουλευσάμενον τὸν φόνον οὐδὲ προστάξαντα: ὡς δὲ κινδυνεύσων ἐξ ἅπαντος, ἤξιον τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀτελὲς καταλιπεῖν. περιαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ πάθους ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ διενυκτέρευε, καὶ τὸ σῶμά τινας τοῦ Κλωδίου μεθ' ἡμέραν προύθεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων: ἀρπάσαντες δ' αὐτὸ τῶν τε δημάρχων ἔνιοι καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο σὺν ἐκείνοις, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκόμισαν, εἶτε ἐπὶ τιμῇ, βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντα, εἶτε ἐς ὄνειδος τῆς βουλῆς τοιαύτης περιορώσης. καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ προπετέστεροι τὰ βάθρα καὶ τοὺς θρόνους τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφορήσαντες ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυράν, ὑφ' ἧς τό τε βουλευτήριον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πλησίων οἰκίαι τῷ Κλωδίῳ συγκατεφλέγησαν.

[22] Μίλωνι δὲ θράσος τοσόνδε περιῆν, ὡς οὐ δεδιέναι περὶ τῷ φόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ Κλωδίου περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τιμῇ. θεραπόντων οὖν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγροίκων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον περιπέμψας χρήματα τῶν τε δημάρχων Μᾶρκον Καίλιον πριάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατῆι θρασυτάτα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίλιος εὐθὺς ἐσιόντα εἵλκεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδωροδοκηκότας ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ οὐ διδόναι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολήν, ἐλπίζων δέ, εἰ αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες μεθεῖεν, ἐκλύσειν τὴν δίκην τὴν ἀληθεστέραν. καὶ Μίλων μὲν οὐ βουλευσάμενος τὸ ἔργον εἰπὼν ὅτι γὰρ ἂν μετὰ σκευῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὀρμῆσαι, τὸν λοιπὸν

λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου διετίθετο ὡς θρασυτάτου δὴ καὶ φίλου θρασυτάτων, οἳ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπικατέπρησαν αὐτῷ ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ τε λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀδιάφθορον ὀπλισάμενοι ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν. Καίλιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Μίλων δούλων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, πολὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ τοὺς Μίλωνος ἔτι φίλους ἐρευνώντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ἀναιρούντων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἢ σφραγῖσιν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ διέφερον. ὥς γὰρ ἐν ἀσυντάκτῳ πολιτείᾳ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ προφάσει τοῦδε τοῦ θορύβου προσπεσόντος θεράποντές τε ὄντες οἱ πλείους καὶ ὠπλισμένοι κατὰ ἀνόπλων ἐς ἀρπαγὰς ἐτράποντο: ἔργον τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας ἐφέροντο καὶ περιόντες ἡρεῦνων ἔργῳ μὲν τὰ εὐληπτα σφίσις ἅπαντα, λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Μίλωνος: πρόφασίς τε ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πυρὸς καὶ λίθων καὶ παντὸς ἔργου Μίλων.

[23] ἡ βουλή δὲ συνήει μετὰ δέους καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεώρων ὡς αὐτίκα σφῶν ἐσόμενον δικτάτορα: χρήζειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὰ παρόντα τοιαῦδε θεραπείας. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτοὺς μεταδιδάξαντος ὕπατον εἵλοντο χωρὶς συνάρχου ὡς ἂν ἔχοι τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ' εὐθυναν ὑπάτου. καὶ πρῶτος ὑπάτων ὃδε ἔθνη τε δύο μέγιστα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχων καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως μοναρχίαν διὰ τὸ μόνος ὕπατος εἶναι Κάτωνα μὲν ἐψηφίσατο, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ἐνοχλοῖη, Κύπρον ἀφελέσθαι Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως, νενομοθετημένον ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, ὅτι οἱ ποτε ἀλόντι ὑπὸ ληστῶν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐς λύτρα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας δύο τάλαντα ἐπεπόμφει. Κάτων μὲν δὴ καθίστατο Κύπρον Πτολεμαίου τὰ χρήματα ῥίψαντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἐπύθετο: ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος δίκας προυτίθει τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα δωροδοκίας καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἑδόκει γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ νοσεῖν τὰ κοινὰ ἀρξάμενα ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν ἔξιν ταχεῖαν, νόμῳ τε ὥριζεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπατείας ἐς τὸ παρὸν εὐθύνειν τὸν ἐθέλοντα. καὶ ἦν ὁ χρόνος ὀλίγῳ μείων ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ γεγένητο ὕπατος. τῶν οὖν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπονοούντων ἐς ὕβριν ἢ ἐς ἐπήρειαν αὐτὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὧδε πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου προλαβεῖν καὶ παραινούντων τὸ παρὸν διορθοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἀξιολόγοις, ἐπονομαζόντων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀμφὶ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγανάκτει, ὡς ἀμείνωνος ὄντος ὑποψίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῷ χρόνῳ περιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ἔλεγεν ἐς ἀκριβῆ διορθώσιν ἐπιτετριμμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας.

[24] τοιαῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν αὐτίκα δικῶν ποικίλων. ἵνα τε μὴ δέσειαν οἱ δικασταί, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπώπτευε στρατιὰν περιστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπόντες ἐάλωσαν Μίλων τε ἐπὶ τῷ Κλωδίου φόνῳ καὶ Γαβίνιος παρανομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσεβείας, ὅτι χωρὶς ψηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐσέβαλεν ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν Σιβυλλείων, Ὑψαῖος δὲ καὶ Μέμμιος καὶ Σέξστος καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις ἢ πλήθους δεκασμῷ. Σκαῦρον δὲ τοῦ πλήθους παραιτουμένου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπακοῦσαι τῇ δίκῃ: καὶ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς κατηγοροὺς ἐνοχλοῦντος,

σφαγή τις ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιδραμόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος κατεσιώπησεν, ὁ δὲ Σκαῦρος ἐάλω. καὶ πάντων φυγὴ κατέγνωστο, Γαβινίου δὲ καὶ δήμευσις ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ τάδε ἡ βουλὴ λαμπρῶς ἐπαινοῦσα δύο τε ἄλλα τέλη καὶ χρόνον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕτερον τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσεψηφίσαντο. Μέμμιος δὲ ἀλοὺς ἐπὶ δεκάσμῳ, τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Πομπηίου διδόντος αὐτῷ φήναντι ἕτερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς καταδίκης, τὸν πενθερόν τοῦ Πομπηίου Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα προεκαλέσατο ἐς ὁμοίαν δεκάσμου δίκην. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν τῶν κρινομένων ἐσθῆτα μεταλαβόντος πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν μετελάμβανον. ὀλοφυράμενος οὖν ὁ Μέμμιος τὴν πολιτείαν διέλυσε τὴν δίκην.

[25] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς ἤδη τὰ χρῆζοντα τῆς μοναρχίας διωρθωμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα σύναρχον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἐτέρων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένων οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐφεώρα καὶ ἐδυνάστευε, καὶ πάντ' ἦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τότε Πομπήιος· ἡ γὰρ εὖνοια τῆς βουλῆς μάλιστα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει, ζήλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπατείαν κεκρημένου καὶ ὅτι νοσοῦσαν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν πολιτείαν ὀξέως ἀναλάβοι καὶ οὐδενὶ σφῶν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φορτικὸς ἢ ἐπαχθὴς γένοιτο.

τῶν δὲ φυγάδων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἰόντων ἀθρόων καὶ παραινούντων φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς τὸν νόμον τοῦ δεκάσμου μάλιστα θέμενον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, τούσδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρηγόρει καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἐπεισεν εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον ἐξεῖναι Καίσαρι δευτέραν ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι μετιέναι. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντος ἐκεκύρωτο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιπράξειν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπονοῶν ἐδεδοίκει μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἰδιώτης γενέσθαι, ἐτέχναζε δὲ ἐπὶ δυνάμει εἶναι, μέχρι ὑπατος ἀποδειχθεῖν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἥτει χρόνον ἄλλον ὀλίγον ἐς τὴν παροῦσάν οἱ τῆς Γαλατίας ἡγεμονίαν ἢ ἐς μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιλαβεῖν. διακωλύσαντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὑπατος ἦν, φασὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ μηνύοντι ἀποκρίνασθαι, κόποντα τὴν λαβὴν τοῦ ξίφους· ἥδε μοι δώσει.'

[26] πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὥκικει, ὣν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἤρχον, ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τότε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον. τῶν οὖν Νεοκώμων τινά, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενον καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι νομιζόμενον, ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξινη ῥάβδοις ἐφ' ὅτῳδῃ, οὐ πασχόντων τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων· καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀνεκάλυπτε, τὰς πληγὰς εἶναι ξενίας σύμβολον. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ δεικνύναι τῷ Καίσαρι. οὕτω μὲν ὕβριστικῶς ὁ Μάρκελλος, εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ ἤδη καὶ διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου· ἀλλὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Πομπήιος εὐπρεπεῖα τε λόγου καὶ εὐνοίας ὑποκρίσει, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐς πολλὰ χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενον ὑβρίζειν βραχεὶ διαστήματι χρόνου, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν, ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοῦπιὸν ἠρέθησαν ὕπατοι, Αἰμιλίος τε Παῦλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχός τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ὅδε τῷ Καίσαρι καρτερὸς

καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριτώτατος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος. τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπαγαγέσθαι χρήμασι, Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μῆτε συμπράττειν μῆτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἔτι πλείονων, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές· [27] ὁ δὲ Κουρίων, ἵνα μὴ ἄφνω μετατιθέμενος γίνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσηγεῖτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευὰς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς εἶναι, εἰδὼς μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔξειν τι τοῦτο πρόσκρουμα. καὶ γενομένων τῶνδε, ὡς προσεδόκησεν, ὁ μὲν εἶχε τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, Κλαύδιος δ' εἰσηγεῖτο πέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γὰρ ἔλληγεν ὁ χρόνος, καὶ Παῦλος ἐσιώπα. Κουρίων δὲ νομιζόμενος ἀμφοτέροις διαφέρεισθαι, ἐπῆναι τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου γνώμην, ὡς δὲ ἐνδέον αὐτῇ προσετιθεῖν τὸ καὶ Πομπήιον ὁμοίως Καίσαρι ἀποθεσθαι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν στρατόν· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καθαρὰν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀδεῇ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ὡς οὐκ ἴσον διὰ τὸ μήπω τὸν χρόνον ἐξήκειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, σαφέστερον ὁ Κουρίων ἤδη καὶ τραχύτερον ἀπεγύμνου μὴ χρῆναι μηδὲ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους, εἰ μὴ καὶ Πομπηίῳ δοῖεν· ὄντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτων οὕτω τῇ πόλει τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσσεσθαι βεβαίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἰδιωτεύσειαν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς οὐ μεθήσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν ἤδη τι προσκοπτόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς τοῦ δεκάσμου δίκας. εὐπρεποῦς δὲ τῆς γνώμης οὔσης ὁ δῆμος ἐπῆναι τὸν Κουρίωνα ὡς μόνον ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αἰρόμενον ἔχθραν, καὶ ποτε καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τότε εἶναι φοβερώτερον τῆς Πομπηίου διαφορᾶς.

[28] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος νοσηλεύόμενος περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ σὺν τέχνῃ, τὰ τε ἔργα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλέγων ὅτι τε τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας καὶ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ στρατοῦ δοθέντος οὐ μετιών, ἀλλ' ἐς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπικληθεὶς ἀξιώθει· ἃ δὲ ἄκων ἔφη λαβεῖν, 'ἐκὼν ἀποθήσομαι τοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θέλουσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένων τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς ὀρισμένους.' ἡ μὲν δὴ τέχνη τῶν γεγραμμένων εἶχεν εὐπρέπειάν τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐρέθισμα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεμομισμένῳ χρόνῳ· ἀφικόμενος δ' ἄλλα τε τούτοις ὅμοια ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τότε ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀποθήσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ δὴ φίλος καὶ κηδεστὴς γενόμενος Καίσαρι, κάκεινον ἔλεγε μάλα χαίροντα ἀποθήσεσθαι· χρόνιόν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἐπίπονον κατὰ ἐθνῶν μαχιμωτάτων γεγόνεναι καὶ πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι προσλαβόντα ἐπὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας ἤξειν καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦθ' ὡς Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα δοθησομένων διαδόχων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσόμενος ἐν ὑποσχέσει μόνῃ. Κουρίων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σόφισμα διελέγχων οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δεῖν ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα ἀποθέσθαι οὐδ' ἐξοπλίζειν Καίσαρα τῆς στρατιᾶς, πρὶν καὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωτεύσαι:

οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐκείνῳ λυσιτελεῖν οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, ὅφ' ἐνὶ τηλικαύτῃ ἀρχῇ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν καταβιάζοιτο. οὐδὲν τε ἐπικρύπτων ἔτι ἀφειδῶς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐβλασφήμει ὡς τυραννίδος ἐφίμενον καί, εἰ μὴ νῦν σὺν φόβῳ τῷ Καίσαρος ἀποθοίτο τὴν ἀρχήν, οὔποτε μεθήσονται. ἡξίου δ', ἂν ἀπειθῶσιν, ἅμωφ ψηφίζεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ στρατὸν ἀγεῖρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς: ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐωνημένος.

[29] Πομπήιος δ' αὐτῷ χαλεπνόμενός τε καὶ ἀπειλήσας εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ προάστεια ἀγανακτῶν ὑπέξῃει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ὑπόπτως μὲν εἶχεν ἤδη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, δημοτικώτερον δ' ὅμως ἡγοῦντο Πομπήιον καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδυσχέραινον τῆς παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ὑπεροψίας σφῶν: οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄντι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγοῦντο διαλύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Πομπηίῳ δύναμιν, μέχρι πρότερον ἐκείνον ἀποθέσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ὄντα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστερον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κουρίων ἀνέστρεφεν, ὡς δεόν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον Καίσαρα, ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντας καταλύειν. οὐ πείθων δὲ διέλυε τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ ἀτελέσι πᾶσι: δύναται δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ δήμαρχος: ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν, ἐς ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθηρημένην, ἀναγαγόντι αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. διαλυόμενοι δὲ ὅμως τοσόνδε μόνον ἐνηφίσαντο, Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον τέλος ἐν στρατιωτῶν ἐς Συρίαν ἐκάτερον πέμψαι φυλακῆς οὐνεκα διὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφοράν. καὶ τεχνάζων ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπῆτει τὸ τέλος, ὃ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ στρατηγῶν δύο Καίσαρος, Τιτυρίου τε καὶ Κόττα, Καίσαρι κεχρήκει. ὁ δ' αὐτό, τιμήσας ἕκαστον ἄνδρα δραχμαῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις, ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ συνέπεμπεν ἄλλο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

[30] οὐδενὸς δὲ δεινοῦ περὶ Συρίαν φανέντος τάδε μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καπύῃ: οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεθρόουν καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιὰν Καίσαρος, τετρυμένην τε πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ οἶκοι ποθοῦσαν, μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτε τὰ Ἄλπεια διέλθοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἔλεγον, εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας εἴτε διεφθαρμένοι, Καίσαρι δ' ἔρρωτο πᾶς ἄνθρωπος εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους ὑπὸ τε ἔθους τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ ὑπὸ κερδῶν, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον: ἐδίδου γὰρ ἀφειδῶς, θεραπεύων εἰς ἃ ἐβούλευεν: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέντες αὐτῶν ὅμως ὑπέμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τοῖς ἡγγελμένοις πίσυνος οὔτε στρατιὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν ὡς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἡγειρεν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ γνώμην ἕκαστον ἤτει: καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος πανούργως διήρει καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν παρὰ μέρος, εἰ δοκεῖ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους καὶ εἰ Πομπήιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνένευον οἱ πλείους, Καίσαρι δ' ἐπενήφριζον τοὺς διαδόχους. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος, εἰ ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀποθέσθαι, δύο μὲν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀπήρεσκε, τριακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐς τὸ συμφέρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἀπέκλινον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν βουλήν διέλυσε βοῶν: 'νικᾷτε δεσπότην ἔχειν Καίσαρα.'

[31] λόγου δ' ἄφνω ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος, ὅτι τὰς Ἄλπεις ὁ Καῖσαρ

ὑπερελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνει, θόρυβός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ φόβος πάντων, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος εἰσηγείτο τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιὰν ἀπαντᾶν ὡς πολέμιφ Καίσαρι. ἐνισταμένου δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ψευδέσι τοῦ Κουρίωνος εἶπεν: 'εἰ κωλύομαι ψήφῳ κοινῇ τὰ συμφέροντα διοικεῖν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ὡς ὑπάτος διοικήσω.' καὶ τὰδε εἰπὼν ἐξέδραμε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὰ προάστεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχου ξίφος τε ὀρέγων τῷ Πομπηίῳ 'κελεύω σοι,' ἔφη, 'κἀγὼ καὶ ὁδε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος: καὶ στρατιὰν ἐς τοῦτό σοι δίδομεν, ἥ τε νῦν ἄμφι Καπύην ἢ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅσιν αὐτὸς ἐθέλοις ἄλλην καταλέγειν.' ὁ δ' ὑπήκουε μὲν ὡς κελευόμενος πρὸς ὑπάτων, ἐπετίθει δ' ὁμως: 'εἰ μὴ τι κρεῖσσον,' ἀπατῶν ἢ τεχνάζων καὶ τότε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν. Κουρίωνι δ' οὐκ ἦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξουσία τις 'οὐδὲ γὰρ προῖεναι τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς δημάρχois ἐφίεται, ὠλοφύρετο δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἡξίου κηρύσσειν μηδένα πῶ καταλέγοντι πείθεσθαι Πομπηίῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ ὁ τῆς δημαρχίας χρόνος ἔλγχε, δείσας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπογνοὺς ἔτι δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν.

[32] ὁ δ' ἄρτι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διεπεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἄμφι τὸν Ῥήνον τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀλπεια διελθὼν σὺν πεντακισχιλίους πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππευσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαιναν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ἣ συναφῆς τε ἦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς τελευταία. φιλοφρονησάμενος δὲ τὸν Κουρίωνα καὶ χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ὁμολογήσας ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Κουρίωνι μὲν δὴ συγκαλεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἤδη καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς, Καίσαρι δ' ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι διαλύσεων. τοὺς οὖν φίλους ἐκέλευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἀποθήσεσθαι, μόνα δ' ἔξειν δύο τέλη καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας, ἕως ὑπάτος ἀποδειχθεῖν. καὶ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἀρκεῖν ἐδόκει, κατακωλύόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Κουρίων, τρισὶν ἡμέραις τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίους σταδίους διαδραμών, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς νέοις ὑπάτοις ἐσιοῦσιν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους. περιεῖχε δ' ἡ γραφὴ κατάλογόν τε σεμνὸν ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ πρόκλησιν, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίῳ συναποθέσθαι, ἄρχοντος δ' ἔτι ἐκείνου οὔτε ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τάχος ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ σφόδρα πάντες ἀνέκραγον, ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμου καταγγελία, διάδοχον εἶναι Λεύκιον Δομίτιον. καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος εὐθὺς ἐξῆει μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἐκ καταλόγου.

[33] Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δημαρχοῦντοιν μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἐπαινοῦντοιν, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἔτι τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν φύλακα σφῶν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολέμιαν. καὶ οἱ ὑπάτοι, Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὁμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα ὑβρίζοιτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέρνηντες, ἦν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξαλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει, μήτε τινὰ σφαγὴν μήτε μύσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις

καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἁράς τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις ἐπαρώμενος. συνεξέθεον δ' αὐτῷ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος· καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη στρατὸς ἐωρᾶτο ἐκ Πομπηίου περιυστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οἶδε μὲν δὴ τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ ὀρήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτι ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἠρέθιζε λέγων, ὅτι καὶ σφᾶς τοσάδε ἐργασαμένους ἡγοῦνται πολεμίους καὶ τοιοῦσδε ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τι φθεγξαμένους οὕτως ἐξελαύνουσιν αἰσχρῶς.

[34] ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέφκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἤδη σαφῶς, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ νομίζουσα Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν σὺν χρόνῳ παρέσσεσθαι καὶ οὐποτε αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν ἐπὶ τηλικούτον ἔργον σὺν ὀλίγοις προσέτασσε Πομπηίῳ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας Ἰταλῶν ἀγείρειν, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὡς ἐμπειροπολέμους, ξενολογεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθνῶν ὅσα ἄλκιμα. χρήματα δ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ τὰ τε κοινὰ πάντα αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ σφῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ δεήσειεν, εἶναι στρατιωτικά· ἐς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐφ' ἕτερα περιέπεμπον σὺν τε ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ, σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες ὀξύτατης. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν περιεπεπόμεφει, χαίρων δ' αἰεὶ ταχυεργίας τε ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ τόλμης μᾶλλον ἢ παρασκευῆς δυνάμει, μετὰ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν τοσῷδε πολέμῳ καὶ φθάσαι τὰ εὐκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας.

[35] τοὺς οὖν λοχαγοὺς αὐτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτοις, εἰρηνικῶς ἐσταλμένοις, προύπεμπεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ἀρίμινον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφνω καταλαβεῖν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶν Ἰταλίας πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἐσπέραν, ὡς δὴ τὸ σῶμα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὑπεχώρησε τοῦ συμποσίου, τοὺς φίλους ἀπολιπὼν ἔτι ἐστιᾶσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβάς ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ἐπομένων οἱ τῶν ἰπέων ἐκ διαστήματος. δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ρουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔσθη τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐς τὸ ρέϋμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνώμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὅπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνευγκών· 'ἡ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὧ φίλοι, τῆσδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἄρξει, ἡ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.' καὶ εἰπὼν οἶά τις ἔνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπών· 'ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω.' δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιὼν Ἀρίμινόν τε αἰρεῖ περὶ ἑὼ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρει, φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐφιστάς καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἢ βίᾳ χειρούμενος ἢ φιλανθρωπία. φυγαί τε καὶ μεταναστάσεις ἦσαν ἐκ πάντων χωρίων ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει καὶ δρόμος ἀσύντακτος μετ' οἰμωγῆς, τό τε ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νομίζοντες μετ' ἀπείρου στρατοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν.

[36] ὧν οἱ ὕπατοι πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ εἶων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐμπειροπολέμῳς εὐσταθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξώτρυνον ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ στρατολογεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως καταληφθισομένης αὐτίκα. ἡ τε ἄλλη βουλὴ, παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὀξείας τῆς ἐσβολῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένης, ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει μετενόουν οὐ δεξάμενοι τὰς Καίσαρος προκλήσεις, τότε νομίζοντες εἶναι δικαίας, ὅτε σφᾶς ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸ εὐβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλονίκου μετέφερε. τέρατά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπιπτε πολλὰ

καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια: αἶμά τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὁ θεὸς ὕσαι καὶ ξόανα ἰδρῶσαι καὶ κεραυνοὶ πεσεῖν ἐπὶ νεῶς πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμίονος τεκεῖν: ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῇ προεσήμαινε τὴν ἐς αἰὲ τῆς πολειτείας ἀναίρεσιν τε καὶ μεταβολήν. εὐχαὶ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ φοβεροῖς προυγράφοντο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Μαρίου καὶ Σύλλα κακῶν γιγνόμενος ἔκεκράγει Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον ἀποθέσθαι τὰς δυναστείας ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τοῦ πολέμου λυθησομένου, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πέμπειν ἐς Καίσαρα διαλλακτάς.

[37] ἀντιπραττόντων δ' ἐς ἅπαντα τῶν ὑπάτων, Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήιον ἐπισκώπτων τοῦ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν: ὁ δὲ 'ἔξετε,' εἶπεν, 'ἂν ἐπακολουθῇτέ μοι καὶ μὴ δεινὸν ἡγήσθε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεήσειεν.' οὐ γὰρ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔχειν ταῦτα σὺν ἑαυτοῖς: ἀμυνομένους δ' ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν, εἰ φειδοῖ χωρίων ἢ κατασκευῆς ἀπολελείπονται τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνων, ἐξῆι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ συνεῖποντο αὐτῷ: τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺ κατεῖχε, καὶ διενυκτέρευον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸ πλεόν ὁμως ἐξῆι καὶ ἐδίδωκε τὸν Πομπήιον.

[38] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Κορφινίῳ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον τὸν ἐπιπεμφθέντα οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι διάδοχον καταλαβὼν, οὐ πάντας ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐπολιόρκει: καὶ οἱ τὸ Κορφίνιον οἰκοῦντες φεύγοντα τὸν Δομίτιον ἄμφι τὰς πύλας καταλαβόντες τῷ Καίσαρι προσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατιάν αὐτοῦ προστιθεμένην οἱ προθύμως ἐδέχετο ἐς ἐρέθισμα τῶν ἄλλων, Δομίτιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαθῇ μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων μεθῆκεν ὅποι βούλοιο ἀπιέναι, ἐλπίσας μὲν ἴσως διὰ τὴν εὐποιάν παραμενεῖν, οὐ κωλύσας δ' ἐς Πομπήιον ἰόντα. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων οὕτως ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς Νουκερίαν ἐκ Καπύης καὶ ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἡπείγετο, ὡς τὸν Ἴόνιον διαβαλὼν ἐς Ἥπειρον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν παρασκευὴν συστήσων ἐν αὐτῇ. ἔθνεσί τε πᾶσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δυνάταις ἔγραφε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὅ τι δύναιτο ἕκαστος, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀθρόως ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου στρατὸς ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν ὡς ὁρμήσων, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

[39] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τελῶν τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε τοῖς ὑπάτοις προαπάγειν ἐς Ἥπειρον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οἶδε αὐτίκα ἀσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον: ἦν Ἐπίδαμνόν τινες εἶναι νομίζουσι διὰ τοιάνδε ἄγνοιαν. βασιλεὺς τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων, Ἐπίδαμνος, πόλιν ὥκισεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν Ἐπίδαμνον. τούτου θυγατρίδοὺς Δύρραχος, νομιζόμενος εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπίνειον ὥκισε τῇ πόλει καὶ Δυρράχιον ὠνόμασε. πολεμουμένῳ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῷδε τῷ Δυρράχῳ συνεμάχησεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς, ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἐπανιών: ὅθεν οἱ Δυρράχιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς μερίτην τῆς γῆς, οἰκιστὴν σφῶν τίθενται, οὐκ ἀρνούμενοι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸν Δύρραχον, φιλοτιμούμενοι δ' ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐς τὸν

Ἡρακλέα μᾶλλον ὥς ἐς θεόν. φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇδε Δυρράχου παῖδα Ἴόνιον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ σῶμα θάψαντα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως κατασχεῖν Βρίγας ἐκ Φρυγῶν ἐπανελθόντας καὶ Ταυλαντίους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ταυλαντίοις ἕτερον γένος Ἰλλυριῶν Λιβυρνοὺς, οἳ τὰ περίοικα νηυσὶ ταχεαῖς ἐληίζοντο· καὶ Λιβυρνίδας ἐντεῦθεν ἡγοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ναῦς τὰς ταχείας, ὧν ἄρα πρώτων ἐς πείραν ἦλθον. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Λιβυρνῶν ἐξελαθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου Κερκυραῖους ἐπαγόμενοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Λιβυρνοὺς· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι σφετέρους ἐγκατέμιζαν οἰκήτορας, ὅθεν Ἑλληνικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπίνειον. τὴν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν ὥς οὐκ αἷσιον ἐναλλάξαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ τήνδε ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Ἐπίδαμον ἐκάλουν, καὶ Θουκυδίδης οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν· ἐκνικᾷ δ' ὅμως τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ Δυρράχιον κληίζεται.

[40] οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὃ δὲ Πομπήιος τὸν ὑπόλοιπον στρατὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀγαγὼν τάς τε ναῦς ἀνέμενεν ἐπανελθεῖν, αἱ τοὺς ὑπάτους διέφερον, καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπελθόντα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἡμύνετο τὴν τε πόλιν διετάφρευε, μέχρι καταπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου περὶ δειλὴν ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλευσε, τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπολιπών· οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐρχομένης ἐξέπλεον οὐρίῳ πνεύματι.

καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὧδε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐς Ἥπειρον ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεπέρα· ὃ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρει μὲν, ὅπῃ τραπείη καὶ ὅθεν ἄρξαιτο τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν ὁρμὴν πανταχόθεν οὔσαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ὁρῶν, δείσας δὲ τοῦ Πομπήιου τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατόν, πολὺν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ γεγυμνασμένον, μὴ οἱ διώκοντι τὸν Πομπήιον κατόπιν ἐπιγένοιτο, τόνδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐλάσας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐς πέντ' ἐπιδιήρει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐν Ὑδροῦντι κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ' ἐν Τάραντι, φύλακας εἶναι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἑτέρους δ' ἔπεμπεν ἅμα Κοῖντῳ Οὐαλερίῳ, Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν· καὶ κατέλαβον. Ἀσίνιός τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαν πεμφθεῖς, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Κάτῳ, πότερα τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο· 'ὃ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά με ἔπεμψε.'

καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἐς Πομπήιον· [41] ὃ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς τὸν τε δῆμον, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐλπίσι καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιланθρωπίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἐλὼν ἀπαθῇ μεθείη μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων· τὰ δὲ κλειῖθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμειῶν ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἡπεύλει. τῶν τε ἀψαύστων ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἃ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρᾷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδέν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι. ὃ δὲ ἔφη Κελτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐλὼν λευκέναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν. Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐφίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω

Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἡρεῖτο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἐπέμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Λικινίῳ Κράσσῳ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλους δύο γίγνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἀμφὶ τε τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ περὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν· καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γιγνομένοις ἐπέστησεν Ὀρτήσιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν.

[42] οὕτω κρατυνόμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἦει, ἔνθα Πετρήϊῳ καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατηγοῖς συμβαλὼν ἤττον αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τά γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάλως ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην. καὶ στρατοπεδεύων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ κρημνῶν ἐσιτολόγει διὰ γεφύρας τοῦ Σικόριος ποταμοῦ. χειμάρρου δ' ἄφνω τὴν γέφυραν καταβαλόντος, ἀνδρῶν τε πλῆθος ἀποληφθέν ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ διέφθειραν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πετρήιον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐμόχθει μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ πάννυκτον ὑπὸ τε δυσχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ πολεμίων· οὐδὲν τε ἀλλ' ἢ πολιορκίας ἔργον ἦν, μέχρι θέρους ἐπελθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρίαν ἐχώρουν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀθροίσοντες. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰεὶ προλαμβάνων διετάφρευε τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵεναι καὶ τι καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν, προπεμπόμενον ἐς στρατοπέδον κατάληψιν, ἐκυκλώσατο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόντων. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε συνέλαβεν οὔτε κατηκόντισεν, ἀλλὰ μεθήκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀφράνιον ἀπιέναι, δημοκοπῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πανταχοῦ. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἐπιμιξίαι τε εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ λόγοι περὶ συμβάσεων κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

[43] ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν καὶ ἐτέροις ἐδόκει τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπιέναι, Πετρήιος δὲ ἀντέλεγε καὶ περιθέων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκτεινεν, ὅσους εὐρίσκοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν τῶν Καίσαρος, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων ἐνιστάμενόν τινα αὐτοχειρὶ διεχρήσατο· ἐξ ὧν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀχθόμενοι τῷ σκυθρωπῷ τοῦ Πετρηίου, ἐς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτρέποντο ταῖς γνώμαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ πού καὶ τὴν ὕδρειαν αὐτῶν προύλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν ἀμυχάνῳ γενόμενος ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς λόγους τῷ Καίσαρι συνῆει μετὰ Ἀφρανίου, ἐφορώντων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ὁ μὲν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ποταμὸν διαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε χωροῦντας ἐς Πομπήιον εἶναι. γενόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ συνήγαγεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐπήκοον, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν ὧδε· ὕμῶν, ὦ πολέμιοι, τῷδε γὰρ ἔτι τῷ ῥήματι χρώμενος ἐναργεστέραν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ποιήσω, οὔτε τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἱ σφᾶς ἐμοὶ παρέδοσαν, διέφθειρα οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον ὑμῶν στρατὸν, λαβὼν τὰ ὕδρευματα, Πετρηίου ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Σίκοριν ποταμὸν ἀποληφθέντας προανελόντος. εἰ δὴ τις ἔστι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τούτων χάρις, φράζετε αὐτὰ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατιώταις ἅπασιν.' τοσάδε εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυεν ἀπαθεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεῖσθαι Κάσσιον Κόιντον.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα· [44] Λιβύης δὲ Οὐᾶρος Ἄττιος

ἐστρατήγει τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ Ἰόβας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων Νομάδων βασιλεὺς τῷ Οὐάρῳ συνεμάχει, Κουρίων δ' ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπέπλει δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσι δυώδεκα μακραῖς καὶ ὀλκάσι πολλαῖς. Ἰτύκη δὲ προσσχὼν ἐν μὲν τινι βραχεῖα περὶ αὐτὴν ἵππομαχίᾳ τρέπεται τινὰς τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔτι οὕσης αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπέστη προσαγορευθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ τιμὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τόδε τὸ προσαγόρευμα παρὰ τῶν στρατῶν, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρούντων ἀξίως σφῶν αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι: καὶ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλοι μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις προσίεντο, νῦν δ' ὅρον εἶναι τῇδε τῇ εὐφημίᾳ πυνθάνομαι τὸ μυρίου πεσεῖν. ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ πλεόντος ἐκ Σικελίας, οἱ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν διὰ δοξοκοπίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν χάρακα τὸν Σκιπίωνος κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας στρατοπεδεύσειν, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφάρμαζαν. καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ διήμαρτον: ὃ τε γὰρ Κουρίων ἐστάθμευσεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐνόσει, πιοῦσί τε τὸ βλέμμα ἀμαυρὸν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν ὀμίχλῃ, καὶ ὕπνος ἐπεγίνετο σὺν κάρῳ, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἔμετοι τροφῆς ποικίλοι καὶ σπασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. ὦν δὲ χάριν ὁ Κουρίων παρ' αὐτὴν Ἰτύκην μετεστρατοπέδευε, δι' ἔλους ἰσχυροῦ τε καὶ μακροῦ τὸν στρατὸν, ἀσθενῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν γεγονότα, ἄγων. ὥς δὲ σφισιν ἡ νίκη Καίσαρος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ παρετάξαντο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίῳ. μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς γενομένης Κουρίωνος μὲν εἰς ἀνὴρ ἔπεσεν, Οὐάρου δὲ ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ κατετρώθησαν ἔτι πλείονες.

[45] Ἰόβα δ' ἐπιόντος δόξα ψευδῆς προεπήδησεν, ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν οὐ πολὺ διεστῶτα ὑπεστροφέναι τὸν Ἰόβαν, πορθομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων, Σαβούρραν στρατηγὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταλιπόντα. καὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ πίσυνος ὁ Κουρίων θέρους θερμοῦ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἡμέρας ἦγε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβούρραν, ὁδὸν ψαμμώδη καὶ ἄνυδρον: εἰ γάρ τι καὶ νᾶμα χειμέριον ἦν, ἐξήραντο ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὸ τε Σαβούρρα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρόντος κατείχετο τοῦ βασιλέως. σφαλεῖς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Κουρίων ἐς λόφους ἀνέδραμεν ὑπὸ τε καμάτου καὶ πνίγους καὶ δίψης ἐνοχλούμενος. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν κατεῖδον οὕτως ἔχοντα οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐτέρων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι: καὶ ὁ Κουρίων κατέβαινε ἀφρόνως μάλα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἀσθενῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων. κυκλωσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων ἐπὶ μὲν τινὰ χρόνον ὑπεχώρει καὶ ἐς βραχὺ συνεστέλλετο, ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ἀνέφευγεν αὐθις ἐς τοὺς λόφους. Ἀσίνιος μὲν δὴ Πολλίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ κακοῦ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰτύκῃ στρατοπέδον σὺν ὀλίγοις, μή τις ἐξ Οὐάρου γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἐνταῦθα κατοπραγίας ἐπιθείσις: Κουρίων δὲ φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενος σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔπεσεν, ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ Πολλίῳι μηδένα ἄλλον ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς Ἰτύκην.

[46] τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν μάχης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἀποτμηθεῖσα ἐς Ἰόβαν ἐφέρετο: ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ κακοῦ φανεροῦ γενομένου, Φλάμμας μὲν ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτίκα ἔφευγεν αὐτῷ στόλῳ, πρὶν τινὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, Ἀσίνιος δ' ἐς τοὺς παρορμοῦντας ἐμπόρους ἀκατίῳ διαπλεύσας ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν

ἐπιπλεῦσαί τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. καὶ τινες ἐς τοῦτο νυκτὸς ἐπέπλευσαν, ἀθρόων δ' ἐσβαινόντων ἐκείνων τὰ τε σκάφη κατεδύετο, καὶ τῶν ἀναχθέντων οἱ ἔμποροι τοὺς πολλοὺς χρήματα φέροντας ἔνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐρρίπτουν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀναχθέντας, ἕτερα δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ, νυκτὸς ἔτι, περὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐγίνετο ὁμοία. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰόβας ἐπελθὼν περιέστησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ὡς λείψανα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νίκης κατηκόντισεν, οὐδέν τι φροντίσας οὐδὲ Οὐάρου παρακαλοῦντος. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ σὺν Κουρίωνι ἐς Αἰβύην ἐπιπλεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων δύο τέλη διώλετο ἅπαντα καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἱππῆες τε καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ στρατοῦ: Ἰόβας δ' ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἀνέστρεφε, μέγιστον ἔργον τότε Πομπηίῳ καταλογιζόμενος.

[47] καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀντώνιος τε περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἡττάτο ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίου κατὰ Δολοβέλλα Πομπηίῳ στρατηγούντος, καὶ στρατιὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλη περὶ Πλακεντίαν στασιάζουσα τῶν ἀρχόντων κατεβόησεν, ὥς ἐν τε τῇ στρατείᾳ βραδύνοντες καὶ τὰς πέντε μνᾶς οὐ λαβόντες, ἦν τινα δωρεὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι περὶ Βρεντέσιον ὑπέσχητο. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος ἐκ Μασσαλίας ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἠπείγετο συντόμως καὶ ἐς ἔτι στασιάζοντας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε: 'τάχει μὲν ὅσῳ περὶ ἕκαστα χρῶμαι, σύνιστέ μοι: βραδύνει δ' ὁ πόλεμος οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντας ἡμᾶς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐν τε Γαλατία πολλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνήμενοι καὶ ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὅλον, οὐκ ἐς μέρος αὐτοῦ μοι συνομόσαντες ἐν μέσοις ἔργοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολείπετε καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπανίστασθε καὶ προστάττειν ἀξιοῦτε, παρ' ὧν χρὴ προστάγματα λαμβάνειν. μαρτυράμενος οὖν ἑμαυτὸν τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς μέχρι δεῦρο φιλοτιμίας χρῆσθαι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐνάτου τέλους, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα τῆς στάσεως κατήρξε, τὸ δέκατον διακληρώσω θανεῖν.' θρήνου δὲ ἀθρόως ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ τέλους γενομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες ἰκέτευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ μόλις τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδούς ἐς τοσοῦτον ὅμως ὑψήκεν, ὥς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μόνους, οἱ κατάρξαι μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, διακληρώσαι καὶ δωδέκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελεῖν. τῶν δὲ δωδέκα τῶνδε ἐφάνη τις οὐδ' ἐπιδημῶν, ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγίνετο: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφήναντα λοχαγὸν ἔκτεινεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

[48] ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὕτως ἐλέλυτο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρήλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικῶς ἡρεῖτο δικτάτορα, οὔτε τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίζομένης οὔτε προχειροτονούντος ἄρχοντος. ὁ δέ, εἴτε παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥς ἐπιφθονον εἴτε οὐ χρήζων, ἄρξας ἐπὶ ἔνδεκα μόνας ἡμέρας ὧδε γάρ τισι δοκεῖ ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ Πούπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ἡγεμόνας τε ἐς τὰ ἔθνη περιέπεμπεν ἢ ἐνήλλαττεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλέγων. ἐς μὲν Ἰβηρίαν Μάρκον Λέπιδον, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν Αὐλὸν Ἀλβῖνον, ἐς δὲ Σαρδῶ Σέξστον Πεδουκαῖον, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον Βροῦτον. τῷ δὲ δῆμῳ λιμώττοντι σίτον ἐπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας δεομένῳ καταγαγεῖν συνεχώρησε, χωρὶς Μίλωνος. αἰτοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς διὰ τε πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς πιπρασκομένοις ἐποῦσαν εὐνοίαν, τὰς μὲν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ ἔδωκε, τιμητὰς δὲ τῶν ὀνίων ἀπέφηνεν, ὧν ἔδει τοὺς χρήστας τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀντὶ τῶν

χρημάτων διδόναι. καὶ τότε πράξας περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς περιέπεμπε τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς τε ἐξῆι Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ ἔτους πλησιάζουσιν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἶπετο παρακαλῶν συμβῆναι Πομπηίῳ: οὐ γὰρ ἄδηνον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέψεσθαι.

[49] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥδευσεν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων δυνατῆς ἐπείξεως, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ναῦς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ στρατὸν αἰεὶ πλείονα καὶ χρήματα συνῆγε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ Καίσαρος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐλὼν ἐφύλασσε αὐτοῦ τὸν διάπλουν τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, συντρέχων καὶ συνιπεύων καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχων πόνου παρ' ἡλικίαν: ὅθεν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως εὐνοία τε ἦν, καὶ συνέθεον ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια Πομπηίου πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ θέαν. ἦν δ' ἐς τότε Καίσαρι μὲν δέκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἱππῆες μύριοι, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πέντε μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μεθ' ὧν τὸν Ἰόνιον διεπεπλεύκει, καὶ τούτοις ὅσοι συνετάσσοντο ἱππῆες, ἐκ δὲ Παρθυαίων δύο, τῶν σὺν Κράσσῳ πεπολεμηκότων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ... καὶ τι μέρος ἄλλο τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐσβαλόντων μετὰ Γαβινίου, σύμπαντα ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν ἑνδεκα τέλη καὶ ἱππῆες ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους. σύμμαχοι δ' ἐξ Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας τοξόται τε Κρήτες καὶ σφενδονῆται Θυράκες καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Πόντον βέλεσι χρῶνται, ἱππῆες τέ τινες Κελτῶν καὶ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἕτεροι τῆς ἐφ' ἑσῆς Κομμαγενοὶ τε ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου πεμφθέντες καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας τινὲς καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι. ὧν οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐς μάχας, ἀλλ' ἐς φρουρία καὶ ταφρεῖας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ στρατοῦ χρῆσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἵνα μηδένα τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦ πολέμου περισπῶν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πεζά, νῆες δὲ μακραί μὲν ἐντελεῖς τοῖς πληρώμασιν ἐξακόσιαι, καὶ τούτων ἐς ἑκατὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβατῶν, αἱ καὶ μάλιστα προὔχουσιν ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ σκευοφόρων ἄλλο πλῆθος. ναύαρχοι τε πολλοὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μάρκος Βύβλος.

[50] ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντα ἦν ἔτοιμα, συναγαγὼν ὅσοι τε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἐς ἐπήκοον, ἔλεξεν ὥδε:

καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἐπιούσι πολεμοῦντες, οὐ τὰ οἰκήματα πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι νομίζοντες: καὶ τότε πράξαντες ὁξέως αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ἀπέφηναν: καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι Κελτῶν ἐπιόντων ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο ἐξ Ἀρδεατῶν Κάμιλλος ὁρμώμενος. πάντες τε οἱ εὖ φρονούντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ᾖσιν, ἡγοῦνται πατρίδα. ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνθυμούμενοι δεῦρο διεπλεύσαμεν, οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρασκευασόμενοι τε καλῶς ἐνθάδε καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπιβουλευόντα αὐτῇ, διὰ δὲ τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄφνω καταλαβόντα. ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε εἶναι πολέμιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἡγεμόνας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑμέτερα περιπέμπει καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐφίστησι καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν: τοσσηδε τόλμη τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ εἰ τότε πολέμων ἔτι καὶ δεδιὼς καὶ δίκην σὺν θεῷ δώσων ἐξεργάζεται, τί χρὴ νικήσαντα προσδοκᾶν ἐκλείπειν ὠμότητος ἢ βίας; καὶ τότε πράττοντι κατὰ

τῆς πατρίδος σύνεισιν τινες ἐωνημένοι χρημάτων ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας Γαλατίας πεπόρισται, δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἰσονομίας αἰρούμενοι.

[51] ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλίποιμι τὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτην ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπιδίδωμι καί, εἴ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη ἀηττήτω μέχρι νῦν γενομένων, καὶ τάδε μοι πάντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὰ παρόντα συνενεγκεῖν εὐχομαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνευοῦση καθὰ καὶ περικτωμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αἴσιος. θαρρεῖν δὲ χρή τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ πολέμου, καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἔχοντι φιλοτιμίαν ὑπὲρ πατρίου πολιτείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ, τῷ πλήθει τῆς παρασκευῆς τῷ τε νῦν ὄντι ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ τε αἰεὶ καὶ προσεσομένῳ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴν τῶν ἔργων ἀψώμεθα. ὅσα γὰρ εἶπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον ἔθνη, πάντα, ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βάρβαρα, ἡμῖν σύνεστι: καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἐμοὶ φίλοι, στρατιὰν καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν χορηγοῦσιν. ἴτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ὕβρεως μνημονεύοντες καὶ ὀξέως ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χωροῦντες.

[52] ὁ μὲν ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλὸν καὶ γνωριμώτατον πλῆθος, εὐφήμουν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευον ἄγειν, ἐφ' ὃ τι χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἠγεῖτο γάρ, δυσχεροῦς ἔτι τῆς ὥρας οὔσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλιμένου, μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπατὸν τε ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοσῷδε διαθήσεσθαι τοῖς μὲν ναύαρχοις προσέταττεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς χειμασίαν ἐπιδιήρει καὶ περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν.

καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν οὕτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμελῶς ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὥς μοι προείρητο, περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, νομίζων τῷ ἁδοκῆτῳ μάλιστα ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὔτε δὲ ἀγορὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἡθροισμένον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταλαβὼν, τοὺς παρόντας ὅμως ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν:

[53]

οὔτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, ὃ ἄνδρες, οἱ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμοὶ συναίρεσθε, οὐθ' ἡ τῶν ἄλλων βραδυτῆς ἢ ἔνδεια τῆς πρεπούσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὁρμῆς: ἀντὶ γὰρ πάντων ἡγοῦμαί μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχυεργίαν. καὶ πρῶτους ἡμᾶς, οἱ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀξιῶ θεράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἵνα ἡμᾶς αἱ παροῦσαι νῆες ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαλάβοιμεν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῇ δ' ὀλιγότῃ τόλμαν, τῇ δ' ἀπορία τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ἧς ἔστιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἣν εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἴδιον. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ θεράποντάς τε καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείνων, ἕως χειμάζουσιν ἐν ὑποστέγοις. ἴωμεν, ἕως Πομπήιος ἠγεῖται κάμει χειμάζειν ἢ περὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδόσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατότατον ἐν πολέμοις ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον: φιλότιμον δὲ καὶ πρώτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτίκα διωζομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἐκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν πλεῖν ἂν ἢ λέγειν μᾶλλον

ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἴδῃ, νομίζων ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατίθεσθαι: τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

[54] ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὀρμῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἄγειν σφᾶς, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἰππέας λογάδας ἑξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλευε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χειμέριοι δ' ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίψαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τάδε προσλαβὼν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων: αἱ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ νῆες ὀλίγαι μακραί, Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν ἐφρούρου. ὑπὸ δὲ χειμῶνων ἐς τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη περιαχθεὶς τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἦεν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὠρικὸν διὰ τραχείας ἀτραποῦ καὶ στενῆς, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διασπώμενος ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὡς εὐεπιχείρητος ἄν, εἴ τις ἦσθετο, γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἑω μόλις αὐτῷ συνήει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ φρούραρχος ὁ τῆς Ὠρίκου, τῶν ἔνδον αὐτῷ προειπόντων οὐ κωλύσειν ἐπιόντα Ῥωμαίων ὑπατον, τάς τε κλεῖς παρέδωκε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατέμεινε τιμῆς ἀξιούμενος. Λουκρήτιος δὲ καὶ Μινούκιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ὠρίκου ναυσὶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μακραῖς Πομπηίῳ σῖτον ἐν πλοίοις φυλάσσοντες τὰ τε πλοῖα κατέδυσαν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὰ λάβοι, καὶ ἐς Δυρράχιον διέφυγον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὠρίκου Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἡπείγετο: καὶ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν αὐτὸν δεχομένων, Σταβέριος ὁ φρούραρχος ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν.

[55] καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀλίσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀνέμνησεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν τοῦ τε χειμῶνος σὺν τῇ τύχῃ περιγένοιτο καὶ θαλάσσης τοσσησδε χωρὶς νεῶν κρατήσειαν Ὠρικὸν τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀμαχεὶ λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοιεν, καθάπερ εἶπεν, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι Πομπηίου. 'εἰ δὲ καὶ Δυρράχιον,' ἔφη, 'τὸ ταμιεῖον τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς προλάβοιμεν, ἔσται πάντα ἡμῖν, ἃ ἐκείνοις δι' ὅλου θέρους πεπονημένοις.' τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον αὐτοὺς ὁδὸν μακράν, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαύων. Πομπήιος δὲ προμαθὼν ἀντιπαρώδευεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, σὺν ἐπεῖξει καὶ ὁδε πολλῇ, κόπτων τε τὴν ὕλην, ἣν παρώδευεν, ἵνα Καῖσαρι δύσβατος εἴη, καὶ ποταμῶν γεφύρας διαιρῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν ἐμπιπράς, ἐν μεγίστῳ, καθάπερ ἦν, καὶ ὁδε τιθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευὴν διαφυλάξαι. κονιορτὸν δ' ἢ πῦρ ἢ καπνὸν εἴ ποτε μακρόθεν ἴδοιεν αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, νομίζοντες εἶναι τὰ ἀλλήλων ἐφιλονίκουν ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι δρόμου. καὶ οὔτε τροφῇ καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ὕπνῳ: ἔπειξις δ' ἦν καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ βοαὶ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ λαμπτήρσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦδε πολλὸς καὶ φόβος, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αἰεὶ πλησιαζόντων. ὑπὸ δὲ καμάτου τινὲς ἀπερρίπτουν, ἃ ἔφερον, ἢ ἐν φάραγξι διαλαθόντες ὑπελείποντο, τὴν αὐτίκα ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φόβου διαλασσόμενοι.

[56] τοιαῦτα δὲ ἑκατέρων κακοπαθούντων προύλαβεν ὅμως ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ναῦς τε ἐπιπέμπας Ὠρικὸν αὐθις εἶλε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκριβεστέrais φρουραῖς ἐφύλασσε. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν Ἄλωρα ποταμὸν ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσε. καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες ἱππομάχουν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη, ἀθρόοις δὲ τοῖς

στρατοῖς οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, Πομπήιος μὲν ἔτι γυμνάζων τοὺς νεοστρατεύτους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἐκ Βρεντεσίου περιμένων. νομίσας δ' ἕαρος μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων διαπλέοντας οὐ λήσειν τὰς τοῦ Πομπήιου τριήρεις θαμινὰ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀναπλεούσας, χειμῶνος δ' εἰ παραβάλλοιντο, ναυλοχούντων ἐς νήσους τῶν πολεμίων, λαθεῖν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἴσως ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι μεγέθει τε νεῶν καὶ πνεύματι, μετεπέμπετο κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀναγομένων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν διαπλεῦσαι λαθόν, ὥς οὗ τινος αὐτὴν ἄλλου ῥαδίως ἐπαξομένου. καὶ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπικρύψας ἔπεμπε τρεῖς θεράποντας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ δωδέκα σταδίων ὄντα, οἱ κελήτιον ὅζῳ καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον ὥς δὴ τινι πεμπομένῳ πρὸς Καίσαρος ἔμελλον ἐτοιμάσειν.

[57] αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ διαίτης ὑπεχώρησε μὲν ὥς κάμνων τῷ σώματι, τοὺς φίλους ἔτι ἐστιάσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπιθέμενος δ' ἐσθῆτα ιδιώτου καὶ ὀχήματος εὐθὺς ἐπιβάς ἐξήλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥς ὅδε ὢν ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεσταλμένος· τὰ τε λοιπὰ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων προσέτασεν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μάλιστα ἀγνοούμενος. χειμερίου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντος θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευον οἱ θεράποντες τὸν κυβερνήτην ὥς τῷδε μάλιστα λησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποταμὸν ὁ κυβερνήτης εἰρεσίᾳ βιαζόμενος ἔπλει· ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἡ θάλασσα σὺν κλυδωνίῳ καὶ πνεύματι τὸ ρεῦμα ἀνέκοπτεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπισπερχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν θεραπόντων ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὥς ἐς οὐδὲν προκόπτων ἀπέκαμνε καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀποκαλυψάμενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ· ‘θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην.’ ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἑρετῶν καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προθυμία τε πᾶσιν ἐνίπιπτε καὶ ἡ ναὺς ὑπὸ βίας ἐξέπιπτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὸ πνεῦμα δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κῦμα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὄχθας διερρίπτει, μέχρι πλησιαζούσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὥς ἐν φωτὶ κατάδηλοι τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐσόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, τῷ δαιμονίῳ χαλεπνόμενος ὥς φθονερῷ, ἐφῆκε τὴν ναῦν ἐπανίεναι.

ἡ μὲν δὴ πνεύματι ταχεῖ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέπλει, [58] Καίσαρα δ' οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῆς εὐτολμίας, οἱ δ' ἐπεμέμφοντο ὥς στρατιώτῃ πρέπον ἔργον εἰργασμένον, οὐ στρατηγῷ. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι λήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν Ποστούμιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε διαπλεῦσαι τε καὶ φράσαι Γαβινίῳ τὸν στρατὸν εὐθὺς ἄγειν διὰ θαλάσσης· ἂν δ' ἀπειθῇ ταῦτα προστάσσειν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον Καληνῷ. εἰ δ' οἱ τρεῖς ἀποκνοίεν, ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸν ἐγγράπτο ἄλλῃ, τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς ἔπεσθαι τῷ Ποστούμῳ καὶ καταίρειν ἀναχθέντας ἐς χωρίον, ἐς ὃ τι ὁ ἄνεμος ἐκφέρει, μηδὲν τῶν νεῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ νεῶν χρῆζειν Καίσαρα, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν.

οὕτω μὲν ἀντὶ λογισμῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποιθεὶ τῇ τύχῃ. τάδε οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος ἐς μάχην διεσκευασμένος ἐπήει. καὶ δύο αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρευνωμένων, ἧ μάλιστα εἷη διαβατός, τῶν τις Καίσαρος εἰς ἐπιδραμὸν τοὺς δύο ἀνεῖλε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνεξεύξεν, οὐκ αἶσιον τὸ συμβάν ἡγούμενος. αἰτίαν δ' εἶχε παρὰ πᾶσι καιρὸν ἄριστον ἐκλιπεῖν.

[59] Ποστούμιον δὲ διαπλεύσαντος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὁ μὲν Γαβίνιος οὐχ ὑποστάς τὸ πρόσταγμα ἤγε τοὺς βουλομένους διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, οὐδαμοῦ

διαναπαύων· καὶ ἀνῆρέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἤνεγκεν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τὰς ναὺς ἐπιβήσας Ἀπολλωνίαν μὲν παρέπλευσεν, ἰστίοις μεστοῖς ἐπιπνέοντος ἀνέμου· χαλάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴκοσι τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, ἐπ' ἔρευναν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναχθεῖσαι, καθορῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐδίωκον. τοῖς δὲ ὡς ἐν γαλήνῃ δέος ἦν πολὺ, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνατρήσειαν ἢ καταδύσειαν αἱ μακრაὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις· καὶ τὰ εἰκότα παρεσκεύαζοντο, σφενδόνα τε ἠφίεντο ἤδη καὶ βέλη. καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ἄφνω μείζων ἢ πρότερον ἐπέρραξεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ μεγάλους αὐθις ἰστίοις ἐξ ἀέλπτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδέχοντο καὶ διέπλεον ἀδεῶς· αἱ δ' ἀπελείποντο, ῥοθίῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ θαλάσῃ κοίλῃ κακοπαθοῦσαι. καὶ μόλις ἐς ἀλίμενα καὶ πετρώδη διερρίφησαν, δύο τινὰς ἐς τέλμα τῶν Καίσαρος κατενεχθεῖσας ἐλοῦσαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Νυμφαῖον κατήχθη.

[60] καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἤδη παρῆν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ λόφων ἐν φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, πείραί τε ἦσαν περὶ ἕκαστον φρούριον πυκναὶ περιταφρευόντων καὶ περιτειχιζόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ γιγνομένων ὁμοῦ καὶ ποιούντων ἐν ἀπόροις. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πεύραις περὶ τι φρούριον ἡττωμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ λοχαγός, ὃν Σκεῦας ὄνομα ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρῶν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτρώθη βέλει καὶ προπηδήσας κατέσεισεν ὡς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμενος. σιωπῆς δ' αὐτῷ γενομένης, Πομπηίου λοχαγὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδρία γνῶριμον ἐκάλει· 'σῶζε τὸν ὅμοιον σεαυτῷ, σῶζε τὸν φίλον καὶ πέμπε μοι τοὺς χειραγωγήσοντας, ἐπεὶ τέτρωμαι.' προσδραμόντων δ' ὡς αὐτομολοῦντι δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν μὲν ἔφθασε κτείνας, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ὦμον ἀπέκοψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἔπρασσεν ἀπογινώσκων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις αἰδῶς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ ὀρμῇ προσέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ φρούριον περιεσώθη, πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουράρχου Μινουκίου παθόντος, ὃ γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐξ τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τούτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δ', ἐκ Δυρραχίου τινὸς αὐτῷ πρassoμένης προδοσίας, ἤκε μὲν, ὡς συνέκειτο, νυκτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ πύλας καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ...

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐκ Συρίας ἤγε Πομπηίῳ Σκιπίων ὁ κηδεστής· καὶ αὐτῷ Γάιος Καλουσίσιος περὶ Μακεδονίαν συμβαλὼν ἡττάτο, καὶ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη χωρὶς ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν.

[61] Καίσαρι μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης διὰ Πομπήιον ναυκρατοῦντα· ἐλίμαινεν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόαν ἡρτοποιοῦν, αὐτόμολοί τε Πομπηίῳ τοιούσδε ἄρτους προσήνεγκαν ὡς εὐφρανοῦντες ἰδόντα. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἦσθη, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, 'οἷσις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα συνῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα Πομπήιον βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην· ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἐκ τοῦδε κεκενωμένα προσλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἀνιαιθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπετόλμησεν ἔργῳ δυο χερεῖ τε καὶ παραλόγῳ, πάντα Πομπηίου τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀποτείχισαι, ὡς μεγάλην, εἰ καὶ διαμάρτοι, δόξαν οἰσόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεχειρεῖ

τοσῶδε ἔργῳ, Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸν ἀνταπετάφρευε καὶ ἀντρωκοδόμει: καὶ μάταια τὰ ἔργα ἀλλήλοις ἐποίουν. γίνεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν εἰς μέγας ἐν ᾧ Πομπήιος τρέπεται τε τοὺς Καίσαρος πάννυ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας σημειᾶ τε πολλὰ εἵλεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν αἰετόν, ὃ δὴ κυριώτατόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, μόλις ἔφθασεν ὁ φέρων ὑπὲρ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς ἔνδον ῥῖναι.

[62] γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέρωθεν ἤγεν ἄλλον στρατόν, οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ τοῦτον περίφοβον, ὥς Πομπηίου μακρόθεν ἐπιφανέντος μήτε στήναι περὶ τὰς πύλας ὄντας ἤδη μήτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐν κόσμῳ μήτε πεισθῆναι τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἕκαστον, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀμεταστρεπτί χωρὶς αἰδοῦς καὶ παραγγέλματος καὶ λογισμοῦ. Καῖσαρος δ' αὐτοὺς περιθέοντός τε καὶ σὺν ὀνειδίει μακρὰν ἔτι τὸν Πομπήιον ὄντα ἐπεδεικνύοντος, καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὰ σημειᾶ ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ μόλις ὑπ' αἰδοῦς κατέκυπτον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτοι: τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς τάραχος ἐνεπεπτόκει. εἷς δὲ καὶ στρέψας τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέτεινε τὸν οὐρίαχον ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Καῖσαρος ὑπασπισταὶ κατέκοπτον, οἱ δ' ἐσελθόντες οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπήντων, ἀλλὰ μεθειμένα πάντα ἦν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἀφύλακτον, ὥστε αὐτὸ δοκεῖ συνεσπεσῶν ἂν τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ πάντα ἐξεργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ Λαβιηνὸς αὐτόν, θεοῦ παράγοντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔπειθε τραπῆναι: καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ὤκνησεν, ἢ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν τοῦ χαρακώματος ὥς ἐνέδραν ὑφορώμενος ἢ ὥς ἤδη κεκριμένου τοῦ πολέμου καταφρονήσας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω τραπεῖς ἐτέρους τε ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ σημειᾶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἔλαβεν ἐν ταῖς δύο μάχαις ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν καὶ δεῦτερον τόνδε καιρὸν ἐντελοῦς ἔργου μεθῆκεν. ὁ καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρά φασιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι σήμερον ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξείργαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τὸν νικᾶν ἐπιστάμενον εἶχον.

[63] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὴν τε νίκην ὑπερεπαίρων ἐπέστελλε βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτίκα τὸν Καῖσαρος ἤλιπζε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβαλεῖσθαι, λιμῶ τε πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγμένον, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ, τὸ σφέτερον ἀμάρτημα φοβουμένους. οἱ δὲ, θεοῦ σφᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν ἄγοντος, τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἠδούντο καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεφομένου τε πρῶως καὶ συγγνώμην διδόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου μεταβολῆς ἐκέλευον τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ διακληρώσαντα αὐτοὺς τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀναιρεῖν. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος μᾶλλον ἠδούντο καὶ συνεχίνωσκον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ σφῶν ἠδικῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας τὰ σημειᾶ κτείνειν ἐπεβόων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ ποτε φυγόντες, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημειᾶ προασπεστράφη. ὥς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνασχόμενος ὀλίγους μόλις ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν. αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετριοπάθειαν ὀρμὴ τοσῆδε ἐνέπιπτεν, ὥς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ ἐνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι διορθώσεσθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα νίκῃ καλῇ: κατὰ τε σφᾶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώμνυντο, ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μὴ ἐπανήξιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν.

[64] ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοιαύτῃ μετανοίᾳ

καὶ προθυμία στρατοῦ· ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιόνων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄξει, καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῆσδε τῆς προθυμίας διεκελεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρή καὶ τῶνδε προεξελεῖν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἥττης πολλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάζον προκαθελεῖν. ὠμολόγει τε μεταγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, ἔνθα ἔστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα Πομπηίῳ, δέον ἀποσπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐτέρωθι ἐς ὁμοίας ἀπορίας.

καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετῆει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λανθάνων· Γόμφοις τε πόλιν μικρὰν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἐξεῖλεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρπάσαι. οἱ δ' ὥς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν ἐργάσασθαι τι λαμπρόν, εἰ μὴ διώκειν ὅλως ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Καῖσαρ ἑπτὰ συντόνως ἡμέραις ὁδεύσας ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ Φάρσαλον. λέγεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Γόμοις γενέσθαι παθήματα γενναῖα καὶ νεκροὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γερόντων ἐν ἰατρείῳ φανῆναι, κυλίκων αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀτρώτοις, εἴκοσι μὲν ὥς ἐκ μέθης κατακεκλιμένους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἕνα δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου παρακαθεζόμενον οἷα ἱατρόν, ὃς τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς ἄρα παρέσχε.

[65] Πομπήιος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀναζεύξει βουλὴν προτιθεῖ. καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ ναυτικόν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πολὺ προὔχεν, ἐπιτέμπειν Καίσαρι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἁλωμένῳ καὶ ἀποροῦντι, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτὸν Πομπήιον ἄγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὖνουν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔσαν καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, κρατυνάμενον δ' αὐτὴν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ οἰκείας καὶ ἡγεμονίδος γῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιχειρεῖν Καίσαρι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα ἂν οἱ γενόμενα παριδὼν ἐπείθετο τοῖς λέγουσιν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθίσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἢ οὐ πολλὴ σφίσιν ἔσσεσθαι τὸ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Δυρράχιον γενομένη νίκη· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αἰσχιστον εἶναι, καταλιπεῖν φεύγοντα Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσιν ὁμοίως τὸν νικῶντα φεύγειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῖσδε προσθέμενος αἰδοῖ μάλιστα τῶν ἐφ' ἑθνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώντων καὶ φειδοῖ Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, μὴ τι περὶ Μακεδονίαν ὧν ἔτι πάθοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐς ἀγῶνα χρήσασθαι θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ διανοούμενος ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀλλήλων ἀπέϊχον.

[66] ἀγορὰ δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἦν πανταχόθεν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδιώκηντο καὶ ὁδοὶ καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρουρία, ὥς ἐκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἄνεμον αὐτῷ φέρειν· Καῖσαρ δὲ μόνον εἶχεν, ὃ τι μόλις εὔροι καὶ λάβοι κακοπαθῶν. καὶ οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ σπουδῇ δαιμονίῳ συνενεχθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὠρέγοντο καὶ ἡγοῦντο πολέμῳ μὲν εἶναι παρὰ πολλὸν ἀμείνους νεοστρατεύτων ἔτι ὄντων δέκα ἔτεσιν ἡσκημένοι, εἰς δὲ ταφρείας ἢ περιτειχίσεις ἢ σιτολογίας ἐπιπόνους ἀσθενέστεροι διὰ γῆρας· ὅλως τε κάμνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δρᾶν τι ... μετ' ἀργίας ἢ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι. ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰσθανόμενος ἐπικίνδυνον μὲν ἡγεῖτο γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδράσι καὶ τύχῃ Καίσαρος

λαμπρᾷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων συνενεχθῆναι δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου, δυνατώτερον δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐκτῦσαι ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτοὺς οὔτε γῆς εὐπόρου κρατοῦντας οὔτε θαλάσσης χρωμένους οὔτε ναὺς ἐς φυγὴν ταχέϊαν ἔχοντας.

ὁ μὲν δὴ κρατίστῳ λογισμῷ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ἐς λοιμὸν ἐκ λιμοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφέρειν: [67] πολὺ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς ὁμοτίμων οἱ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι βασιλέες τε πολλοὶ καὶ δυνάσται, οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας, οἱ δ' ἀμέτρως τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον εὐπραγίμασιν ἐπηρμένοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῷ πλέονες εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ κάμνοντες ὅλως τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ταχύτεραν μᾶλλον ἢ πρέπουσαν ἐπειγόμενοι γενέσθαι, πάντες ἐξώτρυνον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐπιδεικνύοντες αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα παρατάττοντά τε καὶ προκαλούμενον. ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τοῦδε αὐτοὺς ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι Καίσαρι μὲν τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, σφίσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαιρον ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπείγοιτο. ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐπηρμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀμέτρως καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως αὐτὸν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς ἐκόντα βραδύνοντα, ἴν' ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτίμων τοσῶνδε ἄρχοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα τε βασιλέων καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κάκεῖνος βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤρχεν, ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη καὶ τᾶλλα παρ' ὅλον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. νωθῆς τε γὰρ καὶ βραδὺς παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν ᾧασι γεγωνῶς παρεσκευάζετο ἄκων ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ κακῷ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸν ἀναπειθόντων.

[68] Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης τρία μὲν ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἐξῆει τέλη ἃ τὸν γὰρ Πομπήιον ἐπαινῶν τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ οὐδαμοῦ νομίζων μεταθήσεσθαι τοῦ βουλευματος περιέπεμπεν ἐπὶ σίτον, πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦσθη τε τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἣν εἴκαζεν ἠναγκάσθαι Πομπήιον ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τάχιστα ἀνεκάλει πάντα καὶ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην ἔκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἰλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, νεῶν τε αὐτῇ νικηφόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσιν εὐχετο κατορθώσας. ὥς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβέσθη, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἔσσεσθαι τι λαμπρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τὰ Πομπηίου. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τινα τῶν ἱερείων ἐκφυγόντα οὐ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐσμός ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζώου νωχελοῦς. μικρὸν τε πρὸ ἔω πανικὸν ἐνέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ τότε περιδραμὼν αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπαύετο σὺν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ: περιεγειράντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιεροῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ νικηφόρῳ.

[69] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας πυθόμενοι ἦδοντο, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀλόγως σὺν ὀρμῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμον. ὦν γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς δάφναις ἀνέστεφον ἤδη, συμβόλῳ νίκης: καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαῖτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσυνον: εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἦδη

διηρίζον. ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ' ὁμως ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσοῦτον ἀνδρὶ μεγαλουργῶ καὶ παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτῳ γενομένῳ τὸ δύσθυμον ἐνεπεπτώκει, εἴτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κύβον ἐχώρει πλήθους ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐς τότε ἀητητήτου· εἴτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐκ δυναστείας τοσῆσδε ἀθρόως ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν εἰπὼν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα, ὁπότερος ἂν ἐπικρατήσῃ, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασεν ἐς τὴν μάχην· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν προπεσεῖν τινες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἡγοῦντο οὐδ' ἂν Πομπήιον κρατήσαντα μεθεῖναι τὴν μοναρχίαν.

[70] στρατιὰ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἐπομένῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα, Καίσαρι μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις, καὶ τούτων ἱππées ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους, Πομπηίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ τούτων ἱππées ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους. ὧδε μὲν τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα λέγουσι δοκεῖ μυριάδας ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν συμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐς μάχην· οἱ δ' ὀλιγωτέρους ἐξακισμυρίων φασίν, οἱ δ' ὑπερεπαίροντες τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι λέγουσι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἡμιόλιον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τριῶν νομίζουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο τῷ Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι μέρη. τοσάδε μὲν ἀμφιγνοοῦσι περὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· ὅπως δ' οὖν εἶχε, τοῖσδε μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐθάρρει. τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ἦν Καίσαρι μὲν ἱππées τε Κελτοὶ ... καὶ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἀριθμὸς ἄλλος· Ἑλλήνων δ' ἐπέλταζον αὐτῷ Δόλοπες, Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰτωλοί. τοσοῖδε μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχουν, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐῷα ἔθνη κατὰ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ πεζοί, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος Λάκωνες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἰδίῳις βασιλεῦσι τασσόμενοι, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος καὶ Βοιωτοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν. ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, κηρυξάντων μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρων μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν Θεοδοφόρων, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τραπέντες ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιούμενοι.

[71] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὀλίγου πάντες, ὅσοι περιούντι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, Θρᾷκές τε καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Ἴωνες, Λυδοὶ τε καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες, καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος καὶ Ἀραβες οἱ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Κύπριοι τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Κρήτες σφενδονῆται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι νησιῶται. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλέες καὶ δυνάσται στρατὸν ἄγοντες, Δηϊόταρος μὲν τετράρχης Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐφ' ὧν, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεὺς. Ἀρμενίους δὲ ἦγε τοὺς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου στρατηγὸς Ταξίλης καὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Μεγαβάτης, ὑπαρχος Ἀρταπάτου βασιλέως· ἄλλοι τε μικροὶ δυνάσται συνεπελαμβάνοντο τοῦ πόνου. λέγονται· δὲ καὶ ἀπ'

Αἰγύπτου νῆες ἐξήκοντα αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, Κλεοπάτρας τε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. ἀλλ' αἶδε μὲν οὐ συνεμάχησαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἐν Κερκύρα κατέμενε. καὶ δοκεῖ Πομπήιος τόδε μάλιστα ἀφρόνως ἐργάσασθαι, τῶν μὲν νεῶν καταφρονήσας, αἷς δὴ πολὺ προύχων ἐδύνατο πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπακτὸν ἀγορὰν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ἀγῶνι πεζῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἀνδράσιν ἐκ πόνου πολλοῦ μεγαλαύχοις τε καὶ θηριώδεσιν ἐς μάχας γενομένοις. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς φυλαξάμενον περὶ Δυρράχιον θεοβλάβεια δοκεῖ παραγαγεῖν, ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἦδε τῷ Καίσαρι γενομένη· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου κουφόνως μάλα ἐπήρθη, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφῶν κατεκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀπειροπολέμως ἐτράποντο.

[72] ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὥκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας· τότε δ' αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκάτερος συναγαγὼν ἐπώτρυνε, Πομπήιος μὲν τοιάδε λέγων· ὑμεῖς, ὧ συστρατιῶται, στρατηγεῖτε τοῦ πόνου μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγεῖσθε· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ Καίσαρος ἐκτρύχειν ἔτι βουλομένου τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε προυκαλέσασθε. ὥς οὖν ἀγωνοθέται τῆς μάχης χρήσασθε μὲν ὥς ἐλάττωσι πολὺ πλείονες, καταφρονεῖτε δὲ ὥς ἡττημένων νενικηκότες καὶ γερόντων νέοι καὶ πολλὰ κεκμηκότων ἀκμητεὶς ἄνδρες, οἷς ὑπάρχει δύναμις τοσῆδε καὶ παρασκευῇ καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτὸ τῆς αἰτίας· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμεθα μετὰ νόμων καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ βουλῆς, τῶν δ' ἰππέων, πρὸς ἄνδρα ἓνα ληστεύοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἴτε οὖν, ὥς ἡξιούτε, μετ' ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ᾧ περ τιθέμενοι τὴν τε φυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον γενομένην καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα μᾶς ἡμέρας κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐλάβομεν.'

[73] ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ὧδε ἔλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοιάδε·

τὰ μὲν δυσχερέστερα ἤδη νενικήκαμεν, ὧ φίλοι· ἀντὶ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπορίας ἀνδράσι μαχοῦμεθα· ἦδε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κρινεῖ πάντα. μέμνησθέ μοι τῆς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ὧν ἐφορῶντος ἐμοῦ συνώμνυσθε ἀλλήλοις, μὴ νικῶντες οὐδ' ἐπανήξειν. οἶδε εἰσίν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐφ' οὓς ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἦλθομεν· οἶδε οἱ περιφυγόντες ἡμᾶς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οἱ τοὺς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀθλοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ πολέμους τοσοῦσδε καὶ νίκας δυσαριθμήτους ἀνύσαντας καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν ἔθνη τετρακόσια περιποιήσαντας τῇ πατρίδι διέλυνον ἀγεράστους ἄνευ θριάμβου τε καὶ δωρεᾶς, καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ προκαλούμενος ἔπειθον οὐδὲ χάρισιν ἐξήνουν. ἴστε, οὓς μεθῆκα ἀπαθεῖς, ἐλπίσας ἡμῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι δίκαιον. τῶνδε οὖν μοι τήμερον ἀθρόον ἀνενέγκατε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι σύνιστέ μοι, κηδεμονίας ἢ πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.

[74] ἔστι δὲ οὐ δυσχερὲς νεοστρατεῦν καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι πολυπόνους ἀγωνιστὰς περιγενέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐς ἀταξίαν καὶ δυσπειθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τραπέντων, ὃν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι δεδιότα καὶ ἄκοντα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τύχη τε παρακμάζοντα ἤδη καὶ νωθῇ καὶ βραδύν ἐς ἅπαντα γεγεννημένον καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενον. καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μόνων ἔστι τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μὴδὲ φροντίζετε μὴδ' ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθε μὴδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἐκείνοις. ἀνδράποδα

ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Σύρια καὶ Φρύγια καὶ Λύδια, φεύγειν αἰεὶ καὶ δουλεύειν ἔτοιμα: οἷς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτίκα ὤψεσθε, οὐδὲ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐγγυῶντα πολέμου. ἔχσεθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, κἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶνδε μὲν ὡς συγγενῶν φειδόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶνδε κατάπληξιν ἐξεργάσασθε. πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἂν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἔγωγε ὦν συνετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἢ θάνατον αἰρουμένους, καθέλετέ μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τεῖχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγγώσατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἂν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἴδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συνῶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεύσαι.

[75] ὁ μὲν τοσάδε εἰπὼν φυλακὴν ὅμως τῶν σκηνῶν κατέπεμπε δισχιλίους τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας: οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης καὶ ἐς τὴν τάφρον αὐτὸ ἐνεχώννουν. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἡγουμένων τινῶν ἐς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς συσκευάζεσθαι, συνίει τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ ἔστενε καθ' αὐτόν, ὅτι χωροῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας θηρίοις, λιμὸν ἔχοντες, ἄξιον θηρίων φάρμακον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναδῦναι ἔτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐπὶ ξυροῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ τετρακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιεκόσκει, τοὺς μὲν Ἰταλοὺς ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐς τρία διαιρῶν ἐπὶ μετώπου, μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῖς κατὰ μέρη τάσσων. τοξόται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναμεμίχато καὶ σφενδονῆται. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν οὕτω κεκόσμητο, ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐθάρρει: τὰ συμμαχικὰ δ' ἦγον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. πολύθρουν δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπήιου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολύγλωσσον: καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς, παρεστήσατο τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Ἰταλικῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶκαζεν, ἔξω τάξεως ἐκέλευσε κατὰ φυλὰς ἐφεδρεύοντας, ὅταν ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγὼν γένηται, κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώκειν, ὅσα δύναιτο βλάπτοντας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ Καῖσαρος ἀχαράκωτον ὄν διαρπάζειν.

[76] ἡγούντο δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Πομπήϊο μὲν ὁ κηδεστὴς Σκιπίων ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ Δομίτιος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Λέντλος: Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττον. Καῖσαρι δ' ἐστρατήγουν μὲν Σύλλας καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Δομίτιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως συνετάσσετο τῷ δεκάτῳ τέλει, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων, ἵνα πλέονες ὄντες, εἰ δυνθεῖεν, κυκλώσαιντο. συνεῖς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τρισχιλίους εὐτολμοτάτους πεζοὺς ἐνήδρευσεν, οἷς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αἰσθῶνται τοὺς πολεμίους περιθέοντας, ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐσπηδῶντας ἀνίσχειν ὀρθὰ ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν: οὐ γὰρ οἶσιν ἀπείρους καὶ νέους, ὠραῖζομένους ἔτι, τὸν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα κίνδυνον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμνηχανῶντο καὶ περιήεσαν ἑκάστους, καθιστάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα ἀναδιδόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ Ἀφροδίτην

νικηφόρον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

[77] ὥς δὲ σφίσιν ἔτοιμα πάντα ἦν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ὥς ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθείᾳ σιωπῇ, μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ ὀκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, ὁπότερος ἄρξει τῆς μάχης. τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος ὥκτειρον, οὐδενός πω τοσοῦδε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς ἓνα κίνδυνον συνελθόντος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκκρίτων ὄντων ἐκατέρων ἠλέουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοιεν Ἰταλοὺς Ἰταλοῖς συμφερομένους. ἐγγὺς τε τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένοις αὐτοῖς ἢ μὲν ἐκκαίουσα καὶ τυφλοῦσα πάντα φιλοτιμία ἐσβέννυτο καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς δέος, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἐκαθάρυνε δοξοκοπίας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμέτρει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι περὶ πρωτείων δύο ἄνδρε ἐρίζοντε ἀλλήλοιν αὐτῷ τε κινδυνεύετον ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, μὴδ' ἐσχάτῳ πάντων ἡττηθέντε ἔτι εἶναι, καὶ τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν δι' αὐτοῦς. ἐσῆι δὲ σφᾶς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ κηδεσταὶ τέως ὄντες καὶ πολλὰ συμπράξαντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, ξίφη νῦν φέρουσι κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τοὺς ὑποστρατευομένους ἐς ὁμοίας ἀθεμιστίας ἄγουσιν, ὁμοεθνεῖς τε ὄντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολίτας καὶ φυλέτας καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐνέλειπεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τοσαῖσδε μυριάσιν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἔθνους ἐπ' ἀλλήλας ἰούσαις πολλὰ τὰ παράδοξα συνέπιπτεν. ὢν ἐνθυμούμενος ἐκάτερος μετανόιας τε οὐ δυνατῆς ἔτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ ὥς ἐσόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ πρῶτος ἢ τελευταῖος ὥκνει τοσῆσδε ἀμφιβολίας ἄρξαι. καὶ φασιν αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον καὶ δακρῦσαι.

[78] μέλλουσι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἢ ἡμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἅπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτοῦ ταρασσόμενον ὄρων ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως καὶ δέισας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειεν, ὑπεσῆμαινε πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καῖσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίοις κλαγγαῖς ὥς ἐν τοσῶδε πλήθει πολλαὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἡπείγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐπῆσαν μετὰ τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὥς πολλῶν ἀγῶνων τοιῶνδε ἐμπειροπόλεμοι. πλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἤδη τόξα καὶ λίθοι πρῶτον ἦν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων βραχὺ τὰ πεζὰ προλαβόντων πείραϊ τε καὶ ἐπελάσεις ἐπ' ἀλλήλους. καὶ προύχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιου τὸ δέκατον τέλος ἐκυκλοῦντο. Καῖσαρος δὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῖς ἐφεδρεῖουσιν ἄραντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξαναστάντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἐχώρουν, ὀρθοῖς ἄνω τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐπικαθημένους, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἀπόνοιαν οὔτε τὰς ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς πληγὰς ἐφευγον ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πεζὸν εὐθὺς ἱππέων ἔρημον γενόμενον ἐκυκλοῦντο οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἱππέες, αὐτοὶ δέισαντες περικύκλωσιν.

[79] Πομπήιος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοῖς πεζοῖς μὴτ' ἐπεκθεῖν ἔτι μὴτ' ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος μὴδ' ἀκοντίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ διαστάντας ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ χειρὸς τοῖς δόρασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας. καὶ τότε τινὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὥς ἄριστον ἐν περικυκλώσει, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται· τὰς τε γὰρ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς εὐτονωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμότερους· ἐστῶτας δ'

ἀποψύχεσθαι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους δι' ἀτρεμίαν οἷα σκοποῦς εἶναι. ὃ καὶ τότε γενέσθαι: τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τέλος σὺν αὐτῷ περιδραμεῖν τὰ λαιὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔρημα ἱππέων γενόμενα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐς τὰ πλευρὰ ἐσακοντίζειν, μέχρι θορυβουμένοις ἐμπεσόντας βία τρέψασθαι καὶ τῆς νίκης κατάρξαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν ἔτι τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα: βοῇ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐκ τοσσησδε φάλαγγος τοιάδε δρώσης οὐδ' οἰμωγαὶ τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἢ πλησσομένων, ἀλλὰ βρυχήματα μόνα καὶ στόνοι πιπτόντων, ἔνθα συνετάχθησαν, εὐσχημόνως. οἱ σύμμαχοι δέ, καθάπερ ἀγῶνα πολέμου θεώμενοι, κατεπλήσσοντο τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ οὔτε ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτόλμων ὑπὸ θαύματος, ὀλίγων αὐτὰς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν φυλασσόντων, περιδραμεῖν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἢ ἐστῶτες ἐθάμβουν.

[80] ὥς δὲ ἐνέδωκε τὸ λαιὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε βάδην ὑπεχώρουν ἅμα καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον ἄπρακτοι, βοῶντες: 'ἡσσήμεθα.' καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς σφῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ὥς ἀλλότρια προλαβόντες διέσπων καὶ διήρπαζον ἐς τὴν φυγὴν ὃ τι δύναιντο ἐπάγεσθαι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὀπλιτικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε ἥσσης αἰσθανόμενον ὑπεχώρει κατὰ πόδα, πρῶτον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἔτι ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀμυνόμενοι: ἐπικειμένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν εὐπραξίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστράφησαν ἐς φυγὴν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εὐμηχάνως δὴ τότε μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ συνέλθοιεν αὐθις μηδὲ τὸ ἔργον γένοιτο μάχης μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, κήρυκας ἐς τὰς τάξεις πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπεν, οἱ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐκέλευον ἀψαυστεῖν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους μόνους χωρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις προσεπέλαζον παραινοῦντες ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι. ἀνὴρ τε παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκμανθάνων τὸ κήρυγμα εἰστήκει: καὶ σύμβολον ἤδη τοῦτο τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἦν, τὸ ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι, τὰ ἄλλα ὥς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοιοτρόπως ἐσκευασμένων τε καὶ φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἀφιέντων. διεκθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνήρουν: καὶ ὁ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα ἐγίγνετο φόνος.

[81] Πομπήιος δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἔκφρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπήει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος, οἷόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἰάντᾴ φασιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοις πολεμίοις ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐσῆεσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον: τὸ γὰρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐστάναι τε ἀκινδύνως ἐποίει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδνη κατὰ μέρος. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχέτως που περιθέων ἰκέτευε προσπονῆσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπηίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εἰ συσταῖεν αὐθις οἱ πολέμιοι, μίαν ἡμέραν ἔσονται νενικηκότες, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔλοιεν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ κατωρθωκότες ἂν εἶεν. τὰς τε οὖν χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὥρεγε καὶ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε δρόμου. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα ἔκαμνε, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὃ τε λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ἠώρει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπίς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αἰρήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ: ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἢ εὐτυχίαις ἀνθρώποι καμάτων αἰσθάνονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷδε προσπεσόντες ἐπεχείρουν σὺν πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπομαχομένους καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος μαθὼν ἐξ ἀλλοκότου σιωπῆς

τοσοῦτον ἀπέρρηξεν: ‘οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἡμῶν;’ καὶ εἰπὼν τὴν τε στολὴν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβάς σὺν φίλοις τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀνέσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐν Λαρίσσει γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτός τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαΐσαντο.

[82] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἑκατέρων, τῶν γε Ἰταλῶν ‘οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν γε συμμαχῶν οὐδ’ ἐξαριθμησις ἐγένετο ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ καταφρονήσεως’ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τριάκοντα λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὀπλίται διακόσιοι, ἡ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίου βουλευται μὲν δέκα, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λεύκιος Δομίτιος, ὁ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν διάδοχος, τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές φασι δισμυρίους ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, Ἀσίνιος δὲ Πολλίων, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν, ἐξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὐρεθῆναι τῶν Πομπηίου.

τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς αὐοιδίμου περὶ Φάρσαλον μάχης. ἀριστεῖα δ’ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς καὶ πρῶτα καὶ δευτέρα ἐκ πάντων ἐφέρετο, ὁμολογούμενος ἀριστεῦσαι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ δέκατον: τὰ δὲ τρίτα Κρασσίνιος λοχαγός, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξίων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤρετο, ὃ τι προσδοκῶν, ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόησε: ‘νικήσομεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, κάμει τήμερον ἡ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξει;’ ἡ στρατιὰ δ’ ἐμαρτύρει καθάπερ ἔνθουν ἐς ἐκάστην τάξιν μεταθέοντα πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρᾶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζητούμενος ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη, τὰ ἀριστεῖα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ συνέθαψε καὶ τάφον ἐξαίρετον ἀνέστησεν ἐγγὺς τοῦ πολυανδρίου.

[83] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκ Λαρίσσης ὁμοίῳ δρόμῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐπειχθεὶς σκάφους ἐπέβη σμικροῦ καὶ νεῶς παραπλευούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Μιτυλήνην διέπλευσεν: ὅθεν τὴν γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τριήρων τεσσάρων ἐπιβάς, αἱ αὐτῷ παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Τυρίων ἀφίκοντο, Κερκύρας μὲν καὶ τότε καὶ Λιβύης ὑπερεΐδεν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἦν ἄλλος πολὺς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀκραιφνές, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἔω φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθυαῖον ὡς δι’ ἐκείνου πάντα ἀναληψόμενος τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἐπέκρυπτε, μέχρι περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν μόλις ἐξέφερε τοῖς φίλοις. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡξίουں φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον τε ἑναγχος ὑπὸ Κράσσου καὶ θυμούμενον ἔτι τῇ Κράσσου συμφορᾷ, μὴδ’ ἐς ἀκρατεῖς βαρβάρους ἄγειν εὐπρεπὴ γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν, Κράσσου μάλιστα γεγεννημένην. δευτέρα δ’ αὐτοῦ προθέντος περὶ τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἰόβα, Ἰόβα μὲν ὑπερεώρων ὡς ἀδόξου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ συνεφρόνουν, ἐγγὺς τε οὔσαν καὶ μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ναυσὶ καὶ σίτῳ καὶ χρήμασι: τοὺς τε βασιλεύοντας αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ παῖδές εἰσι, πατρικοὺς εἶναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ φίλους.

[84] ὁ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔπλει: ἄρτι δ’ ἐκπεσούσης ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἡ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνῆρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφῆδρενε, καὶ πῶς κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπήιον κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πολὺν ἔστησε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ εἵκασεν, ὅπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα.

πέμψας τε ἔφραζε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐπετρόπευον δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν στρατιάν Ἀχιλλᾶς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνοῦχος· οἱ βουλὴν προντίθεντο περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ παρὼν ὁ Σάμιος Θεόδοτος ὁ ῥήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ὢν τοῦ παιδός, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἔργον, ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ κτεῖναι Πομπήιον ὡς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὐτελὲς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμπετο, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης οὔσης ἀλιτενοῦς καὶ μεγάλαις ναυσὶν οὐκ εὐχεροῦς, ὑπηρεταὶ τέ τινες τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνέβαινον ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος τότε μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατευσάμενος, δεξιάν ἔφερε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐς φίλον τὸν παῖδα διαπλευσαι. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατός ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξετάσσετο ἅπας, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῇ φοινικίδι κατάδηλος ἦν περικειμένῃ.

[85] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἅπαντα, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σκάφους εὐτέλειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτόν οἱ παραγενέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινὰς πέμψαι· τοσοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ἱαμβείων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών· 'ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ,' ἐνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἐν τῷ διάπλω σιωπώντων ἁπάντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε· καὶ τὸν Σεμπρώνιον εἴτε ἐπιγινώσκων Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ ἐστρατευμένον ἑαυτῷ, εἴτε τοπάζων ἐκ τοῦ μόνον ἐστάναι, κατὰ δὴ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἄρα διδασκαλίαν οὐ συνεδρεύοντα αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· 'ἄρα σε γινώσκω, συστρατιῶτα;' καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶτος, εἴθ' ἕτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταῦτα μακρόθεν ὀρῶντες ἀνῶμωζόν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπονδῶν ἀνίσχοντες ἀπέπλεον τάχιστα ὡς ἐκ πολεμίας.

[86] Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσαν Καίσαρι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις ἀμοιβαῖς ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡμύνατο ἀξίως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά τις ἔθαπεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελεῖ· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλος ἐπέγραψε· 'τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση ἀπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου.'

χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν τάφον τόνδε ἐπικρυφθέντα ὄλον ὑπὸ ψάμμου καὶ εἰκόνας, ὅσας ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὕστερον οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθηκαν, λελωβημένα πάντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτόν του ἱεροῦ κατενεχθέντα ἐζήτησε καὶ εὗρεν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεκάθηρε γνώριμον αὐθις εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διωρθώσατο.

τόδε μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἦν Πομπηίῳ τῷ μεγίστους πολέμους ἀνύσαντι καὶ μέγιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὠφελήσαντι καὶ Μεγάλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ὀνομασθέντι καὶ οὐχ ἡττηθέντι ποτὲ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ ἀηττήτῳ καὶ εὐτυχεστάτῳ ἐξέτι νέου γενομένου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλιπεν ἐς ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ μὲν ἰσχύϊ μοναρχικῶς δυναστεύων, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος ζῆλον δημοτικῶς νομιζόμενος ἄρχειν.

[87] Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν

ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργου διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐπὶ Κερκύρας ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κάτωνα, ἐτέρου στρατοῦ καὶ τριακοσίων τριήρων ἄρχειν ὑπολελειμμένον, εὐβουλότερον οἶδε τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ περιφανέστατοι νειμάμενοι τὸ ναυτικόν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπλει πρὸς Φαρνάκην ὡς ἀναστήσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Κάτων ἐς Λιβύην ἔπλεον, Οὐάρῳ τε πίσυνοι καὶ τῷ μετὰ Οὐάρου στρατῷ καὶ Ἰόβα Νομάδων βασιλεῖ συμμαχοῦντι. Πομπήιος δ', ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρεσβύτερος υἱός, καὶ Λαβιηνὸς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκάπλας τὸ μέρος ἔχοντες ἠπείγοντο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποστήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸν ἄλλον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων συνέλεγον ἓν τε παρασκευῇ μείζονι ἐγίνοντο. τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφυγε. τῶν δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ Κάτωνα σφῶν στρατηγεῖν αἰρουμένων, ὁ Κάτων οὐχ ὑπέστη παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων, οἱ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐπρέσβευον αὐτοῦ μόνην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν στρατηγίδα. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ στρατὸς κἀνταῦθα πολὺς ἡθροίζετο καὶ ἐγυμνάζετο. καὶ δύο αἶδε μάλιστα ἀξιόλογοι παρασκευαί, περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνεκροτοῦντο.

[88] αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῳ διέτριψε θύων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναλαμβάνων· ἔνθα καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει συμμαχήσαντάς οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναίους αἰτήσασι συγγνώμην ἐπεδίδου καὶ ἐπέειπε· 'ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἢ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;' τῇ τρίτῃ δ' ἐξήλανεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Πομπηίου φυγῆς καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπορία τριήρων σκάφεσιν ἐπεραιοῦτο μικροῖς. Κάσσιος δὲ σὺν τῷ μέρει τῶν τριήρων ἐπιφαίνεται μεσοποροῦντι, πρὸς Φαρνάκην ἐπειγόμενος. καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι κατὰ σκαφῶν μικρῶν, ὑπὸ δέους τῆς Καίσαρος εὐτυχίας περιτύστου δὴ καὶ ἐπιφόβου τότε οὔσης ἐξεπλάγη καὶ νομίσας οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιτήδες ἐπιπλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγεν ἐς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τριήρων ἐς σκάφη, καὶ συγγνώμην ἤτει καὶ τὰς τριήρεις παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυεν ἢ δόξα τῆς Καίσαρος εὐπραγίας· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε αἰτίαν ἐτέραν ὥρῳ οὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἡγοῦμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Κάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκευῷ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποστῆναι. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχροῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδοὺς ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκανεν· ὃ καὶ αὐτῷ δῆλόν ἐστι τὸν ἕτερον τῷ Κασσίῳ φόβον ὑπὸ τύχης ἐγγενέσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαιρούσης.

[89] διασωθεὶς δ' οὕτω παραδόξως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιωθεὶς Ἰωσι μὲν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι 'καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω, συνεγίνωσκε πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτόν καὶ παρακαλοῦσι, πυθόμενος δὲ Πομπήιον ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσεν ἐς Ῥόδον. καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέρη προσιόντα περιμείνας ἐς τὰς Κασσίου καὶ Ῥοδίων τριήρεις ἐνέβη σὺν τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὐδενὶ τε ἐκφήνας, ὅπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιήσεται, περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀνήγετο, ἐπαγγείλας τοῖς λοιποῖς κυβερνήταις πρὸς

τὸν λαμπτήρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεῶς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον εὐθύνειν: τῷ δ' αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτῃ, πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἀποσχόν, προσέταξεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν: ἐσδέχονται δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ἔτι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὄντος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀπραγμοσύνην τινὰ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνόντων ὑπεκρίνετο φιλοφρόνως τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιῶν τοῦ κάλλους ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐστὼς ἡκροᾶτο: ὅθεν αὐτῷ χάρις τε καὶ δόξα ἀγαθὴ ὡς ἀπράγμονι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐφύετο.

[90] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ κατέπλευσε, Ποθεινὸν μὲν καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶν ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ τῆς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον παρανομίας, Θεόδοτον δὲ διαδράντα Κάσσιος ὕστερον ἐκρέμασεν, εὐρὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. θορυβοῦντων δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰούσης, ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ ποικίλοι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔνθα καὶ φεύγων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξήλατο καὶ ἐς πολὺ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ διενήξατο: καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς περὶ τρόπαιον ἐκρέμασαν. τελευταῖον δ' ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῷ γίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀγών, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκράτει. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἑννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηεν Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος, περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἄλλα ἡδόμενος αὐτῇ. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἕκαστα ὅπως ἐγένετο, ἀκριβέστερον ἢ περὶ Αἰγύπτου συγγραφὴ διέξεισι: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπήιου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο: ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρεῖφθη.

[91] τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐργασάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ Συρίας ἐπὶ Φαρνάκην ἠπείγετο. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν εἵργαστο πολλὰ καὶ περιεσπάκει τινὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομιτίῳ Καίσαρος στρατηγῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχην ἐνενικήκει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεὶς Ἀμισὸν πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ῥωμαῖζουσιν ἐξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τομίας ἐπεποίητο πάντας: προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγίνωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένῳ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, στέφανόν τε χρύσειον αὐτῷ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἐγγυῶντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκου θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ὧν φέρουσι, προῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσχηνεύων τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μέχρι προσπελάσας τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκου καὶ τοσόνδε εἰπών: 'οὐ γὰρ αὐτίκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος,' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοῆς τρέπεται τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, σὺν χιλίοις που μάλιστα ὧν ἱππεῦσιν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῷ συνδραμοῦσιν: ὅτε καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν: 'ὦ μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιούτοις ἄρα κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τοῦδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης.' ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μάχης ἐπέστελλεν: 'ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα.'

[92] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν

δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, οὐ σχολὴν ἄγων περὶ μικρὰ τρίβεσθαι τοσῶνδε πολέμων αὐτὸν περιμενόντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετῆλθε καὶ παροδεύων αὐτὴν ἐχρημάτιζε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων τοὺς φόρους, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν συγγραφὴν δεδήλωται. πυθόμενος δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν εἶναι καὶ Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἵππαρχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιᾷ φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθεῖς εἰς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν, ἡ μὲν στάσις ἡ πολιτικὴ κατεπαύετο, ἑτέρα δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὥς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐννόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ· ἀφεθῆναι τε πάντες ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἡζίου·ν. ὁ δ' ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστά τινα ἐν Φαρσάλῳ, καὶ ἕτερα ἀόριστα, ὅταν ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθῇ· τότε δ' ἔπεμπεν ἄλλας ὀρίζων ἐκάστῳ χιλίας δραχμὰς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπισχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα δίδοναι πάντα ἐκέλευον· καὶ περὶ τῶνδε Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ τέλος μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου παρεφύλασσον, περιέστησε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐξόδοις, δείσας περὶ ἀρπαγῆς· αὐτὸς δέ, πάντων δεδιότων καὶ παραινούντων αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάσσασθαι, μάλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ἐπῆλθεν οὐ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὤφθη.

[93] οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τε ἄνοπλοι συνέτρεχον καί, ὥς ἔθος, ἄφνω φανέντα σφίσιν ἡσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ' ὅ τι θέλοιεν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν τῶν δωρεῶν εἰς ὅσιν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὥς δὲ μετριώτερον, ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας ἀνεβόησαν, ἐλπίσαντες στρατοῦ δεόμενον εἰς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτὸν ἑρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀπεκρίνατο· 'ἀφίημι.' καταπλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης γενομένης ἐπέειπε· 'καὶ δώσω γε ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἅπαντα, ὅταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ' ἐτέρων.' ἀδοκῆτου δ' αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τοῦδε καὶ φιλανθρώπου φανέντος, αἰδῶς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ζήλου, εἰ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' ἀνθ' αὐτῶν ἕτεροι καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἔσσεσθαι νομιζομένων, ἐχθροὶ τε ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἔσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δείσαντες οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡσύχαζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ μεταγνώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρεῖαν. ὁ δ' ἀνθησύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων ἐπιφθέγγασθαι τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστηρῷ λόγῳ πολλὰ συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσεῖπεν· ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ιδιωτευόντων.

[94] οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεῦεσθαι. ἀποστρεφομένου τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπιόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπεΐξει πλεονί βοῶντες ἐνέκειντο παραμεῖναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφῶν τοὺς ἀμαρτόντας. ὁ δ' ἔτι μὲν τι διέτριπεν, οὔτε ἀπιὼν οὔτε ἐπανιών, ὑποκρινόμενος ἀπορεῖν· ἐπανελθὼν δ' ὁμως ἔφη κολάσειν μὲν

αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄχθεσθαι δ', ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, ὃ προετίμησεν αἰεὶ, τοιαῦτα θορυβεῖ. 'καὶ τόδε,' ἔφη, 'μόνον ἀφήμι τῆς στρατείας: δώσω δὲ καὶ τῷδε ὁμῶς τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἅπαντα, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Λιβύης. δώσω δὲ καὶ γῆν ἅπασιν ἐκτελεσθέντων τῶν πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας, ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτέρων ἢν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐς αἰεὶ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου γῆν ἐπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνούμενος.' κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερήλγει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος: καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν διακληρῶσαι τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν ἔτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἅπασι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξήει.

[95] διαβαλὼν δ' ἐκ Ῥηγίου τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐς Λιλύβαιον ἦλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶν τινὶ μέρει φρουρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων, οὓς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους ἐπεποίηντο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν Ἀδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἰχόμενον ἐς Ἰόβαν καταλαβὼν παρέτασεν ἐς μάχην παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἐν καιρῷ συνοισόμενος τοῖς πολεμίους χωρὶς αὐτοκράτορος οὔσιν. ἀντεπήσαν δ' αὐτῷ Λαβιηνὸς τε καὶ Πετρήιος, οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑποστράτηγοι, καὶ ἐκράτουν τῶν Καίσαρος παρὰ πολλὴν καὶ τραπέντας ἐδίωκον σοβαρῶς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Λαβιηνὸν μὲν ὁ ἵππος ἐς τὴν γαστέρα πληγεῖς ἀπεσεύσατο καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παρασπισταὶ συνήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ Πετρήιος, ὥς ἀκριβῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πείραν καὶ νικήσων, ὅτε βούλεται, διέλυε τὸ ἔργον ἐπειπὼν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν: 'μὴ ἀφελώμεθα τὴν νίκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡμῶν Σκιπίωνα.' καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο μέρος τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης ἔργον ἐφαίνετο κρατησάντων ἄν, ὥς ἐδόκει, τῶν πολεμίων ἄφνω τὴν μάχην ὑπὸ τῶν νικῶντων διαλυθῆναι: αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγχρίμπτων ἅπασιν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τινα τῶν τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα, τοὺς ἀετούς, φερόντων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ περισπᾶσας μετενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Πετρήιος ἀνέξενε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀσπασίως ὑπεχώρει.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Λιβύῃ Καίσαρι μάχης τέλος ἦν: [96] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, αὐτοῦ τε Σκιπίωνος ὁκτὼ τέλεσι πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων δύο μυριάσιν, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ Λίβυες ἦσαν, πελτασταῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν ἐς τριάκοντα προσδοκωμένου παρέσεσθαι σὺν Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷδε ἄγοντι πεζοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφὶ τρισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας Νομάδας ἐς δισμυρίους καὶ ἀκοντιστάς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐξήκοντα ἐτέρους, ἢ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδείμναινε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο κατὰ τε πείραν ὧν ἤδη πεπόνθεσαν καὶ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐπιόντων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων. ὁ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων πόλεμος ἀήθης σφίσιν ὧν ἐξέπλησσε. Βόκχου δ' ἐτέρου Μαυρουσίων δυνάστου Κίρταν, ἢ βασιλείων ἦν Ἰόβα, καταλαβόντος, ὁ μὲν Ἰόβας, ἐξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦδε, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα μάλιστα ἀνεξεύγνυ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στρατοῦ, τριάκοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνους ὑπολιπὼν ἐλέφαντας τῷ

Σκιπίωνι, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνεθάρρηνεν, ὥς τὸ πέμπτον τέλος αἰτήσαν ἀντιταχθῆναι τοῖς ἐλέφασιν κρατῆσαι πάνυ καρτερῶς· καὶ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῷδε τῷ τέλει ἐλέφαντες ἐς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπικεῖνται.

[97] μακρὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνου κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς μάχης καὶ πολυτρόπου γενομένης, περὶ ἐσπέραν μόλις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς ἐξήρει τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἀνιείς οὐδ' ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς νίκης, μέχρι τὸ σύμπαν ἐξεργάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅπη δύναιτο, διέφευγον· καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτός, ἅμα Ἀφρανίῳ πάντα μεθείς, ἔφευγεν ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἀφράκτων.

ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ στρατός, ἐς ὅκτῳ μυριάδας μάλιστα συνελθὼν ἔκ τε πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μάχης ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ θάρσει γενόμενος, δευτέρα τῇδε συμβολῇ συνετρίβετο ἄθρόως. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κλέος ἐς ἅμαχον εὐτυχίαν ἐδοξάζετο, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἡσσωμένων ἐς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ μεριζόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ προστιθέντων· ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος ἀβουλία τῶν στρατηγῶν, οὔτε διατριψάντων αὐτόν, ἕως ἀπορήσειεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, οὔτε τὴν πρώτην νίκη ἐς τέλος προαγαγόντων, συντριφθεὶς οὕτως ὀξέως διαλυθῆναι.

[98] Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς Ἰτύκην τρίτῃ μάλιστα ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην ἰόντος ἐγίνετο φυγὴ πάντων. καὶ οὐδένα κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναὺς ἐδίδου τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενε καὶ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχνουμένοις πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δεήσεσθαι ἐπιμειδῶν ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλακτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶς. σημηγνάμενος δὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας καὶ συγγραφὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδούς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ δεῖπνον ἦν καθεζόμενός τε ἐγεύετο, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἐξ οὗ Πομπήιος ἀνήρητο· οὐδέν τε τῶν συνήθων ἐναλλάσσων οὐδ' ἐλάσσω προσφερόμενος ἢ πλείω, συνελεσχῆνευε τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευκότων καὶ ἡρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ κατὰ πρῦμνην ἔσοιτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος, εἰ φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς ἔω Καίσαρα ἐπελθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς ὕπνον ἀπιὼν ἐνήλλαξέ τι τῶν συνήθων, πλὴν ὅτι υἱὸν ἡσπάσατο φιλοφρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τῇ κλίνῃ τὸ σῦνθηες οὐχ εὐρὼν παρακείμενον ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς πολεμίοις· τίνοι γὰρ ἔφη χρήσεσθαι προσιόντων, ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπίωσι; τῶν δὲ αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων μηδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν βουλευεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαύεσθαι χωρὶς ξιφιδίου, ἀξιοπιστότερον ἔτι εἶπεν· 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι θέλοντι καὶ δι' ἐσθῆτος ἑμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξαι καὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαράξαι καὶ ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστῆσαι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτριῖναι,' πολλὰ τε ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρήγαγεν αὐτοὺς παραθεῖναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὥς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε.

[99] καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχε τῷ Πλάτῳ ὁ λόγος, ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβὼν ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρνα· προπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἐξακουσθέντος ἐσέδραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας· καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔτι σῶα ὄντα ἐνέθηκαν ἔνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς

ἐπιπράσαντες ἐπέδισαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὐθις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμεφτο μὲν ἑαυτῷ πληγῆς ἀσθενοῦς, χάριν δ' ὡμολόγει τοῖς περισώσασι καὶ καταδαρθεῖν ἔφη δεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος ἔχοντες ὥχοντο καὶ τὰς θύρας ὡς ἡρεμοῦντι ἐπέκλεισαν· ὁ δ' ὕπνου δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν τὰ δεσμὰ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγνυ καὶ τὰς ῥάφας τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἷα θηρίον τό τε τραῦμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύνων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλοις ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρίπτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ὁμολογοῦμενος δὲ τὴν τε γνώμην, ἐς ὃ τι κρίνειε, πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμονώτατος φῦναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοῖς ὀρίσαι. Μαρκία γέ τοι τῇ Φιλίππου συνὼν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀρεσκοῦμενος αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ παῖδας ἔχων ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔδωκεν ὅμως αὐτὴν Ὀρτησίῳ τῶν φίλων τινί, παίδων τε ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦ γυναικὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κἀκείνῳ κηύσασαν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐθις ὡς χρήσας ἀνεδέξατο. τοιοῦσδε μὲν δὴ Κάτων ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰτυκαῖοι λαμπρῶς ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μὲν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως, Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαντος Κάτων, ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἀντικάτων.

[100] Ἰόβας δὲ καὶ Πετρήιος τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενοι καὶ οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν οὔτε φυγὴν οὔτε σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ξίφεσι διεχρήσαντο ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἰόβα Καῖσαρ ὑποτελῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτῇ Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον ἐγκαταστήσας. Ἰτυκαῖοις δὲ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνος υἱῷ συνεγίνωσκε· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ δύο παίδων αὐτῆς ἐν Ἰτύκῃ καταλαβὼν ἐξέπεμπε σώους τῷ νέῳ Πομπηίῳ. τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων ὅσους εὔρε διέφθειρεν. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐφέρετο γενναίως, μέχρι καταλαμβανόμενος αὐτόν τε διεχρήσατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθῆκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

[101] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Καῖσαρος πολέμῳ τέλος ἐγίνετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους, ἐπὶ τε Γαλάταις, ὧν δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Λιβυκὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῷ Σκιπίωνι· ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὢν ἔτι παρήγετο. παρήγαγε δὲ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίας θριάμβον Αἰγύπτιον, μετὰ τὸν Γαλατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκους. τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ εἰκότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβῳ, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ παθήματα ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρὶς γε Πομπηίου· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἔτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ἐς τὰ στέρνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἢ Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτῃ διαχρώμενον ἑαυτόν, ἢ Κάτωνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ὡς θηρίον· Ἀχιλλᾶ δ' ἐφήσησαν καὶ Ποθεινῷ καὶ τὴν Φαρνάκους φυγὴν ἐγέλασαν.

[102] χρήματα δ' ἐν τοῖς θριάμβοις φασὶ παρενεχθῆναι μυριάδας ἕξ καὶ ἥμισυ ταλάντων καὶ στεφάνους δύο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, ἔλκοντας ἐς δισμυρίας καὶ δεκατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ' ὧν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ διένειμε, τὰ ὑπεσχημένα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων, στρατιώτῃ μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχίλις δραχμᾶς Ἀττικᾶς, λοχαγῷ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη καὶ ἱπάρχη τὸ ἔτι διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐκάστῳ μνᾶν Ἀττικὴν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ἑτέρους χιλίους καὶ ἵππομαχίαν διακοσίῳ πρὸς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμιξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱπέων ἀγῶνα ἑλεφάντων τε μάχην εἴκοσι πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἑρετῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἑκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεῶν, ὥσπερ εὗξατο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι· καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὀνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῇ θεῷ παρεστήσατο, ἣ καὶ νῦν συνέστηκεν αὐτῇ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος ἀναγραφάμενος ἐς ἥμισυ λέγεται τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων εὐρεῖν· ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλεν ἢ τῶνδε φιλονικία τὴν πόλιν.

[103] αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπήιον ἐστράτευεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸς ἦν ἔτι πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀρίστων ὅσοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ στρατὸς ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι συνῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων, ἔθνους ἀλκίμου καὶ χαίροντος αἰεὶ μάχαις. πολὺς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὄμιλος ἐστρατεύετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος εἶχον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ γνώμην ἔτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα σφαλεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν μάχην, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐλθόντι τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχετο, καίτοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ παραινούντων ἐκ πείρας ὧν ἀμφὶ τε Φάρσαλον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἐκτρίβειν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ περιφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦκε μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, βαρυτάτῳ στρατῷ μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐπελθών· δέος δ' οἶον οὐ πρότερον ἐνέπιπτεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἀπογνώσεως.

[104] δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβράδυνεν, ἔστε πού τι αὐτῷ κατασκεπτομένῳ προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ὠνειδίσεν ἐς δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασσε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοὺς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ἦπτετο καὶ ὄκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβῳ, θεοὺς πάντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰκέτευε, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσχων, μὴ ἐνὶ πόνῳ τῷδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μιῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τὸ τε κρᾶνος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρῶν ἐς πρόσωπον ἐδυσώπει καὶ προὔτρεπεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἀρπάσας τινὸς ἀσπίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπών· 'ἔσται τοῦτο τέλος ἐμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ὑμῖν τῶν στρατειῶν,' προὔδραμε τῆς τάξεως

ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐπιβληθῆναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκκλῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἕκαστος ἴστατο παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐμπεσὼν μετὰ ὀρμῆς ὅλην ἡγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ἡττώμενος αἰεὶ παρὰ μέρος, μέχρις ἐς ἐσπέραν μόλις ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

[105] φόνου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ φυγῆς τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Κορδύβην, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ διαφυγόντες οἱ πολέμιοι πάλιν ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσαιντο, ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτειχίσαι τὴν Κορδύβην, οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἐπεφορουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ δόρασιν αὐτὰ διαπηγνύντες ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε τείχους ἠϋλίσαντο. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐάλω μὲν ἡ πόλις, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Πομπηίου Σκάπλας μὲν νήσας πυρὰν ἑαυτὸν ἐνέπρησεν, Οὐάρου δὲ καὶ Λαβινοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκομίσθησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ Καίσαρι. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥτης σὺν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ Καρθαίας, ἔνθα αὐτῷ νεῶν στόλος ἦν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὰ νεώρια λαθὼν ὥς τις ἰδιώτης, φορεῖω κομιζόμενος: ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπογινώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν ἔδεισε περὶ ἐκδόσεως καὶ ἔφευγεν αὐθις, ἐπιβαίνων σκάφους. ἐμπλακέντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα καλωδίῳ, κόπτων τις τὸ καλωδίον ξιφιδίῳ, τὸν ταρσὸν ἔτεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλωδίου τοῦ ποδός: καὶ διαπλεύσας ἔς τι χωρίον ἐθεραπεύετο. ζητούμενος δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἔφευγε διὰ δυσβάτου καὶ ἀκανθώδους ὁδοῦ, τὸ τραῦμα περικεντούμενος, μέχρι κάμνων ὑπὸ τι δένδρον ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιπεσόντων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. τοῦδε μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεχθεῖσάν οἱ προσέταξέ τι νι θάψαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ὅδε παρὰ δόξαν ἐλέλυτο: τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντας ἤθροιζεν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ Πομπηίου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, Πομπήιος μὲν καὶ ὅδε ὢν, Σέξστος δὲ καλούμενος τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

[106] ἀλλ' ὁδε μὲν ἔτι λανθάνων καὶ διαδιδράσκων ἐλήστευεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελὼν, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἷας οὐ τις πρὸ τοῦ: ὅθεν αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπενοοῦντο, θυσῶν τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ἀνὰ φυλὴν ἐκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασι, καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἦν ἐπ' ἐνίαις ὡς σωτῆρι τῆς πατρίδος, ὃ πάλοι τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες. ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἡρέθη καὶ ὕπατος ἐς δέκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέων, καὶ θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικῶς ἡμφιεσμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετὲς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὁμνῶναι μηδενὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὀριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἔς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυϊντίλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυϊντίλιου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι. καὶ νεῶς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικείας, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων: οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν ὡς δεσπότην, εὐχοντο δὲ σφίσιν ἐπιεικῇ γενέσθαι.

[107] εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ βασιλέα προσεπειν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἠπείλησεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. σπεῖραι δ' ὅσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνης. ὧδε δ' ἔχοντι καὶ χρηματίζουντι πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν προλεγεμένων τιμῶν ἢ βουλῇ, τῶν ὑπάτων ἡγουμένων, ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι ἐκάστω προσέφερον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδεξιοῦτο μὲν, οὐχ ὑπανέστη δὲ προσιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς προσηγορίας καὶ τόδε παρέσχε. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τιμὰς χωρὶς τῆς δεκαετοῦς ὑπατείας προσέμενος ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τὸν ἵπαρχον ἑαυτοῦ, Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἵπαρχεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἄρχοντι μὲν Ἰβηρίας, ἡγεμονεύοντι δ' αὐτῆς διὰ φίλων. κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἔφσυγε: καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὺς προῆγεν ἀθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἀρχὰς ἢ ἐς ἔθνων ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπαρχεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἠλπίζε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, καθάπερ Σύλλας ἐς ἴσον αὐτῷ δυναστεύσας ἐποίησεν.

[108] ἀλλὰ τοῦδε μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, εἰκόνα δ' αὐτοῦ τις τῶν ὑπερεθιζόντων τὸ λογοποίημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐστεφάνωσε δάφναις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς: καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δῆμαρχοι Μάρυλλός τε καὶ Καισῆτιος ἀνευρόντες ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλον, ὑποκρινάμενοί τι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι χαρίζεσθαι, προαπειλήσαντι τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἠνεγκεν εὐσταθῶς, ἐτέρων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἰόντα ποθὲν βασιλέα προσεπόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου στενάξαντος, εὐμηγάνως εἶπε τοῖς ἀσπασαμένοις: 'οὐκ εἰμὶ Βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ,' ὡς δὴ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα

ἐσφαλμένοις. οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Μάρυλλον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἀρξάμενον ἐξεῦρον καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς ἐκέλευον ἄγειν ἐς δίκην ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν κατηγορήσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντων οἱ μετὰ τέχνης ἐς τυραννίδος διαβολήν, καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν ἄξιους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι θανάτου, μόνης δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ παραλύειν τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν διέβαλεν ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ τὰς ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καθιέντα καὶ τυραννικὸν ὅλως γεγονότα· ἥ τε γὰρ πρόφασις τῆς κολάσεως περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἦν, ἥ τε τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴ ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος ἦν ἐκ νόμου καὶ ὅρκου παλαιοῦ· τὴν τε ὀργὴν ὀξείαν ἐποίει τὸ μὴδ' ἀναμείναι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ὑπόλοιπον.

[109] ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος καὶ μετανοῶν καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἡγούμενος ἄνευ πολεμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαρὺ καὶ δυσχερὲς διαπεπραῆχθαι, λέγεται τοῖς φίλοις αὐτὸν ἐντείλασθαι φυλάσσειν ὡς δεδοκὸτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς λαβὴν ζητοῦσι καθ' αὐτοῦ. πυθομένων δ' ἐκείνων, εἰ συγχωρεῖ πάλιν αὐτὸν σωματοφυλακεῖν τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς σπείρας, 'οὐδὲν ἀτυχεστέρον,' ἔφη, 'διηνεκοὺς φυλακῆς· ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ δεδιότος.' οὐ μὴν αἶ γε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πείραι κατεπαύοντο οὐδ' ὥς, ἀλλὰ θεώμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ Λουπερκάλια ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσεύου, πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, Ἀντώνιος ὑπατεύων σὺν αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διαθέων τότε γυμνὸς ἀηλιμμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ τῆσδε τῆς ἑορτῆς ἱερέες, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα ἀναδραμὼν ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι. κρότου δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν παρ' ὀλίγων γενομένου καὶ στόνου παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀτέρριψε τὸ διάδημα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐθις ἐπέθηκε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐθις ἀπερρίπτει. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διεριζόντων μὲν ἔτι ἡσύχαζε, μετέωρος ὢν, ὅπῃ τελευτήσῃ τὸ γινόμενον, ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεβόησαν ἥδιστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα εὐφήμεον οὐ προσέμενον.

[110] ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἀπογνοῦς, εἴτε κάμων καὶ ἐκκλίνων ἤδη τήνδε τὴν πείραν ἢ διαβολήν, εἴτε τισὶν ἐχθροῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀφιστάμενος, εἴτε νόσημα τοῦ σώματος θεραπεύων, ἐπιληψίαν καὶ σπασμὸν αἰφνίδιον ἐμπίπτοντα αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀργίας, ἐπενόει στρατείαν μακρὰν ἔς τε Γέτας καὶ Παρθυαίους, Γέταις μὲν αὐστηρῶ καὶ φιλοπολέμῳ καὶ γείτονι ἔθνει προεπιβουλευόν, Παρθυαίους δὲ τινύμενος τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. στρατιὰν δὲ προύπεμπεν ἤδη τὸν Ἴόνιον περᾶν, ἑκκαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους. καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἐφοίτα, Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις Παρθυαίους, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσει. καὶ τινες ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὅτι χρηὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καλεῖν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ βασιλείας ὀνόματα, τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν, ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα, ἄντικρυς ἀνειπεῖν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε παρηγεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὅλως ἐπετάχυνεν, ἐπίφθονος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

[111] ἐξίεναι δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα πρὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατέκανον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε διὰ ζῆλον εὐτυχίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπερόγκου πάνυ γενομένης, εἴθ', ὡς ἔφασκον αὐτοῖ, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμία, εὗ γὰρ ἥδεδσαν αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ τάδε τὰ ἔθνη προσλαβὼν ἀναμφιλόγως γένοιτο

βασιλεὺς. ταύτης δὲ σκοπῶν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς προσθήκης ἀφορμὴν λαβεῖν ἐγχειρήσεως, ἐς ὄνομα μόνον αὐτοῖς διαφερούσης, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄντος ἀκριβῶς βασιλέως. συνεστήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μάλιστα δύο ἄνδρε, Μάρκος τε Βρούτος, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπὶ κλην, Βρούτου τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν ἀνηρημένου παῖς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι προσφυγῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀτυχήματος, καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ὁ τὰς τριήρεις κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐγχειρίσας τῷ Καίσαρι, οἶδε μὲν ἅμφω τῆς Πομπηίου μοίρας γεγονότε, τῶν δ' αὐτῷ Καίσαρι φιλάτων Δέκμος Βρούτος Ἀλβίνος, ἅπαντες αἰεὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως χρηματίζοντες ἄξιοι: οἷς γε καὶ πράξεις ἐνεχείρισε μεγίστας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἀπιὼν στρατεύματα ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπέτρεψε, τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεων Δέκμῳ, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Βρούτῳ.

[112] μέλλοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγήσειν ὁ Βρούτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐς ἀλλήλους διήριζον περὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτικῆς στρατηγίας, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμᾶται, εἴτε τῷ ὄντι φιλοτιμούμενοι περὶ αὐτὴν, εἴθ' ὑπόκρισις ἦν τοῦ μὴ πάντα συμπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς διαιτῶν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνοι, Βρούτῳ δ' αὐτὸς χαρίζοιτο: τοσσηδε ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνοία καὶ τιμὴ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐχρήτο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, Σερουιλίας τῆς Κάτωνος ἀδελφῆς ἐρασθείσης τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε ὁ Βρούτος ἐγίγνετο. διὸ καὶ νικῶν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς λέγεται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν εἰπεῖν Βρούτον, ὅπη δύναιτο, περισφάζειν. ἀλλ' εἴτε ἀχάριστος ὢν ὁ Βρούτος, εἴτε τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἁμαρτήματα ἀγνοῶν ἢ ἀπιστῶν ἢ αἰδούμενος, εἴτε φιλελεύθερος ὢν ἄγαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμῶν, εἴθ' ὅτι ἔκγονος ὢν Βρούτον τοῦ πάλαι τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξελάσαντος ἐρεθιζόμενος καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου 'πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου καὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦδε τοῦ Βρούτου τοιάδε ἐπεγράφετο λάθρα: 'Βροῦτε δωροδοκεῖς; Βροῦτε νεκρὸς εἶ;' ἢ 'ὠφέλές γε νῦν περιεῖναι' ἢ 'ἀνάξιά σου τὰ ἔκγονα' ἢ 'οὐδ' ἔκγονος εἶ σὺ τοῦδε'", ταῦτα καὶ τοιουτότροπα ἄλλα πολλὰ τὸν νεανίαν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὥς ἑαυτοῦ προγονικόν.

[113] ἀκμάζοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ περὶ βασιλείας λόγου καὶ συνόδου μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς μετ' ὀλίγον, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα τῷ Βρούτῳ 'τί ποιήσομεν,' ἔφη, 'παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἂν οἱ κόλακες τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμην περὶ βασιλείας προθῶσι,' καὶ ὁ Βρούτος οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου: 'τί δ', ἂν ἡμᾶς καλῶσιν ὡς στρατηγούς, τί ποιήσομεν, ὦ ἀγαθὲ Βροῦτε;' ἀμυνῶ τῇ πατρίδι,' ἔφη, 'μέχρι θανάτου.' καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος 'τίνα δ', ἔφη, 'οὐ προσλήψῃ τῶν ἀρίστων οὕτω φρονῶν; ἢ σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ χειροτέχναι καὶ κάπηλοι καταγράφειν σου τὸ δικαστήριον ἀσήμως μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄριστοι, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν θέας αἰτοῦντες ἵππων ἢ θηρίων, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὡς σὸν προγονικὸν ἔργον;' οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἄρα ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοούμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀλλήλοις προύφερον καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάτερος φίλων ἀπεπειρῶντο καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, οὓς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐκατέρων ἥδεσαν. καὶ συνήγειραν ἐκ μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀδελφῶ δύο,

Καϊκίλιόν τε καὶ Βουκολιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥούβριον Ῥήγα καὶ Κόιντον Λιγάριον καὶ Μᾶρκον Σπόριον καὶ Σερουίλιον Γάλβαν καὶ Σέξστιον Νάσωνα καὶ Πόντιον Ἀκύλαν, τούσδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων σφίσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Καίσαρος Δέκμον τε, περὶ οὗ μοι προεΐρηται, καὶ Γάιον Κάσκαν καὶ Τρεβόνιον καὶ Τίλλιον καὶ Κιμβρον καὶ Μινούκιον καὶ Βάσιλον.

[114] ὥς δὲ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν ἄλλας ἔχειν καὶ πλέοσιν ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, συνέθεντο μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄνευ τε ὄρκων καὶ ἄνευ σφαγίων, καὶ οὐδεὶς μετέθετο οὐδὲ προῦδωκε, καιρὸν δ' ἐζήτουν καὶ τόπον· ὁ μὲν δὴ καιρὸς ὑπερήπειγεν ὥς Καίσαρος ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν αὐτίκα περιεξούσης στρατιωτικῆς· χωρίον δ' ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὥς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων, ὃ καὶ περὶ Ῥωμύλον τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γενόμενον ἐλέγετο συμβῆναι. δόξειν τε τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τότε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ γενόμενον, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πεπρᾶχθαι ἀκίνδυνόν τε, ὥς κοινόν, ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ· καὶ τὴν τιμὴν σφίσι μενεῖν, οὐκ ἀγνοουμένοις, ὅτι ἤρξαν. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπελέγοντο πάντες ὁμαλῶς· περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρόπου διεφέροντο, οἱ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον συναναρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα σὺν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φίλον αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις γνωριμώτατον· ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι μόνῳ δόξαν οἷσεσθαι τυραννοκτόνων ὥς βασιλέα ἀναιρουντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ὥς Πομπηίου στασιῶται.

[115] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷδε μάλιστα ἀναπεισθέντες τὴν προσιοῦσαν αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς σύνοδον ἐφύλασσαν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦδε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χωρῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς Λέπιδον τὸν ἵπαρχον, ἐπήγετο Δέκμον Βρούτον Ἀλβίνον ἐς τὸν πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι προύθηκε, τίς ἄριστος ἀνθρώπων θάνατος· αἰρουμένων δὲ ἕτερα ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἐπήγει τὸν αἰφνίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧδε προυμαντεύετο ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐλεσχίνευε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν αὔριον ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πότῳ νυκτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα νοθρὸν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον αἵματι πολλῷ καταρρεόμενον ἰδοῦσα κατεκώλυε μὴ προελθεῖν. θυομένῳ τε πολλάκις ἦν τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά. καὶ πέμπειν ἔμελλεν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσοντα τὴν βουλήν. ἀλλὰ Δέκμος παρὼν ἔπεισε μὴ λαβεῖν ὑπεροψίας διαβολήν, αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπελθόντα διαλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκομίζετο φορεῖω, θεαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, καὶ βουλευτήριον ἔμελλε τῶν τις περὶ αὐτὸ οἴκων ἔσσεσθαι, εἰωθὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ὧδε γίνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἔωθεν κατὰ τὴν στοᾶν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὥς στρατηγῶν εὐσταθέστατα ἐχρημάτιζον, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἱερῶν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάνυ ἠποροῦντο. καὶ τις, αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐχόντων, τῆς Κάσκα χειρὸς λαβόμενος εἶπε· 'σὺ μὲν ὄντα με φίλον ἀπέκρυψας, Βρούτος δ' ἀνήνεγκέ μοι.' καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάσκας ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἄφνω τεθορύβητο, ὁ δ' ἐπιμειδιάσας ἔφη· 'πόθεν οὖν ἔσται σοι τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἀγορανομίας;' καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ἀνήνεγκεν. αὐτὸν δὲ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον σύννους τε ὄντας καὶ συλλαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις τῶν τις βουλευτῶν ἐπισπάσας, Ποπίλιος Λαίνας, ἔφη συνεύχεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ παρήγει ἐπιταχύνειν. οἱ δὲ ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν, ὑπὸ δὲ

ἐκπλήξεως ἐσιώπων.

[116] φερομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῶν οἰκείων τις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθὼν ἔθιη μηνύσων, ὃ ἔμαθεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Καλπουρνιαν ἦλθε καὶ τοσόνδε μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι χρήζοι Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ ἔργων ἐπειγόντων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἄρα τὰ γινόμενα πάντα πεπυσμένος. ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδῳ γεγονὼς αὐτῷ ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσδραμὼν εὗρεν ἄρτι ἀναιρούμενον. ὑπὸ δ' ἄλλου καὶ βιβλίον περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιδοθὲν αὐτῷ προθυομένῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσιόντι, μετὰ χεῖρας εὐρέθη τεθνεῶτος. ἄρτι δ' ἐκβαίνοντι τοῦ φορείου Λαίνας, ὁ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον πρὸ ὀλίγου συνευξάμενος, ἐντυχὼν διελέγετο ἰδίᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἢ τε ὄψις αὐτίκα τοῦ γινομένου κατέπλησσε καὶ τὸ μήκος τῆς ἐντεύξεως, καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις διαχρήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸ συλλήψεως· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸν Λαίναν ὀρῶντες οὐ μηνύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τοῦ δεομένου καὶ λιπαροῦντι ἐοικότα, ἀνέφερον, ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον εἶδον, ἀνεθάρρηναν. ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσιοῦσιν οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιούσι. καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἦν τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄνευ καρδίας ἢ, ὥς ἔτεροι λέγουσιν, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς σπλάγχθοις ἔλειπε. καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, γελάσας ἔφη τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίῳ. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι καὶ τότε κινδυνεύσειε λαμπρῶς καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὥς καλλιερουμένου, τὴν βουλὴν βραδύνουσιν αἰδούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὥς φίλων ἐπειγόμενος ἐσῆει τῶν ἱερῶν καταφρονήσας· χρῆν γὰρ ἂ ἐχρῆν Καίσαρι γενέσθαι.

[117] οἱ δ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν πρὸ θυρῶν ἀποδιατρίβειν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ Τρεβόνιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελίποντο, Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προκαθίσαντα περιέστησαν οἷα φίλοι σὺν λεληθόσι ξιφιδίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν Τίλλιος μὲν Κίμβερ, ἐντυχὼν ἐς πρόσωπον, ἀδελφῷ φυγάδι κάθοδον ἤτει· ἀνατιθεμένου δὲ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅλως τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ μὲν Κίμβερ αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφύρας ὥς ἔτι δεόμενος ἐλάβετο καὶ τὸ εἶμα περισπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἵλκε, βοῶν· 'τί βραδύνετε ὦ φίλοι;' Κάσκα δ' ἐφεστὼς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ἤρεισε πρῶτος, παρολισθὼν δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στήθος. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε ἱμάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κίμβερος ἐπισπάσας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Κάσκα λαβόμενος καὶ καταδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς τὸν Κάσκαν εἵλκυσε σὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πλευρὸν ἕτερος, ὥς ἐπὶ συστροφῇ τεταμένον, διελαύνει ξιφιδίῳ· καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπληξε καὶ Βρούτος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε καὶ Βουκολιανὸς ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μὲν τι σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου πληγὴν, ... εἴτε ἀπογινώσκοντα ἤδη, τὸ ἱμάτιον περικαλύψασθαι καὶ πεσεῖν εὐσχημόνως παρὰ ἀνδριάντι Πομπηίου· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐνύβριζον αὐτῷ πεσόντι, μέχρι τριῶν ἐπὶ εἴκοσι πληγῶν· πολλοὶ τε διωθιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἔπληξαν.

[118] Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοσοῦδε ἄγους ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἄνδρα ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον, φυγὴ τε ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτίκα καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν

πόλιν ὅλην, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἕτεροι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀστῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ προβεβουλευμένος, ἀλλ' οἷος ἐκ θορύβου πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, οἳ τε γὰρ μονομάχοι, ὥπλισμένοι ἔωθεν ὥς ἐπὶ δὴ τινα θέας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διέθεον ἐς τὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παραφράγματα, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως σὺν φόβῳ καὶ δρόμῳ διελύετο, τὰ τε ὄνια ἠρπάζετο: καὶ τὰς θύρας ἅπαντες ἀπέκλειον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς ἄμυναν ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀντώνιος τε τὴν οἰκίαν ὠχύρου, τεκμαιρόμενος συνεπιβουλευέσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ Λέπιδος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ὦν ἐπύθετο τοῦ γεγονότος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον διαδραμῶν, ἐνθα ἦν αὐτῷ τέλος στρατιωτῶν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον αὐτοὺς μετεβίβαζεν ὥς ἐτοιμοτέρους ἕξων ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου: Ἀντωνίῳ γὰρ ἐξίστατο, φίλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντι μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπάτῳ. καὶ αὐτοῖς σκεπτομένοις ὁρμὴ μὲν ἦν ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι τοιάδε παθόντι, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἐσομένην ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔτι περιεσκόπουν. ἀμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατιωτικὸν μὲν οὐκ ἦν, οὐ γὰρ δορυφόροις ἠρέσκετο, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑπηρεσία μόνῃ καὶ αἱ πλέονες ἀρχαὶ καὶ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἄλλος ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ πολὺς θεράπων καὶ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρεπεπόμενισαν, ὧν ἀθρόως διαφυγόντων τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οἳ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι διεκόμισαν οἴκαδε ἀνωμάλως, οἷα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάττης προστάτην.

[119] οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς ἐβούλοντο μὲν τι εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, οὐδενὸς δὲ παραμείναντος τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ὥσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντες ἐβοηδρόμουν βασιλέα καὶ τύραννον ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πῶς τις ἐπὶ δόρατος ἔφερε, σύμβολον ἐλευθερώσεως ἐπὶ τε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν παρεκάλουν καὶ Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῶν τότε σφίσιν ὁμωμοσμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πάλαι βασιλεῦσιν ἀνεμίμνησκον συνέθεον δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες χρησάμενοι ξιφίδια, οἳ τοῦ ἔργου μὴ μετασχόντες προσεποιούντο τὴν δόξαν, Λέντλος τε ὁ Σπινθήρ καὶ Φαώνιος καὶ Ἀκουῖνος καὶ Δολοβέλλας καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Πατίσκοι: οἳ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχον, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τοῖς ἀμαρτοῦσι συνέτυχον. τοῦ δήμου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ προσθέοντος ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ, καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ θορύβου διέφυγε, θαρροῦντες ὅμως, συγγενέσι τε σφῶν καὶ φίλοις οὔσι βαρυνομένοις τε τὴν τυραννίδα ὁμοίως, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους τῷ Καίσαρι πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε παρόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἄρτι τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένους καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διατεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ προαπωκισμένους μὲν, ἐς δὲ παραπομπὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξιόντος ἀφιγμένους. Λέπιδόν τε ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα, μὴ ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ χρώμενος ἐργάσαιτό τι δεινὸν αὐτοῦς.

[120] οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες τὸ Καπιτώλιον σὺν τοῖς μονομάχοις ἀνέθορον. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθη μισθώματα περιπέμπειν: ἥλιζον γὰρ, ἀρξαμένων τινῶν ἐπαινεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιλήψεσθαι λογισμῷ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πολιτείας. ἔτι γὰρ

ᾠοντο τὸν δῆμον εἶναι Ῥωμαῖον ἀκριβῶς, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου τὴν τότε βασιλείαν καθαιροῦντος ἐπυνθάνοντο γενέσθαι· καὶ οὐ συνέσαν δύο τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία προσδοκῶντες, φιλελευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ μισθωτοὺς σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμως τοὺς παρόντας. ὦν θάτερον εὐχερέστερον ἦν, διεφθαρμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας. παμμιγές τε γάρ ἐστιν ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ ξενίας, καὶ ὁ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῖς ἰσοπολίτης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ δουλεύων ἔτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῖς δεσπótαις ὅμοιος· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἢ ἄλλῃ στολῇ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐστὶν ἐπίκοινος. τό τε σιτηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἄργον καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεὼν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται. τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔτι ὡς πάλαι καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα δέει τοῦ μὴ δικαίους πολέμους ἐνίους πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινῇ δὲ ἐς κληρουχίας ἀδίκους ἀλλοτρίας τε γῆς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οἰκιῶν ἐξίόν, ἄθρουν τότε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὄντα σφίσιν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοδὸν ἤδη διαπεπρακότες, εὖωνοι δ' ἐς ὃ τι μισθοῖντο.

[121] ὅθεν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκ τοσῶνδε καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν πλῆθός τι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθὺς ἀγήγερτο· οἱ καίπερ ὄντες ἔμμισθοι τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, δεδιότες τὴν Καίσαρος δόξαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐσόμενον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεβόων καὶ θαμινὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρεκάλουν, τέχνασμα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνδροφόνων σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι πρῶτος ἐπιφαίνεται Κίννας στρατηγός, οἰκεῖος ὢν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπελθὼν ἐς μέσους τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, ὡς παρὰ τυράννου δεδομένης ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τύραννον ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας τυραννοκτόνους, καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐσέμνυνεν ὡς ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα τῷ προγονικῷ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καλεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ γεραίρειν. καὶ Κίννας μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὐχ ὀρῶντες ἐπιμιγνύμενον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδέ τι πλεόν ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης μόνης αὐθις παρεκάλουν.

[122] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ περιώνυμος, ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ ἔτους ἡρημένος, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξορμήσειε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν μὲν ὑπατον ἐσθῆτα ἡμφιέσατο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς περιεστήσατο, τὸν δὲ ταῦτά οἱ παρασχόντα δεύτερος ὅδε ἐλοιδόρει καὶ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένοις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ μόνης ἄκων τῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι 'εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν θέσθαι τῇ πόλει γενέθλιόν, τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἀνεθάρρουν ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπάτου σφίσι συγγνωμόνων ὄντων καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἤδοντο μὲν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἄνδρα νέον καὶ γνώριμον καὶ ὑπατον ἔξειν ἐς ἐναντίωσιν Ἀντωνίου, κατήεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν μόνοι Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος, ἡμαγμένος τὴν χεῖρα· συγκατήνεγκαν γὰρ δὴ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βρούτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδέτερος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ἀλλήλους ἐπῆνουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ

Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐμαρτύρουν, ὅτι τοὺς μονομάχους σφίσιν ἐν καιρῷ παράσχοι. τὸν τε δῆμον ἐξώτρυνον ὅμοια τοῖς προγόνοις ἐργάσασθαι τοῖς καθελοῦσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐκ ἐκ βίας ἄρχοντας ὥσπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ἡρημένους ὑπὸ νόμοις: Σέξστον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος, καλεῖν ἤξιουν, πολεμοῦμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους Καισήτιον καὶ Μάρυλλον, οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἡλῶντο.

[123] τοιαῦδε μὲν εἶπον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ ἐπανήλθον αὐθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον: οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν πῶ τοῖς παροῦσι. τῶν δ' οἰκείων σφίσι καὶ συγγενῶν τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντων ἡρέθησαν οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐς Λέπιδόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὁμονοίας περὶ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ φειδοῦς τῶν ἐσομένων τῇ πατρίδι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ συμφρονοῖεν. καὶ ἐδέοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ πεπραγμένον 'οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν ἐν φίλοις Καίσαρος', γενόμενον δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐλέφ τε τῶν δεδρακότων αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ μῖσος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ οἰκτῇ τῆς πόλεως κεκενωμένης στάσεσιν ἤδη συνεχέσιν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ μέλλουσα στάσις διολέσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅσιον, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἐνίους, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις ἐξερίζειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὰ ἴδια καταθέσθαι ἢ, εἴ τις ἀνηκέστως ἔχει, τὰ ἴδια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀναθέσθαι.

[124] Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, εἴτε φιλίας ἔνεκα εἴτε τῶν ὁμομοσμένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀρχῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ νομίζοντες εὐμαρέστερα σφίσιν ἅπαντα ἔσεσθαι τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἐκποδῶν γενομένων: τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βουλὴν ἐπιρρέπουσαν ἐς ἐκείνους, Δέκμον τε μάλιστα, τῆς ὁμόρου Κελτικῆς ἡρημένον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἄρχειν, στρατὸν πολὺν ἐχούσης. ἐδόκει δὴ караδοκεῖν ἔτι τὰ γενησόμενα καὶ τεχνάζειν εἰ δύναιτο περισπάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Δέκμου, ἄθυμον ἤδη τοῖς ἀτρύτοις πόνοις γεγεννημένην. οὕτω δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς εἰπόντας ἡμείψατο: 'κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν ἰδίαν οὐδὲν ἐργασόμεθα: ἔνεκα δὲ τοῦ μύσους καὶ ὧν Καίσαρι πάντες ὠμόσαμεν, φύλακες αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ἢ τιμωροὶ παθόντι τι ἔσεσθαι, εὖορκον ἦν τὸ ἄγος ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μετ' ὀλιγωτέρων καθαρῶν βιοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πάντας ἐνόχους ὄντας ταῖς ἀραῖς. ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς οἷς οὕτω δοκεῖ, σκεψόμεθα μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ νομιοῦμεν εὐαγὲς ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι ἂν κοινῇ δοκιμάσῃτε.'

[125] ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο. οἱ δὲ χάριν τε ἡδεσαν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ἐν ἐλπίδι βεβαίῳ τὰ πάντα θέμενοι: τὴν γὰρ βουλὴν σφίσι συμπράξειν ἐς πάντα ἐπεποίθεσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευσε νυκτοφυλακεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν μέσῳ προκαθημένους ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ: καὶ ἦσαν πυραὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔθειον ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐς τὰς τῶν βουλευτῶν οἰκίας οἱ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οἰκεῖοι, παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας: ἀντιπαρέθεον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν κληρουχῶν ἡγεμόνες ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς φυλάξει τὰς κληρουχίας τὰς τε ἤδη δεδομένας καὶ τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν

ἀστών ὁ καθαρώτατος λεὼς ἀνεθάρρει, τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν δεδρακότων πυθόμενοι· καὶ ἐς μνήμην τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπεφέροντο καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις διηροῦντο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετεκομίζετο, εἴτε τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὰ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας ἐς ἀκινδυνότεραν τὴν Ἀντωνίου μεταφερούσης, εἴτε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος.

[126] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων διάγραμμα νυκτὸς ἀνεγινώσκετο Ἀντώνιον τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλοῦντος ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ὄν τῆς οἰκίας Ἀντωνίου· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐθάρρει κατελθεῖν, ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τῶν μονομάχων ὄντων ἐκείνοις συνεργῶν, οὔτε στρατιὰν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διαταράξει· Λέπιδος δὲ ὁμῶς εἰσήγαγε. πλησιαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ συνέθεον ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Κίννας ὁ στρατηγός, αὗθις ἐπικείμενος τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣν ἐχθρὸς ὡς τυράννου δόντος ἐξερρίφει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτόν τινες τῶν ἀδεκάστων καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Καίσαρι, δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καίπερ οἰκεῖος ὢν αὐτοῦ, βλασφημῶς ἐδημηγόρησε, λίθοις ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐδίωκον· καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συμφυγόντα, ξύλα συμφέροντες, ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ Λέπιδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἔργον παρρησίας ἤρξεν ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατέδεισαν οἱ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς αὐτοί· [127] ἐν δὲ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ βραχὺ μὲν ἦν τὸ καθαρεῦον σπουδῆς βιαίου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν, οἱ δὲ πλέονες σὺν παρασκευῇ ποικίλῃ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους συνήρουν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοπίστως ἠξίουσαν καὶ παρεῖναι σφίσι καὶ συνεδρεῦειν, ἐξ ὑπευθύνων ἐς κριτὰς μεταφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐκώλυνεν, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐλευσομένους· οὐδὲ ἤλθον. εἶτα ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μάλα θρασέως τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπήνουν ἄντικρυς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκάλουν τυραννοκτόνους καὶ γεραίρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν γέρα περιήρουν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνων δεομένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὰ πραζάντων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐδικαίουσαν ὡς εὐεργέτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ὑπανήρουν καὶ φείδεσθαι μόνον αὐτῶν ἠξίουσαν.

καὶ οἱ μὲν τάδε ἐτέχναζον καὶ περιεώρων, ὃ τι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐνδεξαμένη μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ κατ' ὀλίγον εὐεπιχείρητος αὐτοῖς ἔσοιτο· οἱ δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὡς ἄγος ἀπεστρέφοντο, αἰδοῖ δὲ μεγάλων οἰκῶν περισφάζειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐκώλυνον, ἡγανάκτουν δέ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσαν ὡς εὐεργέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀντέλεγον μὴ χρῆναι περισφάζοντας φθονεῖν τῶν περισσῶν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν. ὡς δὲ τις εἶπε τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, οὐκ εἶων ἔτι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τῶν περιόντων προτιθέναι. ἐτέρου δὲ ἐγκρατῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι χρὴ δύο τῶνδε πάντως τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ Καίσαρα τύραννον προαποφαίνειν ἢ τούτους ἐξ ἐλέου περισφάζειν, τούτου μόνου δεξάμενοι τὸ λεχθὲν οἱ ἕτεροι ἤτουν σφίσι ψῆφον ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ, καὶ εἰ καθαρῶς ἐθέλουσι κρῖναι, μηδέν' αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεάσαι τὰ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐψηφισμένα ἄρχοντι ἤδη, ὣν οὐδὲν ἐκόντας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἢ δεῖσαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνηρημένου τε Πομπηίου καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ μυρίων ἄλλων, ψηφίσασθαι.

[128] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐφορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφεδρεῦον, ἐπειδὴ λόγων ὕλην οὐκ

ἄπορον οὐδὲ ἀναμφίλογον εἶδεν ἐσφερομένην, ἔγνω τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτῶν οἰκείῳ φόβῳ καὶ φροντίδι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαχέαι. εἰδὼς οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἕς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐς ἱερωσύνας καὶ ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἡρημένους ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατεῖαν ἐξίων ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἡρητὸ, σιωπὴν ὡς ὑπατος ἐπικηρύξας ἔφη: ‘τοῖς αἰτοῦσι περὶ Καίσαρος ψῆφον ἀνάγκη τάδε προεἰδέναι, ὅτι ἄρχοντας μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰρετοῦ προστάτου γενομένου τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δεδογμένα πάντα κύρια μενεῖ, δόξαντος δ’ ἐπὶ βία τυραννῆσαι τὸ τε σῶμα ἄταφον τῆς πατρίδος ὑπερορίζεται καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἀκυροῦται. ἔστι δέ, ὡς ὄρω περιλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφικνούμενα γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ὑπακούσεται: καὶ δείξω μετ’ ὀλίγον. ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ μόνον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ περὶ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν προθήσω πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ εὐμαρεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν δυσχερεστέρων προλάβοιτε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ἡρξάμεν ὑπὸ τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἄρχομεν αἰρετοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου γεγόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχειν κεχειροτονήμεθα: ἐς γὰρ πενταετες, ὡς ἴστε, καὶ τὰ ἀστικά ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτήσια τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας διετάξατο. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ὑμεῖς ἐκόντες ἀποθήσεσθε ἔστε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τοῦδε μάλιστα κύριοι, τόδε πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ἀξίῳ κρίναι: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐποίσω.’

[129] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς οὐ περ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δαλὸν ἐξάψας ἡσύχαζεν: οἱ δ’ εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων ἀθρόοι μετὰ βοῆς, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἄλλαις οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἃ ἔλαβον. τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας τι νεώτερον ἢ ἄλλη πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐναντίωσις ὑποῦσα ἀνηρέθιζε. καὶ τῶνδε αὐτὸς ὁ ὑπατος ἐξῆρχε Δολοβέλλας: οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ἐφαίνετο κατ’ ἔννομον χειροτονίαν ὑπατεῦσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν ὄντι. ὥς εἰα δὴ τοῦ χθὲς ὑποκριναμένου μετασχεῖν τῶν γεγονότων ἐγίγνετο μεταβολή, λοιδορουμένου τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τιμᾶν ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας σφῶν ἀτιμώσουσιν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας. οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπήλπιζον χάριν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποφανεῖν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἔσεσθαι χειροτονίας ἐπὶ τὸ νομιμώτερον ἐκ τοῦ μοναρχικοῦ: ὁ καὶ κόσμον αὐτοῖς οἴσειν ἔν τε μοναρχίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ τὰ ὅμοια προτιμωμένοις. καὶ τούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπὶ ἐνέδρᾳ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀπετίθεντο, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὰς ἀντιληψόμενοι νομιμώτερον. τοῖς δὲ ἢ τε ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ κυρίους ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς χειροτονίας ἐσομένους ᾔδεσαν.

[130] ὧδε δὲ ἔτι ἐχόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῆλθον: καὶ γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντες ἐκάλουν ὡς δὲ ὦφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγῇ κεκραγόντων μόλις ἐγίγνετο, εἷς μὲν τις ἐβόησεν, εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἰδίαν εἴτε παρεσκευασμένος: ‘φυλάσσεσθε παθεῖν ὅμοια.’ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῷ παραλύσας τι τοῦ χιτωνίσκου θώρακα ἐντὸς ἐπεδείκνυνεν, ὑπερεθίζων ἄρα τοὺς ὁρῶντας ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν σφάζεσθαι χωρὶς ὀπλων οὐδὲ ὑπάτοις. ἐπιβοώντων δ’ ἐτέρων τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεξίεναι καὶ

τῶν πλεόνων περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παρακαλούντων, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔφη: ‘περὶ τούτου σκοποῦμεν, ὥς ἔσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεῖ: δυσεῦρετον γὰρ ἤδη τὸ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῆς, ὅτι μὴδὲ Καίσαρα ὤνησαν ὅρκοι τοσοῖδε καὶ ἀραί.’ ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξίεναι παρακαλοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπῆναι μὲν ὡς εὐορκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αἰρουμένους καὶ ‘αὐτὸς ἄν,’ ἔφη, “συνετασδόμην ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρῶτος ἐβόων, εἰ μὴ ὕπατος ἦν, ᾧ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δικαίου μέλει: ὧδε γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ ἔνδον παραινοῦσιν. οὕτω δὲ πού καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, οὗς εἶλε πολέμῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως περισώσας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε.”

[131] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρὰ μέρος τεχνάζοντος οἱ ἀμύνειν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀξιοῦντες Λέπιδον ἡξίουσαν ἀμύνειν. Λεπίδου δὲ τι μέλλοντος λέγειν, οἱ πόρρῳ συνεστῶτες κατελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡξίουσαν, ἵνα ὁμαλῶς ἅπαντες ἐπακούσειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἦει, νομίζων ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα παρελθὼν ἔστεινε καὶ ἔκλειεν ἐν περιόπτῳ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ἀνενεγκὼν δὲ ποτε εἶπεν: ‘ἐνταῦθα χθὲς μετὰ Καίσαρος ἰστάμην, ἔνθα νῦν ἀναγκάζομαι ζητεῖν περὶ Καίσαρος ἀνηρημένου, τί βούλεσθε.’ ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πολλῶν: ‘ἀμύνειν σε τῷ Καίσαρι,’ ἀντανεβόησαν οἱ μισθωτοί. ‘τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει.’ ὁ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἔφη: ‘βουλόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ποῖαν λέγετε εἰρήνην; ἢ ποίοις ὅρκοις ἀσφαλὲς ἔσται; τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πατρίους πάντας ὠμόσαμεν Καίσαρι καὶ κατεπατήσαμεν, οἱ τῶν ὁμομοκότων ἄριστοι εἶναι λεγόμενοι.’ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμύνειν ἀξιοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ‘ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἡμῶν,’ ἔφη, ‘μεθέστηκεν, ἱερὸς τῷ ὄντι καὶ τίμιος ἀνὴρ, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους αἰδοῦμεθα βλάψαι. καὶ τάδε,’ ἔφη, ‘σκοποῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόβουλοι, καὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς πλέοσιν.’ ἀνακραγόντων δὲ αὖθις: ‘ἐπέξιθι μόνος,’ “βούλομαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ εὐορκὸν ἐστὶ μοι καὶ μόνῳ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς βούλεσθαι δεῖ μόνους οὐδὲ μόνους ἀντιτιθέναι.”

[132] τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτον τεχνάζοντα οἱ μισθωτοὶ φιλότιμον εἰδότες ἐπῆνουν καὶ ἥρουντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἱερωσύνην. τοῦ δὲ ἡψατο μὲν ἡ ἡδονή, ‘μέμνησθε,’ δὲ ἔφη, ‘μοι τοῦδε καὶ ὕστερον, ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι δοκῶ.’ μᾶλλον οὖν ἔτι παρρησίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν μισθωτῶν ἐνισταμένων, ‘ἀσεβὲς μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ παράνομον, ἐργάσομαι δὲ ὁμῶς, ὁ βούλεσθε.’ καὶ εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνέτρεχεν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ὁ Δολοβέλλας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνίστατο ἀσχημόνως. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναμένων ἅμα τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γιγνόμενα, σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐφεώρα: καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην διαφόρῳ. ὥς δὲ ἄλλος ἔσχε τῆς ὀψεως καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι γεγένητο θερμότερον, τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἔγνω περισφάζειν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ὥς ἐν βαρυτάτῃ χάριτι περισφάζων, τὰ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα κυροῦν συμβόλῳ καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα συντελεῖν.

[133] σιωπὴν τε κατακηρύξας αὖθις ἔλεγεν:

ἐγὼ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτόντων πολιτῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες ὁμότιμοι, σκεπτομένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐπεφθεγγόμην: περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ψῆφον αἰτοῦσιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔργων προύθηκα μέχρι νῦν, καὶ τοσοῦτους ἡμῖν τὸ ἐν ἀγῶνας ἡγείρεν, οὐκ ἀλόγως: εἰ γὰρ ἀποθησόμεθα τὰς ἀρχάς, ὁμολογήσομεν ἄνδρες τοσοῖδε καὶ τοιοῖδε ἀναξίως αὐτῶν τετυχηκέναι. ὅσα δ’ οὖν μὴδὲ

ἐπακούσεται ῥαδίως, ἐπισκέψασθε νῦν αὐτὰ καὶ συναριθμεῖτε κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας καὶ δυνάστας. πάντα γὰρ δὴ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ δύσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡμῖν ἐχειρώσατο δυνάμει καὶ κράτει, συνεστήσατο, νόμοις καὶ χάρισι καὶ φιланθρωπίας βεβαιωσάμενος: ὧν τίνας ὑποστήσασθαι δοκεῖτε ἀφαιρουμένους, ἃ ἔλαβον, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἐθέλετε, οἳ τῇ πατρίδι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτῃ μάλιστα οὔσῃ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς περισφύζειν ἀξιοῦτε;

καὶ τὰ μὲν πορρωτέρω τοῖς τε δεινοῖς ἔτι καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἀφεστηκότα ἔασω: ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἀγχοῦ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ σύνοικα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτήν, τοὺς τὰ νικητήρια λαβόντας καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὡς ἐστρατεύοντο, ὑπὸ τῇ αὐτῇ συντάξει συνωκισμένους ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὧν ἔτι πολλὰι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τί νομίζετε πράξειν ἀφαιρουμένους, ὧν εἰλήφασιν ἢ προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι πόλεων τε καὶ χωρίων; καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ παρελθοῦσα νῦν τὴν εἰκόνα ἔδειξε.

[134] δεομένοις γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτόντων ἀντιπαρέθεον ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ ἀπειλῆς: τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος συρόμενον καὶ αἰκίζόμενον καὶ ἄταφον ῥιπτούμενον ἔτι γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῖς τυράννοις ἐπιτέτακται περισφῆσθαι νομίζετε τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὐτῷ; καὶ τὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν νομιεῖν, ἃ εἰλήφασιν, ἔξιν βέβαια τοῦ δόντος ὑβρίζομενον; τί δὲ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν ἐργάσεσθαι; τί δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας; πόσον δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσσεσθαι φθόνον παρὰ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν, ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς τὸν ὑμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μέχρῃς ὠκεανοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγνωστον προαγαγόντα; καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰτίᾳ καὶ καταγνώσει μᾶλλον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοσὴνδε ἡμῶν ἀνωμαλίαν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ὕπατον ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἱερὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ, βουλῆς ἀγγεργμένης, ὑπὸ ὧσιν θεῶν κατακανόντας τιμᾶν ἀξιώσομεν, ἀτιμοῦν δὲ τὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δι' ἀρετὴν τίμιον; τούτων μὲν οὖν ὡς οὔτε ὁσίῳ οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντων προλέγω πάντα ἀπέχεσθαι: γνώμην δὲ ἐσφέρω τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβουλευμένα τῷ Καίσαρι πάντα κυροῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαρτόντας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὅτι γὰρ ὁσίον οὐδὲ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ σύμφωνον ἔτι τῷ κυροῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένά, περισφύζειν δὲ ἐξ ἐλέου μόνον, εἰ ἐθέλοιτε, διὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους, εἰ δὴ καὶ τότε αὐτὸ οἶδε λαμβάνειν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμολογοῖεν ἐν χάριτος μέρει.

[135] τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σὺν ἀνατάσει τε καὶ ὀρμῇ βαρυτέρᾳ, γίγνεται δόγμα, ἡσυχάζόντων ἤδη καὶ ἀγαπώντων ἀπάντων, φόνου μὲν οὐκ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, κύρια δὲ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, ἔπει τῇ πόλει συμφέρει. ἐβιάσαντο γὰρ τότε ἐς ἀσφάλειαν οἱ τῶν περισφύζομένων οἰκεῖοι προστεθῆναι μάλιστα, ὡς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνέδωκεν. ἐνηφισμένων δὲ τούτων, ὅσοι τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἡξίου ἴδιον περὶ σφῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ δόγμα ἕτερον γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτῶν τὰς κληρουχίας. καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυνεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπιδεικνὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν φόβον. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτερον αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ὅμοιον: Λεύκιον δὲ Πείσωνα, ὅτῳ τὰς διαθήκας ὁ Καῖσαρ παρετίθετο, τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν τρόπον τῆς βουλῆς διαλελυμένης τινὲς περιστάντες παρεκάλουν μῆτε τὰς διαθήκας προφέρειν μῆτε θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα φανερώς, μὴ τι νεώτερον

ἕτερον ἐκ τούτων γένοιτο. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον ἠπειλουν ἐσαγγέλλειν, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον οὐσίαν τηλικαύτην ἀφαιροῖτο γιγνομένην κοινήν, αὐτῆς ἄρα ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὴν τυραννίδα.

[136] ἐκβόησας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστον καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτι παροῦσάν οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιώσας συναγαγεῖν, εἶπεν: 'οἱ τύραννον λέγοντες ἔνα ἀνηρηκέναί τοσοῖδε ἡμῶν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἤδη τυραννοῦσιν: οἱ θάπτειν με κωλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὰς διαθήκας ἀπειλοῦσι προφέροντι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δημεύουσιν αὐτῆς ὡς τυράννου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῶ πεπραγμένα κεκύρωται: ἃ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶ κατέλιπεν, ἀκυροῦσιν, οὐ Βροῦτος ἔτι οὐδὲ Κάσσιος, ἀλλ' οἱ κάκείνους ἐς τόνδε τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκρίπισαντες. τῆς μὲν οὖν ταφῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε κύριοι, τῶν δὲ διαθηκῶν ἐγώ: καὶ οὐποτε ἃ ἐπιστεύθην προδώσω, πρὶν κάμει τις ἐπανελεῖν.' θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτικῆσεως γενομένης παρὰ πάντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τι καὶ ἐλπίζόντων ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, τὰς τε διαθήκας ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔδοξε προφέρειν καὶ θάπτειν τὸν ἄνδρα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη.

[137] Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος περιέπεμπον καὶ παρεκάλουν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. συνδραμόντων δὲ ὀξέως πολλῶν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν:

ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὃ πολῖται, οἱ χθὲς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐντυχόντες, οὔτε ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγόντες 'οὐ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν' οὔτε ὡς ἐπὶ κρημνόν, οἱ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ Κίinna πάθος, ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ ἀλογώτερον αὐτῶ γενόμενον, οὕτως ἠνάγκασεν. ἡσθόμην δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς ἐς ἐπιτορκίαν καὶ ἐς αἰτίαν ἀπορίας εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοῦς. ἃ δὴ περὶ τούτων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐροῦμεν, ὃ πολῖται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὰλλα δημοκρατουμένων πράξομεν. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἦλθε σὺν ὅπλοις πολεμίοις καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ δημοκρατικώτατος ὑμῶν ἔπαθεν, οἷα ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῶ πλῆθος ἄλλο πολιτῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐλαυνόμενοι διωλώλεσαν, εἰκότως αὐτῶ δεδιότι καὶ βέβαιον ἔχοντι τὴν τυραννίδα ἀμνηστίαν αἰτοῦντι ἔδομεν καὶ ὠμόσαμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ὁμνύναι προσέταττεν οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα μόνον οἷσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐκόντας, τί ἂν ἔπραξαν οἱ νῦν ἐπιβουλευόντες ἡμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὄντας γε Ῥωμαίους οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἂν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν ἐκόντας ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ.

[138] εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν ἔτι εἰς δουλείαν εἰργάζετο ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπιωρκήσαμεν: εἰ δὲ οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἅστει οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας οὔτε στρατείας ἢ ἱερωσύνας ἢ κληρουχίας ἢ τιμὰς ἄλλας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν οὐδὲ προεβούλευεν ἢ βουλὴ περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἅπασιν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος καὶ οὐδὲ κόρος αὐτῶ τοῦ κακοῦ τις ἐγίγνετο, οἷος ἐγένετο Σύλλα, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθελὼν ἀπέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν πολιτείαν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ ἄλλην στρατείαν χρόνιον ἀπιὼν ἐς πενταετὲς ὑμῶν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια προελάμβανε, ποῖα ταῦτα ἦν ἐλευθερία, ἥς οὐδ' ἐλπίς ὑπεφαίνετο ἔτι; τί δὲ οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται Καισῆτιος καὶ Μάρυλλος; οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἄρχοντες ἀρχὴν ἐξηλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει; καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὁ ὄρκος οὐδ' ἐπάγεσθαι δίκην ἔτι οὔσι δημάρχους ἐπιτρέπουσιν:

ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἐξήλασεν, οὐδὲ δίκην ἐπαγαγών.

πότεροι οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀσύλους ἡμάρτανον; ἡ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἱερός καὶ ἄσυλος, ὅτῳ ταῦτα οὐχ ἐκόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σὺν ὅπλοις καὶ τοσοῦσδε καὶ τοιοῦσδε ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας κατακαίνειν, ἐθέμεθα: τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἐπηράσαντο ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσσεσθαι; ποῦ δὲ οἱ φόροι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ λογισμοὶ συνεφέροντο; τίς δ' ἡμῶν ἀκόντων ἦνοιγε τὰ ταμειᾶ; τίς τῶν ἀψαύστων καὶ ἐπαράτων ἐκίνει χρημάτων καὶ ἐτέρῳ δημάρχῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἠπειλεί;

[139] ἀλλὰ τίς, φασίν, ἔτι ὄρκος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης ἂν γένοιτο; εἰ μὲν οὐ τυραννήσει τις, οὐδὲ ὄρκων δεῖ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐδέησεν οὐδέποτε: εἰ δ' ἐπιθυμήσει τις ἄλλος τυραννίδος, οὐδὲν πιστόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τύραννον οὐδ' εὖορκον. καὶ τάδε προλέγομεν ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ προεροῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ: καὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τιμῇ παρὰ Καίσαρι τὴν πατρίδα τῆς ἡμετέρας τιμῆς προετιμήσαμεν. διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κληρουχίαις, ἐρεθίζοντες ὑμᾶς. εἰ δὴ τινες τῶν ὥκισμένων ἢ οἰκισθησομένων πάρεστε, χάρισασθέ μοι καὶ ἐπισημήνασθε ἑαυτοὺς.

[140] ἐπισημνηναμένων δὲ πολλῶν 'εὗ γε,' εἶπεν,

ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐποιήσατε συνελθόντες. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένους τε καὶ περιποιουμένους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ ἴσα τὴν ἐκπέμπουσιν ἀντιγεραίρειν. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Βρεττανοὺς τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ ἀριστεύοντας ἔδει τιμῶν καὶ ἀριστείων τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὄρκοις προλαβὼν ἐπήγαγε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν μάλ' ἀβουλοῦντας, ἐπήγαγε δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς Λιβύην ὀκνοῦντας ὁμοίως. εἰ μὴν δὲ μόνα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπέπρακτο, ἠδεῖσθε ἂν ἴσως ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις αἰτεῖν ἀριστεῖα: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἢ χρόνος ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ λήθῃ τὰ ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς ὑμῶν ἔργα σβέσει, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμῖν ἐστί τὰ ἀριστεῖα: ἃ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι στρατευομένοις ὁ δῆμος ἐδίδου, οἰκείων μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀναμαρτήτων οὐ ποτε γῆν ἀφαιρούμενος οὐδ' ἐτέροις ἐπινέμων τὰ ἀλλότρια οὐδ' ἡγούμενος δεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι δι' ἀδικημάτων.

τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅτε κρατήσαιεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀφηροῦντο, ἀλλὰ ἐμερίζοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέρος ᾧκίζον τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν πεπολεμηκότων: καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἐνίστε τῆς δορικτήτου γῆς καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπένεμον ἢ ἑωνοῦντο ἐτέραν. οὕτω μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνῶκίζεν ἀλύπως ἅπασι: Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ, οἱ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πατρίδι φρουρῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δεόμενοι, οὔτε διέλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, οὔτε γῆν ὑμῖν ἑωνοῦντο ἢ τὴν τῶν δεδημευμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπένεμον, οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφαιρούμενοις ἐς παρηγορίαν ἐδίδοσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ταμειῶν ἔχοντες, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεδημευμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἀδικοῦσαν πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ ληστηρίου νόμῳ τὴν τε γῆν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τάφους καὶ ἱερά, ὧν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πολεμίους ἀφηρούμεθα, ἀλλὰ δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν.

[141] οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὁμοεθνῶν διένεμον, τῶν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑμᾶς

αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάντων καὶ προπεμψάντων καὶ εὐξαμένων πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων νικητηρίων. καὶ συνώκιζον ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀθρόους ὑπὸ σημείοις καὶ συντάξει στρατιωτικῇ, μήτε εἰρηνεύειν δυναμένους μήτε ἀδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἐξελαθέντων· ὁ γὰρ ἀλώμενος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀφρηρημένος ἔμελλεν ὑμῖν περιπολῶν ἐφεδρεῦειν καιροφυλακῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὅπερ οἱ τύραννοι μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο, οὐ γῆν ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν εἶχον παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθροὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔχοντες αἰεὶ βέβαιοι φύλακες ἦτε τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ταῦτα ὑμῖν συναδικούσης· εὐνοια γὰρ ἐς τυράννους γίγνεται δορυφόρων ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν καὶ συνδεδιέναι. καὶ τοῦτο, ὧ θεοί, συνοικισμὸν ἐκάλουν, ᾧ θρῆνος ὁμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶν καὶ ἀνάστασις οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐχθροὺς ἐποιοῦν τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σφετέρου συμφέροντος· ἡμεῖς δέ, οὓς οἱ νῦν τῆς πατρίδος προστάται φασὶν ἐλέω περισφάζειν, τὴν τε γῆν ὑμῖν τήνδε αὐτὴν ἐσαεὶ βεβαιούμεν καὶ βεβαιώσομεν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν τῶνδε ποιούμεθα. καὶ ἔχετε καὶ ἔξετε, ἃ εἰλήφατε· καὶ οὐ μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ἀφέληται ταῦτα, οὐ Βροῦτος, οὐ Κάσσιος, οὐχ οἶδε πάντες, οἱ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας προεκινδυνεύσαμεν. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπίμεμπτος, ἰασόμεθα ἡμεῖς, διαλλακτῆριον ὑμῖν ἅμα ἐς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἐσόμενον καὶ ἡδιστον ἤδη πυθομένοις. οἷς τὴν τιμὴν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς τοῖς ἀφρηρημένοις ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφορμῆς ἀποδώσομεν, ἵνα μὴ βέβαιον ἔχητε μόνον ὑμεῖς τὴν κληρουχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφθονον.

[142] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βρούτου λέγοντος ἀκροώμενοί τε ἔτι πάντες καὶ διαλυόμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπῆνουν ὡς δικαιότατα, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀκαταπλήκτους δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδήμους ἐν θαύματι ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐς εὐνοίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετετίθεντο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ἔμελλον. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν, καὶ ἀνεγινώσκετο αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ Κικέρων πολὺ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγκώμιον ἐπέλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ἡδόμενοι κατεκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον. καὶ οἶδε ἀναπέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοσῷδε ὄμηρᾳ ἐκέλευον, καὶ ἀνεπέμποντο οἱ παῖδες Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου. ὀφθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον κρότος ἦν καὶ βοή, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν τι βουλομένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι δεξιώσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλαγῆναι πρότερον ἐκέλευον. καὶ γίγνεται μὲν οὕτω, καὶ διεσεῖετο μάλιστα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡ γνώμη ὑπὸ δέους ἢ φθόνου, ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ὑπεροισόντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

[143] διαθῆκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥφθησαν φερόμεναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατρίδος Ὀκτάουιος, τῷ δὴμῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὄντων ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα Ἀττικά δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο αὖθις ἐς ὀργὴν ὁ δῆμος, τυράννου μὲν κατηγορίας προπεπυσμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἀνδρὸς ὀρῶντες. οἰκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ Βρούτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγγράπτο παῖς· ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις παραγράφειν τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἐτέρους, εἰ μὴ κληρονομοῖεν οἱ πρότεροι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταράσσοντο καὶ δεινὸν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγοῦντο καὶ

Δέκμον ἐπιβουλεύσαι Καίσαρι, παῖδα αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πείσωνος τὸ σῶμα φέροντος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλῆθος τε ἄπειρον ἐς φρουρὰν συνέδραμον σὺν ὅπλοις, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ πομπῆς δαυηλοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα προυτέθη, οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ θρῆνος ἦν αὐθις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπατάγουν οἱ ὠπλισμένοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγίνοντο. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἔχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ ἡρημένος εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἶα ὑπάτος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενῆς συγγενοῦς ἦν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενῆς· ἐτέχναζεν αὐθις καὶ ἔλεγεν ὧδε.

[144] “Οὐκ ἄξιον, ὦ πολῖται, τοσοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον παρ’ ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, ἐνὸς ὄντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅλης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. ὅσα δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἀγάμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, ἢ τε βουλή καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος, ἔτι περιόντι ἐψηφίσασθε, ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐκ Ἀντωνίου τάδε φωνὴν εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀναγνώσομαι.” καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ σοβαρῶ καὶ σκυθρωπῶ, τῇ φωνῇ δ’ ἐνσημαινόμενος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐφιστάμενος, οἷς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξεθείαζον, ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἢ πατέρα πατρίδος ἢ εὐεργέτην ἢ προστάτην οἶον οὐχ ἕτερον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῇ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δὲ πού τι καὶ βραχὺ ἐκάστῳ, μεμιγμένον οἴκτῳ καὶ ἀγανακτήσει, ἔνθα μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα εἶποι ‘πατέρα πατρίδος,’ ἐπιλέγων: ‘τοῦτο ἐπιεικειάς ἐστὶ μαρτυρία,’ ἔνθα δ’ ἦν ‘ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος’ καὶ ‘ἀπαθῆς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος προσφύγοι,’ ‘οὐχ ἕτερος,’ ἔφη, “τῷδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρηται, οὐ βιασάμενος οἷα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμὰς, ἃς οὐδὲ ἤτησεν. ἀνελευθερώτατοι δὲ ἄρα ἡμεῖς, οἱ τοιάδε τοῖς ἀναξίοις οὐδὲ αἰτοῦσι δίδομεν. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ὑπεραπολογεῖσθε ὥς οὐκ ἀνελευθέρων, ὧ πιστοὶ πολῖται, τοιαύτη καὶ νῦν πρὸς τεθνεῶτα χρώμενοι τιμῇ.”

[145] καὶ αὐθις ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα παντὶ σθένει πάντας ἢ, εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν, ἐξώλεις εἶναι τοὺς οὐκ ἀμύναντας αὐτῷ. ἐφ’ ὅτῳ δὴ μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιτείνας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασχών, ‘ἐγὼ μὲν,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὦ Ζεῦ πάτριε καὶ θεοί, ἔτοιμος ἀμύνειν ὥς ὅμοσα καὶ ἡρασάμην: ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις δοκεῖ συνοίσειν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, συνενεγκεῖν εὐχομαι.’ θορύβου δ’ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα προφανῶς ἐς αὐτὴν εἰρημένῳ γενομένου, ἐπικαταπήχων αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ παλινῳδῶν ἔφη:

εἰσικεν, ὦ πολῖται, τὰ γεγενημένα ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ του δαιμόνων ἔργα εἶναι. καὶ χρὴ τὸ παρὸν σκοπεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ γεγενημένον, ὥς ἐν ἀκμῇ μεγάλων ἐστὶ κινδύνων ἡμῖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ τὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐς τὰς προτέρας στάσεις ὑπαχθῶμεν καὶ ἐκτριφθῇ πᾶν, ὃ τι λοιπὸν ἐστὶν εὐγενὲς τῇ πόλει. προπέμπωμεν οὖν τὸν ἱερὸν τόνδε ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας, τὸν νενομισμένον ὕμνον αὐτῷ καὶ θρῆνον ἐπάδοντες.

[146] τοιάδε εἰπὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἷα τις ἔνθους ἀνεδύρατο, καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὐκόλον, τὸ λέχος ὥς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς περιέστη κατακύπτων τε ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ὥς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὕμνει καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ

γενέσεως τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἔθνη, ὅσα προσποιήσεται τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν: ‘μόνος ὃδε ἀήττητος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ συνελθόντων. σὺ δ’,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ὑβρισμένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, ἄγρια ἔθνη τὰ μόνα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐμβαλόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπρήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλόν.’ πολλὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιθειάσας τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ θρηγῶδες ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου μετεποιεῖ καὶ ὡς φίλον ἄδικα παθόντα ὠδύρετο καὶ ἔκλαιε καὶ ἡρᾶτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐθέλειν ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς Καίσαρος.

εὐφορώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸ πάθος ἐκφερόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος. ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ δῆμος οἷα χορὸς αὐτῷ πενθιμώτατα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὐθις ὀργῆς ἐνεπίμπλατο. ὥς δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἕτεροι θρήνοι μετὰ ὠδῆς κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ χορῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤδοντο καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐθις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος κατέλεγον καὶ πού τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσεται τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐν θαύματι: ‘ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τούσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με,’ οὐκ ἔφερεν ἔτι ὁ δῆμος, ἐν παραλόγῳ ποιούμενος τὸ πάντα αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφαγέας χωρὶς μόνου Δέκμου, αἰχμαλῶτους ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου στάσεως γενομένους, ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων προαχθέντας ἐπιβουλεύσαι, Δέκμον δὲ καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ θετὸν ἀζιωθῆναι γενέσθαι.

[147] ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρεῖκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὕπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντῃ, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ δῆμος οἰκτίστην σφίσι φανεῖσαν οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν ἀνῶμωξάν τε καὶ διαζωσάμενοι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔνθα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐκφυγόντας πρὸ πολλοῦ περιθέοντες ἐζήτουν, οὕτω δὴ μανιωδῶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τε καὶ λύπης, ὥστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίνναν ἐξ ὁμωνυμίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κίννα, τοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τε περὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας οὐδ’ ἀκοῦσαι, διέσπασαν θηριωδῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθη. πῦρ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οἰκίας ἔφερον, καὶ καρτερῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τε ἀμυνομένων καὶ τῶν γειτόνων δεομένων τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἀπέσχοντο, ὅπλα δ’ ἠπείλησαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οἴσειν.

[148] καὶ οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς ἐξέφυγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαλαθόντες, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπανελθὼν ἔφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς εὐαγὲς θάψαι τε ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ μετὰ θεῶν θέσθαι. κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐθις ἔθεσαν, ἔνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔστι βασιλείον, καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάθρα, ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον ἄλλο συνενεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαψιλεστάτην οὖσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἔνιοι παρ’ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες, ἐξήψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον, ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ’

ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἀξιουμένου· ὁ γάρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάουιος, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ' ἔχνος ἐκείνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσίων, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔτι νῦν, ἐρριζωμένην ὑπ' ἐκείνου, μειζρόνως ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἡξίωσεν· ὧν δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἐξ ἐκείνου πρώτου, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκάστοτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἄρχοντα, ἣν μὴ τύχη τυραννικὸς ὢν ἢ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀποθανόντα ἀξιοῦσιν, οἱ πρότερον οὐδὲ περιόντας αὐτοὺς ἔφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.

[149] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐτελεῦτησεν ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς καλοῦσιν εἰδοῖς Μαρτίαις, Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μάλιστα μέσου, ἣν τινα ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ὁ μάντις οὐ περιοίσειν προύλεγεν· ὁ δ' ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ἔφη περὶ τὴν ἔω· 'πάρεισιν αἱ εἰδοί.' καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν καταπλαγεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο· 'ἀλλὰ οὐ παρελθλύθασιν,' ὁ δὲ καὶ τοιῶνδε προαγορεύσεων αὐτῷ σὺν τοσῶδε τοῦ μάντεως θάρσει γενομένων καὶ σημείων ὧν προεῖπον ἐτέρων ὑπεριδὼν προήλθε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτος ἄγων ἕκτον ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχέστατος ἐς πάντα καὶ δαιμόνιος καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ εἰκότως ἐξομοιούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἄμφω γὰρ ἐγενέσθην φιλοτιμοτάτῳ τε πάντων καὶ πολεμικωτάτῳ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχυτάτῳ πρὸς τε κινδύνους παραβολωτάτῳ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφειδεστάτῳ καὶ οὐ στρατηγία πεποιθότε μᾶλλον ἢ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ. ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄνδρὸν τε πολλὴν ἐς Ἀμμωνος ὠδεύεν ὥρα καύματος, καὶ τὸν Παμφύλιον κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακοπεΐσης διέτρεχε δαιμονίως, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαίμονος κατέχοντος, ἔστε παρέλθοι, καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὁδεύοντι ὕοντος. ἀπλώτου τε θαλάσσης ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀπεπείρασε, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρῶτος ἀνέβη καὶ ἐς πολεμίων τεῖχος ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ τρισκαίδεκα τραύματα ὑπέστη. καὶ ἀήττητος αἰεὶ γενόμενος ἐνὶ σχεδὸν ἢ δύο ἔργοις ἕκαστον πόλεμον ἐξήνυσε, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἐλὼν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρωσάμενος, δυσαρκτότατον ἔθνος καὶ φιλελεύθερον καὶ οὐδενὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλην Φιλίππῳ κατ' εὐπρέπειαν ἐς ἡγεμονίαν πολέμου δόξασαν ὑπακούειν ἐπ' ὀλίγον· τὴν δὲ Ἀσίαν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ὅλην ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὥς λόγῳ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην καὶ δύναμιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσῃν εἶδε γῆν, ἐκτίσαστο καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐνθυμούμενός τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἀπέθανε.

[150] Καίσαρι δὲ ἢ τε Ἴόνιος θάλασσα εἶξε, χειμῶνος μέσου πλωτὴ καὶ εὐδῖος γενομένη, καὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν ἐπὶ Βρεττανοὺς διέπλευσεν οὐπω γερόμενον ἐν πείρᾳ, κρημνοῖς τε τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐποκέλλοντας ἐκέλευε τὰς ναῦς περιαγνύναι. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον κλύδωνα μόνος ἐν σκάφει σμικρῷ νυκτὸς ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευε προχεαὶ τὰ ἰστία καὶ θαρρεῖν τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἐς τε πολεμίους προεπῆδησε μόνος ἐκ πάντων δεδιότων πολλάκις, καὶ τριακοντάκις αὐτὸς ἐν Κελτοῖς μόνος παρετάξατο, μέχρι τετρακόσια αὐτῶν ἐχειρώσατο ἔθνη, οὕτω δὴ τι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφοβα, ὥς νόμῳ τῷ περὶ ἀστρατείας ἱερέων καὶ γερόντων ἐγγραφῆναι 'πλὴν εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι'. τότε δὲ καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἱερέας στρατεύεσθαι. περὶ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολεμῶν καὶ ἀποληφθεὶς ἐπὶ γεφύρας μόνος καὶ κακοπαθὼν τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέρριψε καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξήλατο καὶ ζητούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ μυχῷ διενήχετο λανθάνων

ἐπὶ πολὺ, μόνην ἐκ διαστήματος ἀνίσχων τὴν ἀναπνοήν, μέχρι φιλὰ νηὶ προσπελάσας ὥρεξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξε καὶ περιεσώθη.

ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐμφύλια τάδε ἢ διὰ δέος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ἢ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία συμπεσόν, στρατηγοῖς τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις συνηνέχθη καὶ στρατοῖς πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις, οὐ βαρβάρων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμαζόντων μάλιστα εὐπραξίαις καὶ τύχαις· καὶ ἀπάντων ἐκράτησε, διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ὁδε πείρας ἐκάστων ἢ διὰ δύο, οὐ μὴν ἀηττήτου καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἡττῶντο λαμπρῶς, ὅθ' ἡ μεγάλη σφᾶς συμφορὰ κατέλαβε Κόττα καὶ Τιτυρίου στρατηγούντων, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πετρήιος αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀφράνιος συνέκλεισαν οἷα πολιορκουμένους, ἐν τε Δυρραχίῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ λαμπρῶς ἔφευγον καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον κατεπλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ ἐς παντὸς πολέμου τέλος ἀήττητος· τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύν, γῆς ἤδη καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκ δύσεων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην κρατοῦσαν, ἐχειρῶσατο βία καὶ φιλανθρωπία πολὺ βεβαιότερον καὶ πολὺ ἐγκρατέστερον Σύλλα βασιλέα τε αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἀκόντων, εἰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐκ ἔδέχετο. καὶ πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ ὁδε διανοούμενος ἀνηρέθη.

[151] συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὁμοίως πρόθυμα μὲν ἐς ἄμφω καὶ μετὰ εὐνοίας γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς μάχας θηριώδεσιν εἰκότα, δυσπειθῇ δὲ πολλάκις ἐκατέρῳ καὶ πολυστασίαστα διὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἀποθανόντας γε μὴν ὁμοίως ὠδύραντο καὶ ἐπεπόθησαν καὶ θεῶν τιμῶν ἠξίωσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς ἄμφω καὶ καλοῖ. καὶ τὸ γένος ἐκ Διὸς ἦσθην ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Αἰακίδης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀγχίσου τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. φιλονικότεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐξερίζουσιν ὄντες ταχύτατοι πρὸς διαλύσεις ἦσαν καὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συγγνώμῃ καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ κρατῆσαι μόνον ἐνθυμούμενοι.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον συγκεκρισθῶ, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμήσαντος αὐτῶν ἐκατέρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ βασιλείας ἡσκημένης ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, τοῦ δ' ἐξ ιδιωτείας, εὐγενοῦς μὲν καὶ περιφανοῦς, χρημάτων δὲ πάνυ ἐνδεοῦς.

[152] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ σημείων τῶν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐκάτερος ὑπερόπτης καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τὴν τελευτὴν προειποῦσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπησαν, καὶ τὰ σημεία αὐτὰ ὁμοιά τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν συνηνέχθη· ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐκατέρῳ δις ἄλοβα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κίνδυνον σφαλερὸν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις, ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τῆς κλίμακος συντριβείσης ἀποληφθέντι τε ἄνω, καὶ ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαλομένῳ καὶ πληγέντι τὰ στέρνα χαλεπῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον ὑπέρῳ βαρυτάτῳ, καὶ πίπτοντι ἤδη καὶ περισωθέντι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναρρηξάντων τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους, Καῖσαρι δὲ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ περιφόβου τε ὄντος ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τῷ νέῳ καὶ ὀκνοῦντος ἐς μάχην ἰέναι, προδραμόντι πάντων ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον καὶ διακόσια ἀναδεξαμένῳ δόρατα ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα, μέχρι καὶ τόνδε ὁ στρατὸς ἐπιδραμὼν ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ φόβου περιέσωσεν. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δευτέρα δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αὐτόν. Πειθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὁ μάντις

Ἀπολλοδώρῳ δεδοικότεν Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα θυόμενος εἶπε μὴ δεδιέναι, ἐκποδὼν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν αὐτίκα ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ τελευτήσαντος εὐθὺς Ἡφαιστίωνος ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρος ἔδεισε, μὴ τις ἐπιβουλὴ γένοιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμείδιασε καὶ Πειθαγόραν αὐτὸν ἤρετο, ὅ τι λέγοι τὸ σημεῖον· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὰ ὕστατα λέγει, αὐτὸς ἐπεμείδιασε καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὅμως Ἀπολλοδώρον τε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν μάντιν τῆς παρρησίας.

[153] Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον βουλευτήριον ἐσιόντι, καθά μοι πρὸ βραχέος εἴρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα γίνονται· καὶ χλευάσας ἔφη τοιαῦτά οἱ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γεγονέναι. τοῦ δὲ μάντεως εἰπόντος καὶ τότε αὐτὸν κινδυνεύσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον ἔχειν τὸ σημεῖον, ἐνδοῦς τι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐθύετο ὅμως αὐτὸς, μέχρι βραδυνόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱερῶν δυσχεράνας ἐσηλθε καὶ ἀνῆρέθη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνέπεσεν. ἐπανιόντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πλησιάζοντα ἤδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἱαμβεῖον εἰπόντος, ὅτι 'μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,' δευτέρα γοῦν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι παρεκάλουν μὴ ἐς δύσιν ὀρῶντα μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιοδεῦσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν λαβεῖν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. ὁ δ' ἐς τοῦτο μὲν ἐνδοῦναι λέγεται καὶ ἐπιχειρήσαι περιοδεῦσαι, λίμνη δὲ καὶ ἔλαι δυσχεραίνων καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μαντεύματος καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δύσιν ὀρῶν. ἐσελθὼν γε μὴν καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Παλλακότταν, ὃς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπολαμβάνων ἐς ἔλη καὶ λίμνας ἐκφέρει καὶ κωλύει τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδεν, — ἐπινοοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον διατειγίσαι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκπλέοντά φασιν ἐπιτωθᾶσαι τοῖς Χαλδαίοις, ὅτι σῶος ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐσέλθοι τε καὶ ἐκπλέοι. ἔμελλε δ' ἐπανελθὼν αὐτίκα ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνήξεσθαι. ἐπετώθασε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὅμοια. τοῦ γὰρ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς προειπόντος, ὅτι μὴ περιοίσει τὰς Μαρτίας εἰδούς, ἐλθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἔφη, τὸν μάντιν χλευάζων, ὅτι πάρεισιν αἱ εἰδοί· καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅμως ἀπέθανεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σημεῖα τὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐχλεύασαν ὁμοίως, καὶ τοῖς προειποῦσιν αὐτὰ μάντεσιν οὐκ ἐχάλεπνεν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὅμως ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μαντευμάτων.

[154] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τῆς τε πατρίου καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ξένης, φιλόκαλοι, τὰ μὲν Ἰνδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξετάζων τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἱ δοκοῦσιν Ἰνδῶν εἶναι μετεωρολόγοι τε καὶ σοφοὶ καθὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι, τὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Καίσαρ, ὅτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος καθίστατο Κλεοπάτραν. ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις διωρθώσατο καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώμαλον ἔτι ὄντα διὰ τοὺς ἔσθ' ὅτε μῆνας ἐμβολίμους 'κατὰ γὰρ σελήνην αὐτοῖς ἠριθμεῖτο ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμον μετέβαλεν, ὥς ἦγον Αἰγύπτιοι. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλευσάντων μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν, καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς Φίλιππον ἀνελόντας. ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν, αἱ ἐξῆς βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν.

Book 3

οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ πλείστου Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο: ἀπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἦδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ῥωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐγίνετο ὁμοῦ.

[2] Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλή δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον: ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χालεπαίνουσιν ἐνὶ τοιῷδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὖνοιαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος: Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο υἱωνὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ. γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενῆς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπφοκοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν αἰετὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὁμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικὴν, Τρεβόνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιβυνίαν: Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ βουλῇ διέφερεν, ἤρηντο μὲν καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βροῦτος, ἔτι δὲ ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ ... ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἷα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθεράπευον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχήματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου καλύοντος ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι.

[3] τοῦτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγγο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἷα ὕπατος συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν Ἀμάτιον χωρὶς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως: καὶ ἡ βουλή τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἐθαύμαζεν ὥς μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιοῦντο ἥδιστα: οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρὶς τοιαύδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ τὰ κατὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀματίου στασιῶται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις πόθῳ τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράχει ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, οὐκ ἤξιον σφῶν καταφρονεῖν: τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρῶτους. ἐξελαυνόμενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον τε ἡγανάκτουν καὶ ἐεκκράγεσαν καὶ ἔδρας ἐνιοὶ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυν ἀνηρημένων. ὥς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δεῖξιν, εὐθύς εἶποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ἐτέρων ἐπιτεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοι τε ἀνηρέθησαν ἐνιοὶ καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ κατερρίφησαν.

[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαυτο, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητον ἐξ ἄρρήτου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγήγερτο. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἔχαιρον ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρως ἐν ἄδει περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτῳ γενόμενοι. ὥς δὲ καὶ Σέξστον Πομπήϊον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, τὸν Πομπήϊου Μάγνου περιποθήτου πᾶσιν ἔτι ὄντος, εἰσηγήσατο καλεῖν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν, ἀντί τε τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας δεδημευμένης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἕκαστα ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ προθυμίας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ ὅλην εὐφήμεον ἡμέραν· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικώτερος, ὅθεν οὐδὲ περιποθητότερος ἦν. ὁ τε Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Βρούτος, ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πᾶσι τότε τιμωτάτῳ, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐδόκουν ἔξιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὧν ἐπεπράχσαν ἐγκρατῆ, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχύσης. ἃ καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπῆνει τὸν Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συγγινώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον ἔδωκε φρουρὰν περιστήσασθαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδημούντων ἐαυτῷ καταλέγοντα.

[5] ὁ δέ, εἴτε εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχὼς εἴτε τὴν συντυχίαν ὡς εὐχρηστον ἀσπασάμενος τὴν φρουρὰν κατέλεγεν, αἰεὶ προστιθεὶς μέχρι ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὀπλιτῶν, οὐς εὐμαρῶς ἂν ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖαις ᾤετο ἔξιν καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας λοχαγοὺς ὡς ἡγεμονικούς τε καὶ ἐμπειροπολέμους καὶ οἱ γνωρίμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι· ταξάρχους δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πρόποντα κόσμον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήσας ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενοι συνεβούλευον τὴν φρουρὰν ὡς ἐπίφθονον ἐς τὸ ἄρκοῦν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν, ὅταν σβέση τοῦ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες. ἐψηφισμένον δ' εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα Καίσαρι ἐπράκτό τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξίων ἀνετίθετο, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς· καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πᾶσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, τὴν δὲ χάριν οἱ λαβόντες ἤδσαν Ἀντωνίῳ. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῇ βουλῇ δι' ἀρεσκείας ἐπρασσεν, ἵνα μὴ φθονοῖεν ἔτι τῆς φρουρᾶς.

[6] καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὔτε τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐξεστρατευμένων εἰρηναίου φανέντος, οὔτε τὴν ἐνέδραν Ἀματίου καὶ παρ' ἐτέρου ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι, οὔτε τὸ ποικίλον Ἀντωνίου φέροντες ἀφόβως, ἤδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὔτε τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιουμένην ἔργοις ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφορώμενοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεσαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραῖς τρία τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβόνιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ἐς Βιθυνίαν κρύφα ἔπεμπον χρήματα ἀγεῖρ ἐκ ἀφανῶς καὶ στρατὸν

περιβλέπεσθαι. αὐτοὶ τε ἡπείγοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔθνων λαβέσθαι. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ οὐπω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, τὴν ἐν ἅστει στρατηγίαν προλιπόντες ἀτελῆ, δόξαν ὑποπτον φιλαρχίας ἔθνων ἐνέγκασθαι, ἥρουντο ὁμως ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα διατρίψαι ποι μᾶλλον ιδιωτεύοντες ἢ ἐν ἅστει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε ἀφόβως ἔχοντες οὔτε τὰ εἰκότα ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεπράχesan τιμώμενοι. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἡ βουλὴ συνειδυῖα τὴν γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῇ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἐξ ὅσης δύναιτο γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοῦς ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἔθνων τῆς στρατηγίας καταλάβοι.

καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα μή ποτε Βροῦτος ἢ Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοῖεν: τοσῆδε αὐτῶν φροντίς ἦν ἅμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σφαγεῦσι διὰ τοῦσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανον: [7] ἐξελθόντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἐπὶ δυναστείας ὣν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤδη μοναρχικῆς ἀρχὴν ἔθνους καὶ στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ περιέβλεπε: καὶ Συρίας μὲν ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα, οὐκ ἡγνόει δὲ ὦν δι' ὑπονοίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσόμενος, εἴ τι αἰτοίῃ: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπάτον ἐπήλειφεν εἰς ἐναντίωσιν ἡ βουλῇ, διάφορον αἰεὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οὖν τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, νέον τε καὶ φιλότιμον εἰδώς, ἔπεισεν αἰτεῖν Συρίαν ἀντὶ Κασσίου καὶ τὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους κατειλεγμένον στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς 'οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν', ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσθεὶς αὐτίκα προυτίθει τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἔφη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετράφθαι, Κάσσιον δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἀξιοθέντα αὐτόν τι τῶν Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλεῖν τὰ κληρουχίματα τοῖς λαβοῦσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν: καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αἰδεῖσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἀξιούμενος, Δολοβέλλας ὦν, πρὸ Κασσίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ Ἀσπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσημείας, ἐλπίσαντές τι καὶ Ἀντώνιον συμπράξειν, ὑπάτὸν τε ὄντα καὶ τῶν σημείων ἱερέα καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ: ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὔσης ὁ Ἀσπρήνας ἔφη διοσημεῖαν ἀπαίσιον γεγονέναι, ἔθους ὄντος ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τοῦτο πέμπεσθαι, πάννυ χαλεπόμενος τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν περὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.

[8] καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτω Συρίας ἡγεμῶν Δολοβέλλας καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθυαίους καὶ στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατειλεγμένης, ὅση τε περὶ Μακεδονίαν προελήλυθει, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τότε πρῶτον ἐγνωστο συμπράσσων τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. γεγεννημένων δὲ τῶνδε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤτει Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι αἰδέσονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθεῖσαν Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἀντειπεῖν περὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ταῦτα γυμνῆς στρατοῦ γενομένης. καὶ ἔδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν θαύματι ἔχοντες, ὅπως τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατὸν προμεθῆκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἡγάπων δὲ ὁμως Δολοβέλλαν ἔχειν τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον. ἐν καιρῷ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀντήτουν ἕτερα ἔθνη, καὶ ἐδόθη Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη, ὥς δ' ἐτέροις δοκεῖ, τάδε μὲν ἀμφοτέρα Κασσίῳ, Βιθυνία δὲ Βροῦτῳ.

[9] τὰ μὲν δὴ γινόμενα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοιαύδε ἦν: Ὀκτάουσιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατριδοῦς ἵππαρχος μὲν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγέννητο πρὸς ἐν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφέρων ἐτήσιον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι, μειράκιον δὲ ἔτι ὦν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσόμενος αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἰππέων ἱλαὶ παραλλάξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιοῦσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος θαμινὰ ἐπεφοίτων. γινώσῃς τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὖνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι δεξιουμένῳ πάντας. ἕκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρημένος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πρὸς τῶν φιλάτων καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδενὸς ἀπαγγελθέντος πῶ δέος αὐτὸν ἐπέιχε καὶ ἄγνοια, εἴτε κοινὸν εἴη τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἔργον εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἴδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοῖς πλείοσι δεδῶκοιεν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε εἶεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνήδοιτο.

[10] ἐφ' οἷς οἱ φίλοι ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπετίθεντο ταῦτα, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν ἤξιουν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατὸν καταφυγεῖν καί, ὅτε μάθοι μὴ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιθαρρήσαντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα φυλάξειν ὑπεδέχοντο: ἢ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἔγραφον μήτε ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε θαρρεῖν πῶ μεμνημένον, οἷα Καῖσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τῶν φιλάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ιδιωτικώτερα ὡς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀκινδυνότερα αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. οἷς Ὀκτάουσιος ἐνδοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔτι ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ γενομένων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ δεξιωσάμενος διέπλει τὸν Ἰόνιον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον 'οὐπω γάρ τινα τοῦ ἐκεῖθι στρατοῦ πείραν εἰληφῶς πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο, ἀλλ' ἐς ἑτέραν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, ἐκτὸς οὕσαν ὁδοῦ, ἣ ὄνομα Λουπία. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνηυλίσατο διατρίβων.

[11] ὡς δὲ οἱ τά τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἦλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἤξιουν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, υἱὸν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρήνουν ἅμα τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν θέσιν ἀπείρασθαι: ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἦει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενος, μή τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἷα Καίσαρος υἱὸν δεξιούμενος ἀπήντα, θαρρήσας ἔθυε καὶ εὐθὺς ὠνομάζετο Καῖσαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμένων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πατρῶον ὅλως ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ Ὀκταοῦιου παιδὸς Ὀκταοῦιου Καῖσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καίσαρος υἱός, καὶ διετέλεσεν οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθύς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθρουν καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς ἐς Καίσαρος υἱὸν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕτεροι στρατιῶται σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευὰς ἢ χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτερα χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἐθνῶν

ἄλλων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον.

[12] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ πάντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ θαρρῶν ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν ἀξιολόγῳ πλήθει, αὐξομένῳ μᾶλλον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας οἷα χειμάρρῳ, φανερᾶς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς ὣν ἀμείνων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα ὑφορώμενος, ἀρτιγνώστων οἱ τῶν συνόντων σχεδὸν ὄντων ἀπάντων. τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ πάντῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν ὁμαλά· οἱ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διηρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικῶν ἐπὶ χάριτι τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα τηλικούτῳ μύσει καὶ σφᾶς ἔλεγον, εἴ τις ἡγοίτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὗς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων πού Ῥώμης σταδίων, ἀγγέλλεται Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ἀφηρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἕτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων κάθοδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἕς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ γινόμενα.

[13] ὥς δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὐτῆς καὶ Φίλιππος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι κηδεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐδεδοίκεσαν τήν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλοτριώσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μὴ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι φόνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου τότε δυναστεύοντος ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὔτε ἀφικομένου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἐλθόντα οὔτε προσπέμπσαντος αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράυνεν, αὐτὸς ἀπαντήσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἰπὼν οἷα νεώτερος ἐς πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς ὕπατον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν θεραπεύσειν τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἔφη γενέσθαι μηδενός πω τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους διώκοντος· ἀλλ' ὅποτε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικουρήσειν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ἐννόμῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς δικαίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἴσως. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ὑπερίδοι, ἕς τε τὸν Καίσαρα ἀμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀδικήσιν εἰς τὴν διανομήν.

Ἀπερρήγνυ τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κινδυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἶη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θνήσκειν, εἰ προκριθεὶς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀντάξιός αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο φιλοκινδυνωτάτου γεγονότος. τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὑπόγυά οἱ τότε ὄντα μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν μητέρα ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἔλεγεν· “αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἐταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμύνειν.”

καὶ τότε εἰπὼν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἔφη κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ πάντων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα· αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα οὐχ ἐταῖρον, ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορα, οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῳ πεσόντα, ἀλλ' ἄθεμίστως ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ κατασκοπέντα.

[14] ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐς ἥδονήν ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὑπαχθεῖσα, ἡσπάζετο ὡς μόνον ἄξιον Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέσπερχεν ἐς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα σὺν τῇ τύχῃ. παρῆναι γε μὴν ἔτι τέχνῃ καὶ ἀνεξικακίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ φανερᾷ θρασυτήτι πω χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ πράξειν ὑποσχόμενος οὕτως, αὐτίκα τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ἐς ἧς συγκαλῶν

ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ πλήθους. ἔνθα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου, στρατηγοῦντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπαντίσας ἔφη δέχεσθαι τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς ἐπὶ μάρτυσι γίγνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ῥῆμα, εὐθὺς ἐκ τὴν ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχώρει. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐς κήποις, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους. διατριβῆς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείονος γενομένης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως ἐτίθετο, εἰσκληθέντος δὲ ποτε ἦσαν προσαγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πύσματα εἰκότα.

ὡς δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περὶ ὧν ἦσαν ἐν χρεΐᾳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν:

[15] ἐγὼ δέ, πάτερ Ἀντώνιε, πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι σέ μοι δικαιοῦσιν αἶ τε Καῖσαρος ἐς σέ εὐεργεσίαι καὶ ἡ σὴ πρὸς ἐκείνους χάρις, τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν ὀφλήσω, τὰ δ' ἐπιμέμφομαι, καὶ λελέξεται μετὰ παρρησίας, ἐς ἣν ἡ λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένῳ μὲν οὐ παρῆς, τῶν φονέων σε περισπασάντων περὶ θύρας, ἐπεὶ περιέσφωξες ἂν αὐτὸν ἢ συνεκινδύνευες ὅμοια παθεῖν: ὧν εἰ θάτερον ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, καλῶς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆς. ψηφιζομένων δὲ τινων αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τυράννῳ γέρα ἀντεῖπας ἐγκρατῶς: καὶ τοῦδ' ἐμοὶ χάριν οἶδα λαμπράν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγνως συνανελεῖν σε βεβουλευμένους, οὐχ, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡγούμεθα, τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ', ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, τῆς τυραννίδος διάδοχον. ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυραννοκτόνοι, εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν: διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνέφυγον ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν ἀμαρτόντες ἰκέται ἢ ὡς ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ φόνου, ἢ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου εἰ τινες ἐφθάρατο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σέ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὄρᾱν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλομένῳ σοὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρουμένῳ τηλικούτῳ ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκεῖα αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους ἔπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

ἀλλ' ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς διεφθαρμένους σε βιάσασθαι. ὅτε μέντοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγνωσθεῖσων καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον ἐπιτάφιον εἰπόντος ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καῖσαρος μνήμῃ γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισάμενοι χάριν τῶν γειτόνων ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἤξειν ἐπὶ ὅπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπραξας καὶ ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τῶν ὅπλων ἢ δίκην γε τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἔδει κατὰ αὐτοφώρων, καὶ φίλος ὢν Καῖσαρι καὶ ὕπατος καὶ Ἀντώνιος;

[16] ἀλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνῆρέθη κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν ὑπερεῖδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐνίους διαδραμεῖν, ἃς ἀθεμίστως ἔχουσι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὖ ποιοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι, σὺ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων περιεσπάσατε ἐς ἑαυτούς. καὶ τοῦδ' ἐμοὶ χάριν ἥδειν ἂν, εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ φυγάδας ἡξιώσατε ἡγεμονίαις αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ δορυφορεῖσθαι: Δέκμον τε τὴν ἐγγὺς Κελτικὴν ὑπερορᾶτε ἔχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως αὐθέντην τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε τὴν βουλὴν ἐρεῖ τις ἐγνωκέναι. σὺ δ' ἐπεψήφισες καὶ προυκάθησο τῆς βουλῆς,

ὃ μάλιστα πάντων ἤρμοζε διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντεῖπειν: τὸ γὰρ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἣν ἐκείνοις χαρίζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐθις ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ὑβρίζοντων Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀκυρύντων.

ἐπὶ τάδε με δὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζον ἴσως ἐμοὶ τῆς τε ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σέ αἰδοῦς. εἴρηται δ' ὅμως ὡς ἐς ἀκριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ' ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἡξιωμένον καὶ τάχα ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εἰ ἦδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντὶ Ἡρακλείδου γενέσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ... ἐνδοιάσαι, πολὺν τῆς διαδοχῆς λόγον ποιοῦμενον.

[17] ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, πρὸς θεῶν τε φίλων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μὲν τι καὶ τῶν γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις ὀφείλεις γάρ, εἰ θέλεις: εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας ἀμυνομένῳ μοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικῶν φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργεῖν: εἰ δέ σε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις ἢ τῆς βουλῆς αἰδῶς ἔχει, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τούτων: οἶσθα δ', ὅπως ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ οἶκοι, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν διανομὴν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐπεῖξεως ἐς αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνων ἀχάριστος εἶναι δοκοῖν μηδ' ὅσοι καταλεχθέντες εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῇ πόλει, δι' ἐμὲ τρίβοιντο. ὅσα δὴ τῶν Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ πρὸς σέ μετενήνεκται ὡς ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐς ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον ἔχειν ἀξιῶ σε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλης ἄλλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανομὴν ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὃ συνηθοῖκε μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνος, οὓς ἐπενόει, ἀρκέσει δ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μὲν θαρρήσαιοί σοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἂν ἴσως ἢ διὰ σοῦ δανεισαίμην ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἂν διδῶς: διαπεπράσεται δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία.

[18] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλῆς καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν φανείσης: χαλεπῶς δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῇ ἀπαιτήσῃ, αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ᾧδε ἡμείψατο:

εἰ μὲν ὁ Καῖσάρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπεν, εἰκὸς σέ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς αἰτεῖν κάμει ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενὶ πῶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδωσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ' ἄλλων ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, ὃ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες φασὶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον, οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως δεῖ πρὸς σέ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ σέ κουφίζω, μὴ χάριν ὀφείλειν ἡμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσσετο γὰρ οὐ σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἔς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σέ ἔργου. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου περιεῖδον ἐγὼ τιμὰς ψηφιζόμενας τοῖς φονεῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις, τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγίνετο, ὃ μήτε δόξης μήτε τιμῆς τινος ἢ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιώσεως ἔτι μετήν. οὐ διαθήκας εἶχεν ἂν, οὐ παῖδα, οὐκ οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ ιδιώτου: ἄταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράννων ὑπερορίζουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην

ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δημεύουσι τὴν περιουσίαν.

[19] ὦν ἐγὼ δεδιὼς ἕκαστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμενν Καίσαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφῆς, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρὸς τε ἄνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καί, ὡς ἔμαθες, ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνομωμοσμένους πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύειν καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ἡρούμην ἐκὼν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄταφον καὶ ἄτιμον γιγνόμενον περιδεῖν Καίσαρα, ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμώτατον ἐκ πάντων ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖσδε κινδύνους καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὦν σε δικαιότερον ἦν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἢ ἐς ἀντίδοσιν τῶνδε, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ἢ κατ' ἄλλας χρείας ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ὄντα.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρηῇσθαι: ἐνσημαίνει δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας με ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος ἀρκεῖν.

[20] περὶ δὲ τῶν σῶν χρεῶν, ἐθέλοντα μὲν σε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ἡγούμενν ἂν εἰρωνεῖαν λέγειν, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν ἦν εἶτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολελεῖσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ταμεία, τῶν προσόδων, ἐξ οὗ παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ταμείου συμφερομένων καὶ εὐρεθησομένων αὐτίκα ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος περιουσίᾳ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν ψηφισώμεθα. ἄδικον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦτο ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔσται, τεθνεῶτά τε ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντα ἄδικον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ζῶν ἡτέτερο τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί σοι καθ' ἓνα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἀδήριτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώσῃ. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρὸς με χρημάτων οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐστίν, ὅσον εἰκάζεις, οὔτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ' ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ δυνάμει, πλὴν Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν νειμαμένων μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς τυράννου, δι' ἐμὲ δὲ μετατεθέντων ἐς χάριν τῶν ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐψηφισμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων οἴσεις ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῇς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέμπουσιν, ἂν συμφρονῶσι, τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας: ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδρακτος ὧν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητον ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσῃ κύμα κινούμενον: ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν. ὃ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκόπους ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριπε.

[21] τούτων τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσχεράνας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ὕβριν εἰρημένοις ἀπεχώρει, τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλῶν θαμινὰ ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς πρᾶσιν αὐτίκα προυτίθει πᾶσαν, ὅση κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῦ, προτρέπων ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς σπουδῆς: φανερὰς δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρας γενομένης καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ζητήσιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ψηφισαμένης, οἱ πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν ἐπὶ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι τῆς πατρῴας ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας οὐνεκα καὶ τῆς νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ δημοκοπίας καὶ περιουσίας, ἢ δὴ πάνν αὐτῷ πολλὴ προσελθοῦσα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ιδιώτῳ μέτρῳ καθέξειν, ἐπὶ

δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλιστα, μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πλούσιον, ἑταίρισάμενος ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρότερος ἄψαιτο τῆς Καίσαρος δυναστείας. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφῆδοντο, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πλούτου τῇ ζητήσῃ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησομένου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσομένου: τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὐρήσειν παρὰ Καίσαρι.

[22] πολλοὶ τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπῆγον περὶ χωρίων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε ἕκαστοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφῆς εἶναι τῶν δημευθέντων ἢ φυγόντων ἢ ἀναιρεθέντων. ἦγόν τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἡττάτο, τὰ τε ὀνήματα τῷ πατρὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιοῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα πάντα. ὕβρεις τε πολλαὶ παρὰ τὰς δίκας ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προύκοπτεν ἐς ἄπειρον, ἔστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον ὅτι οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἶχον μέμψασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥς ἄδικα πασχόντων παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς. φοντὸ τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκλύειν δεῖν μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι πέπρακται.

ὁ δὲ ὠμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρρασσόμενα ἴσως ἐναντίον ἔχειν τι τοῖς συνεψηφισμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ' ἔφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν ἐναντίως γεγράφθαι. μόνη γὰρ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπειγούσης, τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀνατρέπειν τῶν προδιωκημένων,' οὐ τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀπλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις, ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἶναι δὲ δικαιότερον τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένους μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀντιπράττειν ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἰδίων ἢ προγονικῶν κτήσεων κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίσκου τοσόνδε πλοῦτον ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ' ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἀλλ' ἐς θρασύτητα τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένου. σφῶν μέντοι φείσεσθαι τὸ μέρος νευμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνέμοντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιτο, οὐ σφῶν ἕνεκα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦ Καίσαρος: ἔμελλον γὰρ αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάντα χαριεῖσθαι.

[23] θέας δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρούτου στρατηγούντος ἐπιδώσειν Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ἅλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευὴ τε ἦν ἐς αὐτὴν δαψιλῆς καὶ ἐλπίς ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικλασθέντα καλέσειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἀντιθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς πράσεως ἐγίγνετο, αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς φυλάρχοις ἀνεδίδου νέμειν τοῖς φθάνουσι λαβεῖν: καὶ ἐς τὰ πωλητήρια περιῶν ἀποκηρύσσειν ἔλεγεν ὅσου δύναιντο πάντα τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ὀλιγίστου, διὰ τε δίκας ἀμφίβολα ἢ ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδὴν. ἅπερ αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὐνοίαν ἤγειρεν καὶ ἐς ἔλεον, ὥς ἀναξίῳ τοιάδε πάσχειν. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν ὅση τε παρὰ Ὀκταοῦιου τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ἐτέρωθεν

ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριον καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας, προύθηκεν ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν πιπράσκεσθαι, ὡς τῆς Καίσαρος περιουσίας οὐδ' ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκούσης διὰ τὰς ἐπηρείας, ὁ δῆμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λογιζόμενος εἶναι ἐκπαθῶς αὐτὸν ἡλέει καὶ ἐπήνουν ὧδε πάσχοντα καὶ ὧδε φιλοτιμούμενον δῆλοι τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ὕβριν ὑπεροψόμενοι.

[24] Διέδειξαν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Βρούτου θέας, πολυτελεστάτας δὴ γενομένας: ἐμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγωγεῖτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι.

Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἐπεὶ σφῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, ἔγνωσαν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ὡς πρὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν ἐψηφισμένας, χωρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶνδε φανερῶν γενομένων ἠπείγετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς χρηματιούμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἡγούμενος ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ δεήσειν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατιάν, ἀρετῇ τε οὖσαν ἀρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην, — ἕξ γὰρ ἦν τέλη 'καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἢ γυμνητῶν συνεζεύγνυτο, ἵππος τε πολλή καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐντελής' δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλα, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἐπιτετραμμένῳ, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθυαίους ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι — πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπενόει μετενεγκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἀγχοῦ, ὡς τὸν Ἴόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶναι.

[25] ἄφνω δὴ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τὸν θάνατον τὸν Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν βουλὴν ἡττεῖ τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέταις ἐπιθήσων δίκην: ἕς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθυαίων Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθυαίων ἡρεμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τὴν φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκευομένους ἔπεμψεν: ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων ἐψηφίσατο μὴ ἐξεῖναί πω κατὰ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν περὶ δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐπιψηφίζεῖν μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶνδὲ τινος ὑπεριδόντα νηποινεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀνααιρεῖσθαι. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐλὼν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττουσι συνθέμενος ἐν τέλος δώσειν, ἡρέθη τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεως εἶναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ἃ ἐβούλετο, Γάιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπεῖξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ διεπέμπετο: οἱ δὲ ἐπισκέπται τῆς φήμης ἐπανελθόντες Γέτας ἔλεγον οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, προσέθεσαν δέ, εἴτε ἀληθὲς εἴτε ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες, ὅτι δέος ἦν, μὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ποι μετελθούσης οἱ Γέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδράμοιεν.

[26] ὧδε μὲν εἶχε τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβόνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὔτε Περγάμῳ οὔτε Σμύρνῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προυτίθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος, ὁ Τρεβόνιος αὐτὸν ἔφη

δέξεσθαι Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπionτι τοὺς ἐφεσομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεμπε, οἱ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπionτα τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὀρῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑπονοοῦντες, ὀλίγους σφῶν ὑπολιπόντες ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπανήλθον. καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐνεδρεύσας τε καὶ περιλαβὼν ἔκτεινε καὶ ἦλθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς Σμύρναν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφύλακτον εὐρὼν εἴλε διὰ κλιμάκων.

Τρεβόνιος δὲ τοῖς συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐναζόμενον ἠγεῖσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἐκέλευεν: ἔγχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκόν. καὶ τις τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ἐπισκώπτων ἡμείψατο: 'ἴθι σύ, δεῦρο τὴν κεφαλὴν καταλιπών: ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄγειν προστέτακται.' καὶ τότε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Δολοβέλλας μὲν αὐτὴν προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα ὁ Τρεβόνιος ἐχρημάτιζε, προτεθῆναι: ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ἄλλος ὅμιλος αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τοῦ φόνου Καίσαρος ὁ Τρεβόνιος μετεσχέκει καὶ κτεινομένου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ περὶ θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου περιεσπάκει, εἰς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐτοῦ ποικίλως ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἷα σφαῖραν ἐν λιθοστρώτῳ πόλει διαβάλλοντες ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ γέλῳτι συνέχεαν τε καὶ συνέτριψαν. καὶ πρῶτος ὁδε τῶν φονέων δίκην τήνδε ἐδεδώκει.

[27] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἠξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴν, ἣς ἠγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὀρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὥς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἠγουμένη ἐδυσχέραίνε τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἦσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρηματα ἀγεῖρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο: οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαῖῳ τὸν Ἴόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

[28] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσῃν, ὥς προσετέτακτο: θεαὶ δ' ἦσαν, αἷς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θεάς τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσειον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θεάς ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἦγεν ὥς ὑπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανόσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, 'ἀνάφερε,' εἶπεν, 'ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾗ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω.' καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσε. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θεαῖς ἔτι παραλογώτερον, αἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεῶν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίνετο, ὥς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικούντα

μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

αὐτὸς τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευεν οὗ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου: ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐνηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα: ‘Καίσαρι μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ μῆτε ὀργίζεσθαι μῆτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτῃ σοῦ μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγεννημένῳ: ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν: ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἃν διαμένη, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἂν ἐάσης δοθῆναι.’

[29] ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὥρμητο: καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουσαν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι’ ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ’ ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγινώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἦδη δὲ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὡμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμυνεν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ πάντῃ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἔνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένου τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικούδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας: ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρῆζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἔνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κἀκεῖνος ἀπέχεται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

[30] ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὁ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προυγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάντῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλεύόμενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρει, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἦσαν δ’ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἠξίουσαν: οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ δ’ ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερώς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθοῦσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἢ μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχίτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγῆσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοινισάμενοι τὴν φυλétιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐλθλυθυῖαν. καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασεν ὁμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα

ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδεῖτο δὲ μάλιστα μέν, ἵνα μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀνδροφόνος ὦν τοῦ πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου συνηλαγγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατασιωπῶντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἤδη τὸν Ἴονιον ἐπέρα.

[31] τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέπρασσεν Φλαμίνῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δῆμαρχον ἀποφῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐδεδόκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρός ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντωνίος τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκεκλιμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδὼν, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης, προύγραφεν ὡς ὑπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρῆσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὕβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικήσκειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἕς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρός ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τινας ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

[32] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον·

ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεταὶ γιγνόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας αὐτοῦ γινώσκομεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὀρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἶχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖω. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἕς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἢ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῇται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὦν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μέν, ὅπερ ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρομένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμῳ γενόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα

τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας.

[33] τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἡμείψατο:

ὄση μὲν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδὴ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἵστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες: ὄση δ' αὖ καὶ ἐκείνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμῇσι χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο καὶ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὥς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοία τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεῖα τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὥς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλ' ἓνα ἀνελεῖν ὥς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειεν ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις, ὥς οἴεται Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονία; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὥς ἐγένετο.

[34] Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἐμὲ φιλία τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοία τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς: οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἐώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ἥ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελούσιν ὥς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπολέσθαι πᾶσιν ὥς τυράννου φίλοις. ὧδε δὴ με ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορῆσαι, σκοποῦντες εὐρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν: ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξας ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καῖσαρ εἶναι δόξη τύραννος. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένων, ὅτε μὴ Καῖσαρ εἴη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἴξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν' ὅσων ἔχρηζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλικά; μήτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπληεῖσθαι τὴν ἐμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μήτε τὴν περιουσίαν δεδημεῦσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν οὗτος γαυριᾷ, διαλελῶσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τό τε σῶμα τεθᾶφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ τὰς πάλοι δεδομένας ἀθανάτου διαμένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι σωτηρία καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

[35] ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν βουλὴν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκᾷ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἢ βουλὴ χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τ' ὧνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεῖ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας: οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ

γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρηζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὥς ἐν ἀμερίμῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλουν, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν ὅν γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀσήμῳ δημοκοπία, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνὺς ἡμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνηρημένον, κατακαλῶν δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἠρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπούμενης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἱ μεστὰι μεγάλων στρατῶν ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δὲ με δέος ἔτι μείζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσοῦσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὑποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλευσαὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

[36] ὧδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπείγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα μετενεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὐθις ἀλουσα ἢ βουλὴ πρὸς με μεταθοίτο. καὶ οὐδ' ὡς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς αἰσχρὸν ἦ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοί περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μὲντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὡς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλα, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιὰν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλα ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῖσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οἷων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνην τε καὶ Κρήτην: ὢν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφηρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἐτέρων: οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

[37] γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρουν. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκευομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσει μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην: ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσάν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὡς οἶται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλεοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐργασασμένῳ μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅδε χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ: ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ

θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμενην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνόμενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἤδη καθορώσης καὶ ἴστε οἷα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἤδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὥς ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

[38] οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἐς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῇ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ὧν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἤδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἃ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατρώοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμυνοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μὲν, ὧς συστρατιῶται, ἔτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ συνωρῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος.

[39] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἔχθρας ἀκριβοὺς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἡξίουσαν δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλλασσον αὐθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλήν μεταφέρειν ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὃ τε λόγος ἐκδραμῶν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ἥδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπιφοβὸν ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν· ἀποθανόντος γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολμήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὧδε μὲν εἰκάζον οἱ συνετώτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὁρῶντες, οἷα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι.

ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξέτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὖσαν· ἐπὶ τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δραμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἀρὰς ἠρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προυκαλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, 'ἐν τοῖς φίλοις,' ἔφη, 'δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι,' καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὐθις ὥμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἡγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιὼν τε τὸν δῆμον

ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὥκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καὶ τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γινόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

[40] ὥς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀפקισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἂν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξῆι διὰ τάδε. δεῖσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦι, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὥκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνην Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἐκατέρωθεν: ἐπιδούς δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἦγεν ἐς μυρίου ἀνδρας, οὔτε ὠπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πῶ κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἑτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὥς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρι ἡσμένιζον: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

[41] ὧδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἐχθρας Ἀντωνίου σαφοὺς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερῷ. ὥς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκοῦρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεὼν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεμίμησκε καὶ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἴη συνειλεγμένους: ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔτοιμος.

[42] ὧδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφίχθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος ὑπάτου: καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ἤτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὥς ὀπλιούμενοι: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὢν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθεῖς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.

πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπῆνει τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐδώρεϊτο ἐτέραις δωρεαῖς καὶ δασιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι ἑαυτοῖς γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξῆσαν, ἀνεμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ᾧ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἠλπίζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε ὄχλος ἀνώματος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανάησαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τὴν τε Ῥάβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεύων ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἔπεμπεν.

[43] Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφίκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρῶτον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχευε, ἀλλ' ὠνειδίξεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιαῦσδε χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς, ὥδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκάστῳ δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς μικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπών· ἡμαρτήσατε ἄρχεσθαι. αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις ἄναγρᾶπτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος· διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἕκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὥδε καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.

[44] ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπετόμηναι, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δασιλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε μεγάλους ἐξήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτει. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἐχαλέπηνεν ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλεπῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος, αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὦμόν οὔτε μικρολόγον Ἀντώνιον. ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω, κεκορεσμένος, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι· τὰς δὲ ἑκατόν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεάν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τάδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσῆσθαι τοῦ

στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἰθ' ἑτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνου.

[45] αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρμήσων. ἐσῆι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἰλὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους: συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδото, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιῶν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐφ' ἑτερα αὐτοῦς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἄλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξῆι, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιοῦσι: καὶ γὰρ ἦδη σαφὴς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

[46] δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἢ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον: οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὀρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας ἵκανον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν συνώμνιον ἐκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείπειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρὶς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα ἥδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφικτό, ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἑν, οἱ καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεοσυλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδος τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

[47] Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἑν δὲ νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐντελῇ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὀπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἄλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφήδετο μὲν αὖθις Καίσαρι, ὡς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ προὔπεμπον Ἀντώνιον: ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦς

τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου: στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνέτιθεντο.

[48] τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεάς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἡξίουσαν αὐτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπήνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνέτιθετο: καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπέιχε, ὥς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης ταῦτα καθ' αὐτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦν αἰσθωνταὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄκνον.

διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογείτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορία, 'μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν: ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὥς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ' ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοὶ δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβοιμι.' τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἔθεᾶτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἤσθεις οὖν τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἐτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστω πεντακοσίᾳ δραχμὰς ἐπέδιδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεῖα γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

[49] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὥς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἱ πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλὴν Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὀρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὀρίζειν αὐτῷ, μὴ θάσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δεῖσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἔς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλοῦσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἐχώρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὥς ἀπίοντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζύγια τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθηκε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἢ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατευτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, αἱ καὶ πρότερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρευε τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

[50] καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νομηνίαν ὑπατοὶ γενόμενοι Ἴρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνῆγον ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἤξιουν ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὄπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρακῆς αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα: ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει φανερώς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὄπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεκρημένου καὶ τὰλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχήν. Λεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκείαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἤξιουν, ὥς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἅμα δ' ἔω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο: ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων ἐπιβαρύντων ἐπήφιστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατότερος.

[51] οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνειδίζον τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπείσειε τὸν δῆμον ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδῶκε: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνησίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἠρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμῶς προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιαῦδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον, ὥς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο ὁμῶς Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἴρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσῃ Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θάσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὥς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα: Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οἷ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεον ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ριπτούμενοί τε πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμογῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.

ἃ μὲν ἔδει γινῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθρὲς ἔγνωμεν: οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν, τούτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ τὸν μόνον ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρηρὴ συνετώτερον ἢ φιλία τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἀμαθία. ὣν τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτεροι πάντες ἐνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλουίῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῶ: ἀμαθῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεῦειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς, οἱ τοσοῖδε τὴν ἀξιώσιν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διὰ τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ' ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλεόν δικαιοτέρον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρήζει τὰς αἰτίας μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχείος, ὥς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καῖσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θρακίας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρα καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἐπράξε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὥν ἐπενόει Καῖσαρ: Καῖσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὥς εὐκαιρον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὀρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν.

[53] τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσομένους, ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνή, διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης: ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὥς εὖ πράξασι δωρεὰς χθρὲς ἐψηφίσασθε: οἱ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, ὃ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἐξίναί κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου πεσόντος ἢ τε χώρα τοσήδε οὔσα καὶ ὁμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερος.

[54] ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἢ τε ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων:

ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὃ βουλὴ, δικαιοῖ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς

κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι: καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἶπειν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρῆλθον ἐγὼ δεῖξω αὐτὰ ψευδῆ βραχυτάταις ἀποκρισεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτήν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὠρισμένη δίκη ζημιούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τότε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμιεῖα, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

[55] καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων: τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφίσάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὄπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται: οὓς ἔδει μεταπεῖθαι, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὃ τι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνους οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τότε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὧν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ ἐπιμνησίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

[56] ἀλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὢν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδεὶς πῶ τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχεεν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι: οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνῆρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐθύνει τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενῆς οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὁμῶς ἐπῆνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρὲς ἐμισθοδότησε: καὶ μή ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ ἔχθρα: κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, αἰεὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὤκνησεν οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε

πύθωμαι καθ' ἕκαστον ὧδε.

[57] τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν, ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδὲνα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζητήσιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρῶαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδὲνα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἢ νηποινεῖ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνήσκειν; ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μηνσίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις; οὐ τίνα καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;

ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία: οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ στρατὸν εἶχεν ἑτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἑτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἢ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὁρᾷτε: [58] ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισμυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθύς, ὡς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἰρούμενον, καταλιπόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξίόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμνυμεν οὐχ ὀρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐγίνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναικα καὶ μεираκίον υἱόν; οἱ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

[59] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δεῖγμα τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς: παραίνεις δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι μήτε ἐς τὸν δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἐχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νουθεσίας ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύνάμιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησάμενους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαι τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν,

οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; ἐὰν Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐῷμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικήν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφίζοιμεθα ἄν, ὃ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

[60] καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις: τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι' οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἰκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριοιανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπονδὰς ἀρίστας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιον ἠναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φεῖδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικήν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὧν τοὺς μὲν εὖ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμεῖσθαι χρή ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι.

[61] ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὠνείδιζεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἴτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν: οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγεῖς: διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὧδε: Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθύς ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικήν μεθίεναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ρουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρα ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολάς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσσηδε ὑποῦσης, ἀλλ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

[62] οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδοῦμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καίσαρ μὲν εἴλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ

Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. 'τῶν τε ἐψηφισμένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνανσιν οὐ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἣ γὰρ συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους: Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἦδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία: κὰν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχος εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν.'

[63] τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὧδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι: 'ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω μόνον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρεύσῃ ποτὲ τοῦ μύσους, ἐμπιπλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα.' τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπε τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ: Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκον Βροῦτον ἄρχειν, μέχρι κατασταίῃ τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἰδίον τε εἶχεν ἤδη στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσειλήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὔρεν: οἷς ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλα: τοὺς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθλους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω, πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐς ὃ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος.

[64] ὧδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν: Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ᾧ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου: τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἓνα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος καθαιρούντων. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μεράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἰδίον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρουμένων: ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον: τά τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν: καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν βουλήν ἀποχρησθῆαι οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

[65] ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη:

καὶ τάδε μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε: καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως.

ὁ μὲν οὕτωςι τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξενάγει, Ἴρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἐμερίζετο καί, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτει τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχῶρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων: παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, Ἴρτιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχίαι δ' ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἱππέας ἔχοντος Ἀντωνίου: τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

[66] καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἦγεν ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας: καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἐτοιμῶς ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλος ὢν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνῶριμος δύο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσεν τέλη καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἡπείγετο. τότε μὲν δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἅπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἰρτίου ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρῆλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφῆδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλῆιον αὐτῷ προσέπεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐλωδέστερον ὄν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὐσης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

[67] Καρσουλίου δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν ἐς τὴν χειροποιήτον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρευουσιν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐκατέρωθεν ὄν περισκεπτομένων, ὃ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπὸ πτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπίς ἤδη πού καὶ κράνος ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἄρειοι περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ

οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιτο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὥς μὴ συνταράξαιαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἐκάτερον ἔλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτου τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἐλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν διόδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὥς εἴη τῆς ἐκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἡλπίζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἐνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνους τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

[68] οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν διωργισμένοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἡλάλαξαν ὥς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὥς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὥς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

[69] πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσουλήῳ μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχυρῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαρύντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἐκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῷ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βωνωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἴτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὥς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφρευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονόησας ἐν χρεία γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἴταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἄρειοι οὐκ ἐσηλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὄργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὥς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

[70] Ἰρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἔτο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἤδη τε ἦν ὁψία δέιλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπᾶνῃσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται

συντεταγμένος ὁλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεῖ. οἱ δὲ συνετάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο: οἷα δὲ ἀκμήτων ἡσῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἡδὴ μελαινομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὄπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνουν. ἱππées δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὧδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἰρτίον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ἠὺλίσσατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακώτως: ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἢ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἐκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἢ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

[71] τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεξεύγνυνον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλη μάχη μὴδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδόῃ Δέκμος αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἡδὴ λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἰρτίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπέιγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξήγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κακείνων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἃ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη: οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἰρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκάτεροι.

[72] καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμπεσῶν πληγῇ συνεβουλεύετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξίοντα: τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὁμοίον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἰρτίον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα: ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἡδὴ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καίσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, 'ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων,' ἔφη, 'γίγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερόψεται με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξανασταῖμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως οἱ συμμαχήσουσι.' ταῦτα

ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνὴρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὤδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων.

[73] Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο: τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τὰς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητῷ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῃ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἡξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις: πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαπεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἐτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσιν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου “οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρεμι περισώσω, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμήσω, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναί ποτε θέμις: Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὅσιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει: σφῆξέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἅστει δοκεῖ”, πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευε τε Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι χωρεῖν: αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ ἥδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν ἐκ προστάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν ἐς Βονωνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ἀπάντων. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

[74] καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ βουλῇ μόνον: θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐνηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐνηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος ἥδη γὰρ ἀπεγινώσκετο, στρατηγὸν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἶστρος αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίον τε αὐθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσι τὰς ἐκάστῳ προϋπεσχημένας παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ὡς ἥδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα ὅλως: οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς Ἀντωνίου καθηρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

[75] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθνήσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστήσατο καὶ εἶπεν:

ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἐμαντῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δείσαντες δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμώτατον κάκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφορομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μεράκιον. σοβαρώτερου δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διαταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν

ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξιν τὴν Πομπήιου: τότε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

[76] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἰρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστεῖλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία: ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοοῦμεν, ὥς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τότε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοὶ πρότερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεῶτος κάμει τοῦ χρεῶν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γνώσκῃς χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὥς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τὰ τε σαντῷ συμφέροντα γνώσκῃς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναι σοὶ, καὶ παραδίδωμι: τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τοὺςδε σοὶ παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοὶ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήψεται Τορκουᾶτος.

ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τοὺςδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασεν ἡ βουλὴ, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἰρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

[77] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περὶ τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἥδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καϊκίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξστος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε: καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθύς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμῃ καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μὲν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπήιου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ιδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξστον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Στάιον Μοῦρκον οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιτεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὁ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

[78] ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τὰ τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτὸν ἔξ, φιλίᾳ τε παραδόντων καὶ ὥς ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων: ἐνήφιστο γάρ, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανήγεν ἐξ

αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος οὐδὲν προπετυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δωδέκα τελῶν ἀθρόως ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφήδετο.

[79] Μακεδονίας δὲ περὶ Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὀπλιτῶν: καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἡσώμενος ἐνήδρευσε. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε: τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς περιελθὼν αὐθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσπάσατο. οἱ δέ, ὡς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἧς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἠγάσαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετεβάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν πολλακίς διαφθεῖρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνηρέθη. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν ἐξ ἐγίνετο τέλη: καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

[80] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἦν: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν ὕβρει θέμενος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκμον ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἤτει. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμαινεν ἀποθνήσκων. τοὺς τε οὖν ἄλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφιλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπε, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα: Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὄντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβάλων ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεινᾶν οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὧν Οὐεντιδίου συνέεις ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι: καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἐξηνηγοχέαι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

[81] Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἐταιρείας καθ' ἓνα τῶν Καίσαρος ἕκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κἀκείνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἡξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλές συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμῆσθαι τε

τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὀπλίτας· οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδ' ὅτε παύσαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ' ἓνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ· Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγγυντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνηγετήσιν ναυτικῶν περ ἤδη γεγονότων.

[82] οἱ τε Πομπητιανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν ἀτρίον ἐλευθερίαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἓνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονία δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὐθυαν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων· Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πάνυ σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διωκῇ, καὶ τότε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλὴ τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει διέλυνεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προῦγραφον, ὃ τι τις λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν· ἀπειλαὶ τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπητιανοὶ μετήσσαν ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετῆι δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὥς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσοντα πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνῃ ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων εὐπρεπῇ, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρόφην ἔνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτήσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθῆσθαι σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὕβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὅπλοις· ὥς δ' ἂν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελῆσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφορα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατὴ παιδαγωγόν.

ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἢ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιτο ὑπατεύων· [82] ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν ἤλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα περιέβαλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὥς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἓνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν δεδιότος πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύουσας, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἐκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμύγνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λανθάνοντες, εἴτα φανερώς οἷα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερεῶρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν· τό τε

καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγμένον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

[84] ὢν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρουε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιάν ἐς πολλὰ διελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δὴ τινὰς χρείας, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελόν, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν ἐς φρουράν ταμειῶν πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὀπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνυν Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἔτετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον ἐς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄζωστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσῃν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἅπασιν τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως αὐθις ἐπῆρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃν τε ἐξανέστησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἱππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσγεγένητο τὰ Οὐεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίγνετο ἐπὶ ἔχων ὀπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὁμίλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνομάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διώκει.

[85] Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυμαστὴ καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὐθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος, τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἱ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέιχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἢ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα, καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξίοντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιτο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορνικικῷ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἢ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ὧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

[86] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὕβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακίς χιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκέ τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἐτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσῃ μόνῃ, χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα

ἀπαντήσιν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκήψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνουν, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἐτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθὼν, τὰ τε ὑβρίσματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἓνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἕξ τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἐτέρους ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ἵν' ἡ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιν.

[87] “Ἴστε δέ,” ἔφη, ‘καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἡττήθη οἷά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ᾧσιν πεποικέναι κατὰ τῶν τινος δωρεᾶς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφόντων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὧν ἐλάβετε παρ’ ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; κἀγὼ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιγίγνηται μοι· καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντά, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοῖωνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνευόντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δὴ με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἔδεχόμην· ἐν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι’ ὑμῶν ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεῖν. τὰ τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικία τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ· ἐγὼ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους.’

[88] ὧν λεγομένων ἢ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κοροῦνός τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὧν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὕστερον, ὃ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἐκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἢ πατρίς. τὰ τε ἔναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Δολοβέλλαν προῦφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θάσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλεονὶ παρρησία λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὄντας ὧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσαν ὡς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονία, Καῖσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφίμουν. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὅκτῳ τέλει πεζῶν καὶ ἵππων ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέραςεν, ἐς δύο πάντας διήρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ ἐς τὰ

γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

[89] ἔς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἄπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναιά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ γάρ πω σαφοὺς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέφοντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοινο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον ἐπιγράψαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῇ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίῳ· οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συναλλαγήσεσθαι, ἀμπαν ἤκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

[90] ἄθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἱ τάδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν. ὦν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπληῆχθαι, μηδὲ ἐτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτῇ, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὀπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιούσι προτείνειν· προσδοκᾷ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῇ πατρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαι τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι· καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τὰ τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

[91] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος· ἡ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππᾶς χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτερον, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἶδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδιηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσεῖᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἡ μεταπίσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν

ἀρχήν, ἣ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι: τοὺς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε φανερώς οὔτε λάθρα ζητοῦντες εὔρισκον. ἐθορυβοῦντο οὖν αὐθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι: καὶ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὕτω σφίσις ἐπικλωμένων, ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὰς ὧδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

[92] Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβων ἐντυγχανόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται: καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς. ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμμένῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει, σὺν φόβῳ μὴ τι πάθοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες: ἔς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένον ἰπτεᾶς ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπτότων πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατέλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὐθις ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ προσαγορευόντων: ἔθι δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπεδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθα περ ἦν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυλακὴν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ὑπῆντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προσηγόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θεραπείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἡσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο: καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ ἦρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνοῦτος μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ πίστεων ἔτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσηγήσιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπῆρεν, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

[93] νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καί περ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ: νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξιν αὐτοῖς οὓσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχὺς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποιοῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἡ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιουμένου. ψευδοὺς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορεῖῳ διέφυγεν.

[94] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἡμύνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικίην ἐκδραμόντα, καί περ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεῖς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκῳ ἢ ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὅποσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγομένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίαις καὶ πεντακοσίαις δραχμαῖς τῷ στρατῷ,

καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξήλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἰρετούς. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ περ ἐβούλετο Κοῖντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δεδώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ὡς ὕπατος ἐσῆει, καὶ ἔθνε, δώδεκά οἱ γυνῶν φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν: κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλάς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων: καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαῖῳ δ' ἦν τὰ τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένη, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδέηθη.

[95] νόμῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνον δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγνωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καὶ τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνεται. πᾶσι δ' ὀρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαντες ἐάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Καίσαρι: καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεῶς ἐπιβάς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

[96] τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρίζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξῆει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεξεύγνυε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων: Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μὴδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπῆνουν δ' ὁμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμου ὑπισχεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπῆνουν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίζειν Καίσαρι.

[97] τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγὰς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀτώνιον,

ὥστε ἤδη βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βροῦτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὤδευε ταύτη, ἄλλην μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τὸν τε Ῥήνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες ἐς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμίλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἱππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνον ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷά τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

[98] ἀλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρετο μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἶη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκὼς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασιν ἄνδρι τοσῶδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱπάρχη τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεῦτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδίδου μετ' ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς καὶ ὅδε Καῖσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη, εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

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δύο μὲν δὴ Γαῖου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβόνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ: ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἤρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολὺς, ἱππικός τε καὶ ναυτικός καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνοντο αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὐρέσεις καὶ παθήματα ἀάμπαν ἐπαχθῇ, οἷα οὐτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὐτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὖροι: Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυσψάντων ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριον τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προεῖρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

[2] Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἐχθρας συνήεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησίδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖαν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἐκάτερος ὀπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε: καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρεύνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἔωθεν ἐς ἐσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν: ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις: ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλῶν ἔτι γίνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικὴν: ταύτης δὲ Λεπίδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ: Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

[3] ὧδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον κρατοῦντας ἔτι αὐτῶν, Κασσιῷ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα: Λεπίδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἐτέρων: τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λεπίδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἐπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὥς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν

στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσίαι καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῶ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἰπώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολέμοις πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὕπατος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

[4] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδὲς, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν πόλει ζῶον, βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ τῶν ζοάνων τὰ μὲν ἴδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἴδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὀρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδὴ σημεῖα πολλὰ, καὶ λιθῶδεις ἐγίνοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλή θύτας καὶ μάντις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπών, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

[5] οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενομένοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἑτέρους, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἔχθρας ἢ πλούτου διαφέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδομένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πόλεμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένης ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ἤδη δὲ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

[6] τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυνάδεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἧ, ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιτέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν ἐστιάσεσιν τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι· ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα παῖσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ

διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὥς ἐν ἀλικομένη πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίνεσθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδὲνα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαι τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἰρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν: καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὑπατος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπὶ ἡλίπριζε περιμεινάντας ἐς ἔω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίᾳς ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, [7] ἐσήεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἕκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης ὄπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἦγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καὶνὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις, ἣν ἂν τις Ἑλλήνων ἀρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα, οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης: ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφὰι κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προυτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. καὶ τις προσετίθετο τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν προανηρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνηρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι: καὶ ἦν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντας τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.

[8] καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφὴ:

Μάρκος Λέπιδος, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάוניος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ, οὕτως λέγουσιν: εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί, εἶτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὗτ' ἂν Γάιον Καῖσαρα ἀνηρῆκεσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέῳ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἀθρόως, οὗτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολέμιοις ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλευμέθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὀρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἰρούμεθα. μὴ δὴ τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμετρον ἡγείσθω, ἐς τε Γάιον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθαμεν ὀρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὅρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα, καὶ

Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὐρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὄψεσι θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισωθέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχᾶς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἤρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων αἰεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τὰς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

[9] ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα δίκην διδόντας ὄψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἡνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὶν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἐν ἔστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαῖου. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακῆσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπέξει τοσσηδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

[10] κἀκεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας ἡμῖν συναπώλλουν, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι: ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὐδενὶ χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχῇ προσεῖπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμυνούμεθα. καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἦσσαν ἡμῶν: ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὕβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμῷ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἰρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν: καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἢ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὠρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωνται.

[11] ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδῶς φανῇ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαῖς δραγμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράφεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾖ.

ὥδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφή τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

[12] πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεῦτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεῦτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οἶδε μὲν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοῖντιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἶδε τῶν ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, μηδὲνα ῥύσεσθαι τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἱ τε πύλαι κατείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξοδοὶ τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὑποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγὰς: τήν τε χώραν ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

[13] εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἕκαστός πη συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαῖ τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμία τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὑπουλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἰκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἔλεηθεῖν.

[14] ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὥς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψουσιν: οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὑπουλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προυτίθει: ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὖνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναί δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἔς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τινων ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις: ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐκδοτοὶ γεγέννητο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος

αὐτοὺς ἀπο τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγῶγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπεικεῖς ἐτεθήπесαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

[15] ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δηλὸς ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεῖς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκείτο ἡ κεφαλὴ· τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ. ἴση δ' ἦν ἐτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφζόντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνησκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς ἀνηρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

[16] καὶ τάδε ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐν ιδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεὶ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἕτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταφία· ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπιφανέστερα. ὧν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα 'οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῇ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγνόντων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις', ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μάλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξειε καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσειε τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαῖον ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὀλίγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἐκάστην ιδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

[17] Ἡρξάτο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνῆρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκῶς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχῶς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφορνήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέξεως τοὺς

οἰκείους εἰστία ὥς οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος· ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἡρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὐθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἄνθρωπος ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ· πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνήλλασεν ἐς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπνέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέφω παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐρεῖν.

[18] Ἀννᾶλιν ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδί μετιόντι ταμειᾶν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιομένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἱ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀννᾶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ᾧ βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὠδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος, καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἤρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἱ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνηρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἡξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες 'ἦτησεν,' εἶπον, 'ἄλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα.' καὶ συνεῖς ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἕτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἦτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρώων, μὴ κάκεινὴν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

[19] Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδῖαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καϊήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἠρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων 'τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμώτατα πάντων Ἀντωνίος τε ἐξήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες' ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπᾶντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἐκ τοῦ θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που Κικέρων ὀραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἐλέφω πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ

λοχαγῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν πολλὸν πλείους τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ὀρμῶντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν: ‘ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐράν λοχαγοί.’

τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὥς ἐλευσομένων πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν, [20] ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθώκως, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέτεμνε, ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιπλήσων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας: ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἥ τοὺς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλίππικους ἐπέγραφεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες: καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ ἥσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει: καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκρόόμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπὶ τε λόγοις αἰοίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὅτε ἤρχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγωνὺς χρήσιμος, ἀνήρητο καὶ ἀνηρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο: ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βρούτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδί καταληφθεὶς ἔδειτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν: τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτησεῖν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ.

[21] Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον: καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέμνηντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιτο, προὔπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον εἶπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἐξαγγείλαντος δέ τινος, εἶτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ’ ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειληφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ: οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὥς νέον περισφύζειν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προὔπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα θάψει: πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθαι λιμῷ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν.

αἶδε μὲν δὴ παῖδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων εἰκόνες: [22] ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἱππῶ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγὼν, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον, ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλιέων περισχόντων ὥς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολλὸν μὲν ἐφιλονίκηει καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἀλιέων περιεγίνετο καὶ ‘οὐκ ἐμέ,’ ἔφη, ‘περισφύζετε, ἀλλ’

ἑαυτοὺς ἔμοι προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε.’ οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖραντες περιέσφζον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἑτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτηε μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὐρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἄθλον ἀπέκοψε: τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτόμενον ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἐξήγαγον καί, ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονίσψαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἀγνοία τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, ‘ἐμέ,’ ἔφη, ‘κτεínaτε πρὸ τούτου.’ καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραπτον, ‘εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς,’ ἔφη: ‘σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γέγραπται,’ καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν ἅμφω.

[23] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα: Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς εἶπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένη βοῶσα: ‘ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ’ ὅμοια τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια.’ καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγγελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ’ ἑαυτῆς, κάκεινων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων, ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῶ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισφύζουσα ἀπετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν: ὅσαι δὲ ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἡ Σεπτίμιω μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δὲ τινος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλου διεφθείρετο: ἐπείγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πῖναξι προσετέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο: καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἀνήρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

[24] Σάλασπος δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἶκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ’ ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ’ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὑποπτον, μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἤξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆι, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων: ὁ δὲ Σάλασπος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπρόντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαρὰδόκει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπληλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἐς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προὔδωκε ζηλοτυπία τῆς μεθ’ ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράφθω: [25] Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος,

διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ὢν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἓνα ἀνήρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἰς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλῖνος δὲ χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμένοι πάνυ ἐδυσχέραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλῖνος ἀνήρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὥς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἶτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὥς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.

[26] Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἦρπασε παρὰ τοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιών δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν 'ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὃ δέσποτα,' εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότηι: 'παραμύθιον ἔχεις.' Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέρους χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι. Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβῶν τε καὶ κτείνας ἡδόξησεν ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἰεὶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἄψαι πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἠνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἐκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.

[27] Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Καισένιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἦρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἶη: καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας 'σὺ κάκεϊνος' εἶπε καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

βουλευτηρίου προῶν καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα προσγεγράφθαι, οὕτω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ἰκέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερώς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομιζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταζε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σῆνηθες ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοοούντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑποκρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ ὁμοτέχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

[28] Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσῃ ληστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περιθεόντων, ἢ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηγε τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστής καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἠνείχετο. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὥς ἀπρεπέστερον, 'ἀπαγορεύω,' φησὶν, 'ὑμῖν, ὧ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν με γεγενημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι: εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν, ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν.' ἀπιστούντων δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπονοοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ Λάργον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον διώκοντες: οἰκτεῖραντες δ', ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἀλοίη, φεύγειν μετῆκαν ἀνὰ τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὕφ' ἐτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καὶ 'ὑμεῖς,' ἔφη, 'μέ κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε.'

ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων φιланθρωπίας, [29] Ροῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν περικαλλῇ, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀντωνίος οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι. ἑπαυλιν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλῇ καὶ σύσκιον, ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγῶν ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδου τὸν τοῦ δεσπότης χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι: καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθεὶς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηγε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότης, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν

οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εἶποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὃ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὥς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

[30] περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιαύδε ἐγένετο, ἤψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συνανηρέθη, τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι: Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ἦει μὲν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἄφνω δὲ ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει: οὐ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτόν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἀξιῶσας ἔτι ἐς πείραν ἔλθειν ἐτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος ἔφυγεν: ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἄνδρὸς ληστεύειν τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθισμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἁμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἀνηρέθη.

[31] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἰβηρσιν ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον: ‘ἀγαθὴ τύχη προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν: ὅς δ’ ἂν μὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἔσται.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερά ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτόν ἀπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς: τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὀρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνοῦντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν, ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

[32] καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἱ μάλιστα πλοῦτῳ διέφερον: καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἐκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυσμαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου: Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠσάμεναι, δισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὁρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης:

ὁ μὲν ἥρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναῖξι τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν: ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἥρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ’ αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡδίκησθε: εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷόν ὑπὸ τῶν

ἀνδρῶν, ἡδικῆσθαι φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὥς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθείλομεν οἰκίαν ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι;

[33] τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλοῦντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἐκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβιώτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγοροῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοῖνυν ἡ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμὲν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίνας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος: ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

[34] τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχάζόντων θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν: ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτάς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἐξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἱ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἄστων ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένων καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνῆ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

[35] ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαῖους ἐπεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χεῖρονα ἐποίουν. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἡτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κληρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι: οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕτερα ἔδρων, κτινύνοντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστροφὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἔδισεν ἄψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἱ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνους, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

[36] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα

τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν: ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίνετο ἕς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἕς ἀξίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοὶ τε ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἕς μηδὲν ἀποκάνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον: ὁ δὲ πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύμως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε ἔδειξε, κήρυκας τε περιπέμπων, οἱ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισφύζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἰρουῶσι: λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριῆρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημειὰ τε ἀνίσχουσαι τοῖς ἄλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισφύζουσαι. αὐτὸς τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθῆτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο: τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἐχρήτο. σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων ὕστερον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τοῦδε ἀγαθὴν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ οὐχ ἥσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν: ἕτεροι δὲ ἐτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγέροντο. φιλανδρίαι τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὤφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὐνοιαὶ καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότης. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

[37] Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδειάς ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βροῦτον: ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἢ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἐξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη: 'ἐμαυτὴν, ᾧ αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύω σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξειν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνῃς: τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκλήρυκται.' ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμπνόμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα 'οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισφύζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν. ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο, παρεσκεύασεν ὁμοῦ Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

[38] Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βροῦτον ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δέισαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως: 'ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας.' ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θράκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἰρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας

ἐπιμεψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὐθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος, καὶ περὶ Ἄκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλα καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

[39] Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθὼν, οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὀπλίταις, τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόνων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναικα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὥς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας: οἱ γὰρ ὀπλίται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκίλιῳ καὶ προῦπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεῦναι τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν ἑαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σφῶιτο καὶ στρατηγίῃ. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσιν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἦδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο: μεθ' ὧν ὥδευεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἷα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα, εὔρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἷα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμευνίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικὸς.

[40] Ἀπουλιῷ δὲ ἠπειλῆσεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσειν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίनाς ὁδεύοντι φανερώς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδόσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν. Ῥηγῖνον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν, ἐς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδομίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἀνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἔδωκεν: αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἠγείτο φορεῖν φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὀπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνωμένου, δείσας ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὥς ὁδῷ χρώμενος ἤξιον τὸν ὀπλίτην φεῖδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν 'ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ 'ἅπιθι χαίρων,' εἶπεν, 'αὐτοκράτορ: τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε.' Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σῶφρων μὲν οὔσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.

[41] Γέταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὥς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὅππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγε τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἷόν

που και τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον: δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἱ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν: 'τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεῖς προγραφέντα ἔκρυσέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε.'

[42] Μετέλλω δὲ ἦσθιν υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ: καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἕάλω καὶ ἡγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγῇ καὶ ὁδε περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνοντι τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἤγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως καὶ δύης καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μεταμορφώσεως. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνούς τὸν πατέρα ἠσπάζετο σὺν οἰμωγῇ: ἐπισχὼν δὲ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη: 'οὗτος μὲν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος: καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μὲν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὐρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δὴ σε τὸν πατέρα σφῶζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἢ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακαθεῖν.' οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σφῶζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

[43] Μάρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μάρκος ἐξῆι τῆς οἰκίας ὥς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἰρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δηῶν, ὀλίγα πρῶτον, εἴτα καὶ μεῖζω, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἶπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθὼν, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ Ῥεστίωνι ἐπιστάς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἷς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ὥς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δὲ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγύς ὀπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωροῦντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἶπετο συνεῖς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὥς ἀνδροφόνον ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, 'Ῥεστίωνα,' ἔφη, 'ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα.' οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπείγοντο μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

[44] Ἄππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης

τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτα ἐνέδυσσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης ἀνακλιθεὶς ἐκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος, παρεστῶτος ὡς οἰκέτου. Μενήνιου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὀπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνεργούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὡς Μενήνιος ἐκὼν ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐνίνιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐνίνιου, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔκρυπεν ἐν λάρνακι, ἧς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακὴν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον δεσπότητος φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπότην προγραφέντα ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἀλῶμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦι πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, φορεῖω φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷα τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθείς ἦι. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος, ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεὶς ἐαλῶκει, εἶδε λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθῆτος, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μετὰξυ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραφάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

[45] Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἔφερε φανερώς.

καὶ οἷδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσφύζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διήλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθεῖ πρὸς ἐτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἀπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

[46] Ἀπουλῆιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρουντίος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἐτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυον καὶ τοὺς ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκατέρῳ γενομένης σημειᾶ τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφὶ τινὶ λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' ἐκπεριεύνοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἐκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπήῳ συγκατῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ

Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε: τήν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις ἐτέροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

[47] ἕτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἶκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατοικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἠγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἰσιδος ἔχων ἤτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδου τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διήλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον. Σίτιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσαν, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίτιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίτιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἴσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο: καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηγε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

[48] Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἡδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλονται καὶ φόβον ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο: ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε κἀκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὐνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴη δικαιοτέρα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, 'ἔνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον,' ἔφη, 'ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο.' καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἷδε πεισθέντες κατήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν: ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖονα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράπωντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἡῖονος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιποῦσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορε τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυνεν ὡς ὀρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὧν κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθεῖν τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως: ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὥς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἦται χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δέ, οἶόν τι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντηπεῖλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δέισας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

[49] Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγγράπτο μὲν καὶ ὁδε διὰ τόδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὄρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδόουλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότης ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἶπετο καὶ ὧς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντῶντων τις φύλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μᾶρκον ὥς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βαρβούλᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μᾶρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος αὐτὸν ὥς ἀγνοῶν ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἦτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἦρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἅστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ. [50] Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπήϊῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ιδιότης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλευσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδί συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὥς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὕσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἦται παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἶπεν· ‘ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδί συγγνῶναι λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δὲ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσιν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῃ ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένη.’ ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

[51] Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βρούτον καὶ μετὰ Βρούτον ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ’ ἐκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἡξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν

ἐπισταλεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὁδε ὑπατεῶν ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλὴ. Ἄππιος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλευόντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἄππιον, ὥς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίης Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βρούτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἷς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν: [52] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο: καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τε Λιβύην Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξστιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Παταρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

[53] Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὅσῃν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο: ἦν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὕστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαῖου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην: εἴη δ' ἂν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ἦται Κορνιφικίον ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὥς Λιβύης ἀπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λήξιν ἔφην γινώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς: ἐκ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφικίου περιῶν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλείονων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος. ἐδήου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

[54] καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοιαύσδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὀνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστάς ἐφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. αἰεὶ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο νικῶντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαῖῳ τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανούς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον, ἀνέϊλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασσανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασσανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκῳ, Μαυρουσιῶν βασιλεῖ, δεδώρητο:

καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδειῖλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπηίου, Γαίου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανήλθε, καὶ Λιβύων τινὰς αἰὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον ἀφήρητο τὴν. χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηρῆκει δόλῳ. εὐνοὺς δὲ ὦν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τὰδε, κατεγίνωσκεν αἰὶ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχοῦσης ἀμειλίκτως καὶ Σεξσίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὐνοίαν οἶδε πατρώαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

[55] θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῆι τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἶπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τὰδε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦι καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἐς τινα κατάσκειψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἵππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαιλίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦι μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἵππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πῶ δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτῶμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξῆι τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Λαιλίῳ: καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὀπισθεν γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.

[56] ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφικίου παρέδν λαθόν. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἀλικομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινι τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδὼς πῶ περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου: μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίονος ἱππῆες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ γινόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν: καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορνιφικίῳ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἀπάσαις.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξστίου καὶ Κορνιφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεὶ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι: [57] τὰ δ' ἄμφι Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐξῆι τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξήεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνηντο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἤρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πῶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν

ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξήεσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἢ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιτο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραίνουσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὁμῶς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκεῖνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

[58] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκούντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαῖοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι κελεύει Κάσσιος ἢ Βρούτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δωδέκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γεγυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὗ τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλεοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καϊκίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρος συγγενῆς, Σέξστος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπῆκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἡ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖσθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταῦτα συνηνάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτερον, συνεγύμναζον ἅμω καὶ Στάιον Μοῦρκον, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιτεμφθέντα, γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκω δ' ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐξ τέλεσιν ἤδη.

[59] Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῇ καταλαβὼν τὸν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα παρελάμβανεν ἐκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατὰ τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπακουόντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπεπυσμένον, ἄφνω περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατὸν, δεῖσαντα τέσσαρσι τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δωδέκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

[60] Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφοράς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρὰ τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας: ὥς δὲ οἱ τὰδε ἔτοιμα ἦν: ἐπῆει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελεῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκειῶς ἔχουσάν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπὶ τε χερρονήσου συνφκισμένην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὄρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσῃν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὦν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τὸν τε ἰσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἕς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

[61] Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθὼν, ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον: ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν προὔφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπέιχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσῃν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλα δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχοῦσας.

[62] ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δις τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ναυμαχίᾳ ἡσάτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αἰρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ἥδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τὸν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγούς καὶ ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσηλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεῖσάν αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας προὔτεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίῳ σῶστρον ἴδιον: ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαζεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαοδικέων δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

[63] μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὥρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλύσαι τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα

καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὥς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἴονιον περῶντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἔστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἥ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προὔπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

[64] Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα: ἀμφοτέροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἑκάτερον, ὥς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς ἐχρῶντο ἑκάτεροι: Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὥς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα: καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένου τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκές τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὦνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτοὺς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιῶν ὄκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

[65] Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδικεῖα τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθησαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν: τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἴονιον ὀκτώ: Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὥς τριψήσομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὖνους τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσι γίνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρουν Βροῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὥς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικά ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

[66] Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὁ δὲ λεῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἀνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἐπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἱ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίουσαν μῆτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης αἰετὸς τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μῆτε συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥοδίους εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους: εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελευούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπενηγοχέαι Ῥοδίους Κασσίῳ, Δολοβέλλᾳ συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίῳ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων

βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἀλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ᾧσιν τυράννους, οἱ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἢ μὴ θάσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἡμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίῳ μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἶλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέα, [67] ἔπεμπον δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον: καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὥς γνωρίμου.

μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσης Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνὴρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνὴρ: μὴδὲ αἰσχύνῃς ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγόναμεν, μὴδὲ ἐκλάθῃ καλῆς ἱστορίας ἥς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς τάδε κάμνεις: ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑτέρων καὶ κατ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχίσασμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στήλαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω: [68] πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὃ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδῶς τις ἔστιν ἐξαιρετος ἕξ τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παιδείυσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἐστίαν, ἣν ὥκησας, καὶ τοῦμὸν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μὴδ' αὐτῇ σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζεται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μὴδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης θάτερον, ἢ Ῥοδίου ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἢ Κάσσιον ἡσθᾶσθαι. συμβουλευέω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδὲ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἑναγχος διὰ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἱ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίους ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φεῖδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους: ὥς οὐδέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίους.

[69] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυεν αὐτῇ, ὥς ἐρυθρίασαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὅμως εἰπεῖν:

εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας Ῥοδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἡδίκηεις: εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἡδικοῦμην δὲ δὴ που σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς προτιμῶντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαιρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὀράτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα

ἐλευθερούντων, ὃ Ῥόδιοι φιλελεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος ἐτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὖνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφὴς τὸ γιννόμενόν ἐστι δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας: φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πῶ δυναμένης. ἡ δ' ὑμῖν ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἔω πάντα ἀμύνειν ἐμοί τε καὶ Βροῦτῳ.

[70] σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι συνεπράξατε, ὧν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικεκόμισθέ που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ: οὗς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερμαχῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα, τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα: λέγουσι δ' ὅμως αἱ συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ὡς φησι τὸ ψηφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἱκετείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἶδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δὴ που τὸ συγκεκριμένον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίους βοηθεῖν, κὰν καθ' ἓνα χρήζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκεκριμένα: ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυνεν, [71] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλῳ: καὶ τί που καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχεῖν. εἰρεσίᾳ δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τὴν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ηὐλίσαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως: Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεον τε τοὺς πολεμίους ὁξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ρύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἢ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοις,

αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὐτονοι, μέχρι Ῥόδιαι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανήλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

[72] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὅρους καθεώρα: ὥς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ὥς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη πάντα τε ὅπλων ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσσην τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα: ἐλπίζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγμένους, οἱ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμοῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκεῖτο: καὶ οὐδέν, ὥς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκίμῳ, παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν εὐδηλον ἀλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσὶν ἢ λιμῷ: καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

[73] γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου. εἵκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας ἐλέφ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθεῖα τροφῶν.

ὥδε μὲν ἐαλῶκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι παρεστήσατο ὥς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἀρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσασαί τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ: ἐτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εὐρεθεῖσι φυγὴν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλῆσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥήτην: καὶ ἐπεκίρυσσε τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασιν θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασιν δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυσαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν: διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προσθεσίαν ἐτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλεόνα τῶν προτέρων.

[74] αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαῖδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο: ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον: τὰ γὰρ

ἐκείνων αἰρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἡρεῖτο διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετὰ τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, ... περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσῃν ἔφθασε.

[75] τὰ δ' ἄμφι Λυκίαν καὶ Βρούτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἄμφι τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἄνωθεν, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουλίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσῃν Ἀπουλῆιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρήλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὅκτῳ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἱππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἥσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τιнос τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδί ἔτι ὄντι μεираκίῳ, ἤκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυροὺς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὖρε παράδοξον χρυσοῦ τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει: [76] ὥς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ Ροδίους προεξαίρειν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξανθίους πρῶτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος μῆδ' ἐς ὕλην ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὐσῆς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βρούτος αὐτὴν ἔχου βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλονόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἢ πολλοῖς μῆσι μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

[77] καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων εἰς τὰ τεῖχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἰεὶ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσιν αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὗται κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγесαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βρούτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφένδρους τῶν πυλῶν ἀζέεις ἀποσπῆναι: καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα. ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὖθις ἐς τὰς

πύλας: καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσειεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

[78] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὖθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίων εἶτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὔσαν διέδραμον: κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πεῖραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπερησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὥς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὀξέα καλωδίους περιτιθέντες ἐσφενδόνων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγείη τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμω.

[79] Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω: καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέφξαν, ἣ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἐτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὔσι Ῥωμαῖοις ἐπιθεόντων, δέισαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὁρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντός οὔσιν.

[80] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἐκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βρούτος νομίσας ἀρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων: ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γινόμενον, ὥκτειρεν ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπε. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνενης μένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαζαν. Βρούτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἴλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γύναια ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο ἐλευθερίας οὐνεκα. καὶ

γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος, ὧδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἢ πόλις ἀνειληθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο: καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακούσαι.

[81] Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατῆι, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν ἢ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι: προσήγοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὁδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραινούντες ἀμείνονα βουλευσάσθαι. Ξανθίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων πῶ τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβῶον ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγνουν. ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἢ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν, οἷσις καὶ Κάσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἢ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισφύζουσα τὸν υἱὸν εἶπετο, βοῶσα αὐτῇ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὥς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

[82] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῆι. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανῆι. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπὸ ἰσχυνομένοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσιον ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὥς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναύαγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἄρρωστῖα μόλις αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἴη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὀρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις: ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ σχεδίων, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὀλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μοῦρκου. κακοπαθὼν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηῖόν Σέξστῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

[83] ὧδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήιον. νεώτερος ὢν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παιδῶν ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαῖου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὥς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἡλᾶτο

περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἶη Πομπήιος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ ληστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χεὶρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπήιος ὢν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἡλῶντο, ὥς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέντευχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφηρημένος τὰ πατρῶα, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται. ὧδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἤδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὔσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι. ὢν ὁ Γάιος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὢν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἠνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἦρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

[84] καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνᾳ διάδοχον Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπήιῳ. ὃν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὃ τε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῆρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλία γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἤρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὥς ἀνῆλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἰρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος ἔπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπήιῳ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

[85] ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἥδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἦγον ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοι. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἶδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιτο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον: ἀποδιδράσκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων ὥς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα καὶ περιφίλτον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπῆρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήιον ὥς εὐχερὲς ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμβολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντᾷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὔσαι καὶ ναυτικωτέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτῆτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προὔχον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ὥς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίνετο καὶ διεσπᾶτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, οἱ μὲν ἦσσαν ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἐστῶτες βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κόπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ, συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος. νῆες δὲ ἐκατέρων ἴσαι

διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωθημένας τε καὶ πεποννημένας ὁ Σαλουτιδιανὸς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

[86] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν ῥηγίνους μὲν καὶ Ἰππωνεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων ἔδεδεικε γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα, καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὁκάδας ἐφύλασεν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαις κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἰστίοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμόνων βεβλάσθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενε ὅμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεύσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλέπτων, ὅσα δύναται. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δὴ, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἑτέρου καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἐδόκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσὶ τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικάς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἠνώχλουν, [87] Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανὸς οὗς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτῶ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θράκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ἣ μόνῃ διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ῥάσκος ἦσθιν ἀδελφῷ Θρακίῳ βασιλίσκῳ, μιᾶς ἄρχοντε χώρας, οἱ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνεμάχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, τρισχιλίους ἱππέας ἔχων ἐκάτερος. πυνθανομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἰνίου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπιτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπὴν.

[88] οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κώλυσιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς Θράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ Αἰνίου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας, αἱ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίου χειρρονήσου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὀπλιτῶν ἑννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἑννέα, ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα

ἀναπληρούμενα, ὥς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἱππέες δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἴβηρές τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἵπποτοξόται Ἀραβὲς τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἶποντο βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζόν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἱππέας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίου.

[89] τοσῆδε μὲν στρατιᾷ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῆδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι χρεῖων. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγγεγμένων τισὶν ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαῖῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μὴ τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὐθις ἔδοξε τούτου χάριν καὶ δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἤδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείσῃ· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπίς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγοῦσιν. αὐτὰ τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε· τίκτουσι γὰρ εὐνοίαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσοῦτοις ὄντος οἱ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποιοῦν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος ἔπροϋχε γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλαξεν ὧδε:

[90] ὁ μὲν ἄγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὁρᾶτε τοσοῦσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἢ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἐτοιμῶς, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελεθῆναι ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

[91] ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἥρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὄντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι' ἔχθραν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κὰν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν: ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἤρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτέρων. ὃ τινι ὄρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιδεῖν ἓνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσιμος, τὰ τε κοινὰ

χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

[92] ὣν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἡσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐωρᾶτε. νῦν δὲ ραδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δήμος ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλείητε, κρίνοντας δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφίζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἦδε τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ᾧ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλά, ὅσα ἴστε;

[93] ἀλλ' οὐκ, ἀφ' οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἀρχὴν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὑπατον, οὐ δημάρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἶχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἷς ὑμῖν χάριν ὤφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὁ δὲ οἰκτιστον ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ὑμῶν ὑβρίζομένοις, ἦν τινα αἰδίδιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἶδετε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς ὕβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπῆναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεῦσαι. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἠνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς· ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

[94] ἔδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐνηφίζοντο εἶναι· ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοῦς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνῃς τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων ἐνηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἢ ὡς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρα τε ἱερᾶ καὶ ῥάβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ

Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρῶων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κάκεῖνος ἀρχὴν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὢν. τί δὴ πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπραχθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογήσαι; ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσιν καὶ ἐροῦσιν καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

[95] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἴστε. προγράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῇ, τῶν νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐόντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνον καὶ ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται: καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὠρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασις τίς ἐστι πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὑπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θεῖους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἀλῶναι: καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀννηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πῶ πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὣν δορὶ ἐλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιώτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεῦσθαι διὰ ἐν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

[96] καὶ τάδε, ὧ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγουσι, καὶ φασὶ μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο. ὦν καὶ οἷδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ὧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὦν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν: ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶ δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ὧ τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ' ὧς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἰργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἔτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

[97] ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν

πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἶδετε μὲν στρατηγούντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικούς καταπαφευγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡρημένους καὶ συνενχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιοτέρα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὢν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν: οὐδὲ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μὲν, ὅτι ἡξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνηρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖνου περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἰρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἐκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἥδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἰδιωτεύοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἶδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπίς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

[98] μῆδέ τω, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιότης, ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔτι ἴτω: οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνου γε ἦμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμέν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασιν τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντα ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κάκείνην ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα: καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ' ἂν δέξαιτο ἔτι διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὧς συστρατιῶται, μετὰ τε πίστεως ὑγιούς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.

[99] ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων ἴωμεν' καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἦσθεις ὁ Κασσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις ἔλεγε:

θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπότης, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὧς συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβοιντο: τὰ δ' ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλεόνα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες: ἱππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ πλούχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλευσὶ τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμοι, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νότου Πομπήϊόν τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μούρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ Ἀγνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δαψιλεῖ καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ διαπλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλὰ, καθαρευούσης πολεμίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὀπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. χρήματά γε μὴν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσχημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὠνουμένου χωρία ἐπίφθονα: οὐδ' ἐτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυμένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῇ, ὡς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμπερόμενα.

[100] τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ

εἰσί, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὀρεῖου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας βραχείας· καὶ τὰδε χρὴ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοντο ἢ Λευκανίας ἢ Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα Πομπηϊός τε καὶ Μουρκοῦ καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης ἐκ τε νήσων καὶ ἡπείρων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ τὰδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὄντος ὀπισθεν ἐχθροῦ· ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῶ. τοσάδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, παρ' ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἔτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσειε παρὰ τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἥδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιωτῇ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικὰς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον.

[101] ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχυοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρίθμουν καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλουν, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ' ἀργύρου πεπονημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἥ, ὥς ἐτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον· καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπησαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἶνον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Αἶνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὅρους παράλια.

[102] τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους ὀπλιτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινῶν τὴν ἄκτὴν περιπλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἥ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὐγεῶς οὔσα, τῶν Θρακῶν οὔτε θαλάσσης χρωμένων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἐτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσσης χρωμένων, ἦνθι ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὥραίων ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁρᾶσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἄκτὴν αὖθις ἔρημον οὔσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὥς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὥς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλείπειν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὥς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον.

[103] ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων

κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία τε ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἥς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἡνυσμένα, ὅψε καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἐφῆ περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων ὅρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυκνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρτησὸν ποταμὸν ἤξειν, ἐκπύπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὥς ἀπειλήφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὐνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

[104] προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανῆλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῶ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίγνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἐτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβίων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ ἐβαλλον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονήσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὃ ποταμὸς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἑωρᾶτο τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὥς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβάνόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήει. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἴεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς· τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονόησας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἦν οὐδὲ θηρίον ᾤετο ὁδεύσειν διὰ τοιαύδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες ἅμφω διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνωομένην ἀγαγών, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοήσας.

[105] οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐς Φιλίππους παρήλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνεληλύθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἡ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρῆναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλάι. Φίλιππος δὲ ὥς εὐφυὲς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίον ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφῳ περικρήμνου, τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτῳ δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑὴν τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδῖον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων πού καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὐφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ

τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρῃ φασὶν ἀνθιζομένη γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος τὸ ἄρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἄσαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὥς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἄνωθεν ὀρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἄναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.

[106] Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἕτερος λόφος οὐ μακράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἔστι τὰ Ἄσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα σταδίου προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίου ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκέτι προήεσαν: Ἀντώνιον τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἔλη καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἀτριβῇ καὶ ἀνόδευτα: τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὥς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὀπισθεν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὔσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

[107] οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὤδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ' ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὥς δὲ αὐτὴν εὗρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἦσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἠγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους: καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρῶρύχισαν: τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδόκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε πρᾶξαι, κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἷα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίστε τοῦ ποταμοῦ: παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοὺς ὕδατος εὗρισκε. τὸ γε μὴν τόλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπληρσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρουρία τε ἡγεῖρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὔσαν ὀρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτειχίστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν

θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

[108] οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφῖκτο, οὕπῳ μὲν ἐρρωμένος ἐς μάχην, φορεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσαν ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήεσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἑκατέρους ἐννεακαίδεκα ὀπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναζον ἐκατέρωθεν· ἵππεις δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἐκατέρων Θρακίοις ἦσαν Καῖσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἐκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἄπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθέλόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδὲν ὄν δαυιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον· οὔτε γὰρ τι δι' ἐμπορῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

[109] ὣν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναίτο βάσιμον τὸ ἔλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθῶν, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσαν οὖν αὐθις ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἔλει δίοδον στενὴν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτει, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφῆρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκὼς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ. δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπὴν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἔλος ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγεννημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

[110] ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὥς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὁρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἦγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὥς ἐξελὼν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ

Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρασέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους ἀθρόως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ ἔργου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον, ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραπεν.

[111] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερρωγυῖαν ἦσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάσας ἅπαν γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδιεί, ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταράξειεν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὁρμῆς, ἐχρεῖτο δρόμῳ καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένη. ῥήξας δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸν τε χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσήλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανεβάνον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἐγίνετο ὁξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζομένοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἐλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὁρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπανήσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνον σὺν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους, ἐκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μαχομένου.

[112] τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον: ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατός ἦσθαι καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἐκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον: Βρούτος τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατοπεδον ἠρήκει, Ἀντώνιος τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμυγᾶν τὴν τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἐκατέρων ποικίλος: ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις: καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἠσθάνοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ῥίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὧδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

[113] Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξέωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ

προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι. διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο: 'νικῆς, λέγε αὐτῷ, παντελεῖ νίκην,' ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφεὶς, 'τί βραδύνεις;' ἔφη, 'τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;' Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην, ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγὴν, διεχρήσατο. καὶ τισιν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν οἴονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἱππέων Βρούτου, νομίσαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον: τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαζάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο φάναι: 'περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν,' καὶ ἔς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρήσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσί τινες οὕτω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.

Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι συμπεσοῦσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε: [114] Βρούτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐ τινος ἔτι τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων καὶ ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἱ Βροῦτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα τέλος ὁδηγοῦσι; παραδούς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις, ἔνθα λαθραίως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδακρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὀρῶντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτός τε καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἡλασσῶσθαι, συνεῖς τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος, 'ὀπλισώμεθα,' ἔφη, 'καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθυποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν.' ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἐπιτωθᾶσας ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις: 'οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὡς κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν.'

[115] ἦι δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις συνέβαιναν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰόνιῳ τοιόνδε πάθος ἄλλο ἐγίνετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ἦγεν ὀπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἄρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἱππέων τε ἵλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος ἐπειλεγμένον· καὶ τριῆρεις αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραιῖς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὀλκάδες ἰστίῳ μὲν αἱ πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἠλῶντο, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς πολεμίῳις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρήγγυνον· οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαὶ σφας τριῆρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα κυκλοῦμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευόντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς ἄρμοζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμοιοι. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλυνον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐθὶς τε ἐγίνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.

[116] ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρός ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῆρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριῆρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλομενοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νῆές τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰστών ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἳ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ ἰστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίῳις ἑαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἑαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεῶς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, δόξας ἀπολωλέναι.

τοιοῦτο μὲν διὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπεγίνετο, εἴτε νανάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

[117] ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὃ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρεῖστους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἠρξάτε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὃν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἴλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὥς προῦchein τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλείονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὥς καὶ τῷδε

τὴν ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα: ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περὶ τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἤδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνης ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μοῦρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος: Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

[118] ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπαιγομένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἡγεῖσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἰρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντιμηχανησόμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστερίους καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μὴδ' ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μὴδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιτέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένετε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαίξονται τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὥς διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἣς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι: νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.

ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη: δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

[119] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχοῦμενον ἐκόντα τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλαξε:

τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ὃ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμοιο μερίζονται, ὥς διώξαντές τινες ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον: ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὖριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν. ὁ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἥσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυνικαῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες: οὐ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτό γε στρατὸν ἡγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθρὸς ἦσαν: ἐφ' ἣ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερός τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορῶν ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχωνται μὴδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἠναγκάσατε, αἰσχροὺς ἡγούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὀκνοῦντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἤλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ' ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.

[120] τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς,

οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ὀρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι: τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτῆσθε, ἀποδίδετε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μὴδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρπαγῆς μὴδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον: οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομεν ἐστὶ τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθρῆς ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ἐχθρῆς ἀντελήφμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως ἱκανώτερα: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἤρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὥς ἐκ πατρίδος ἰόντες τὰ μὲν δαυηλέστερα οἶκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαυηλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πάντα ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ὁμως ζημίας ὑμῖν ἔνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ.

[121] τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε: καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθῆμει καὶ ἐξέτασεν αἰεὶ, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖν μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερὲς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων: ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὁμως ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολμήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὥς δὲ κατέσχον, ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε σταδίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ὥς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἢ παρ' αὐτὴν ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἢ ὃν τινα τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείσοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηνανᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρούρια ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

[122] τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἥδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκούντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων: τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἐκατέρους ἤδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὥς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλῶδει σταθμεύοντες. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαῖαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν, παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λιοδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ βουλομένῳ συμπλέεσθαι.

[123] τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν: καὶ ἥρειτο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντός ἀνέχεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, καὶ

ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθῆμα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θᾶσσον ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτον ἐπικτῆ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῶ καὶ ἀρχικῶ περὶ πάντα γεγεννημένῳ: ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐκ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἤξιουν διὰ πραῦτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένου: 'τί κατέγνωνεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακάνοντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλόντες,' Βρούτος ἐκὼν ἡμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότας, ἐλπίς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

[124] ἐνοχλοῦντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἦν δ' ἀντιπίπτει τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανίεναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βρούτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὔσι καὶ περιαλήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτόν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξεῖαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἶξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τосόνδε ἐπιμεμνᾶμενος αὐτοῖς: 'εἰκόκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι.' καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξευπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἶα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονῶς ἀγανακτήσειε τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο: ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

[125] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐξῆγγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμηι πρὸ τοῦ τεύχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προὔχειν τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερὴς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης νῆπερ λόγον ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασασμένοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὧν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνους μᾶλλον ἢ ἀξιεπαίνοις εὐβουλίας. ἃ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμνησκεν, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου: 'ὕμεῖς ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὕμεῖς με ἑτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε: μὴ δὲ ψεύσησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νότου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ: μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ.'

ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπὶ λήπτον καὶ μετὰ

βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμου: [126] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὤρεγον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιτο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἶδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὥς εὐκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. 'εὐρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους: ἔχομεν οὖς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δὴ τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν καταισχύνη μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται: μηδὲ λιμὸν, ὄλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἔλθῃται μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμιων τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἃ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπονοία. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὥς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ πάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἣν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἴτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὐθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διαδιδράσκοιεν, οἱ δι' ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολέμιων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι.'

[127] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιτο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδῶς ἀξίους τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ γεγόμενα. ἥρουντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τί παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανῶμενοι.

ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἐκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἠῤῥετο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου: οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἡ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ ὁμαλῶς ἐκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

[128] ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν: καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βρούτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολέμιων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ λίθων ἢ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φόνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολὺς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὀρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὁρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονήσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνῆλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος

εὐτυχίαν ὃν γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοί, τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχανήμα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος· ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο, ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωρούντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως ἄνωθ' ἐν γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἱ διέφυγον ἐπὶ τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυγάκτου.

[129] γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ στρατηγοὶ διηροῦντο, Καῖσαρ μὲν αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δέισας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὐθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς μάχης, αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἱ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρακίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βρούτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὥς Βρούτος ὢν ἤξιον πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βρούτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπῆντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βρούτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· ‘Βρούτος μὲν οὐχ ἐάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἀλώσεται ποτε πρὸς κακίας ἀρετῇ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦδε ἀπατήσας ὧδέ σοι πάρειμι.’ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἱππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους παρηγόρει καί, ‘οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν,’ εἶπεν, ‘ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἧς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος.’ καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μὲν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρήτο ὥς πιστῷ.

[130] ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὥς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἑνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν· ““Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὅς αἴτιος κακῶν,”“

ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιον φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις κινδύνῳις μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς γένειτο Ὀκταουίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἑνοπλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον, Νωρβανῷ

φυλάσσειν παραδούς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[131] Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁρῶν τὰς ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάζατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὥσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὁρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ: αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγῶν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν: 'οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὧδε καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων,' ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἡπειρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλευέσθαι παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, 'οὐκ ἀπορήσεις,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ Βροῦτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται.' καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρεισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀποστραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

[132] ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βροῦτος ἐθνησκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτῳ τε καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδριότῳ, χωρὶς ἄγους ἐνός, ὃ γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίοις ἐποίησατο φίλῳ, ἐκ δὲ φίλοις ἦγεν ὡς υἱό. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτω τε εἶχεν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινῶ δυοῖν τε τούτοις ἔνεκα πᾶσιν ἀμνηστῖαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντων αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαίου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη τοῖς γεγνονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρεῖσσον εὐρήσειν ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόησεν. ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖς προήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς: οὕτως ἅπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμίῳ. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρῳ Πομπηίου, πλησιάζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος αἰτίαν, πορρωτέρῳ τε ὄντε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτῳ.

[133] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐτοῖς στρατίαν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἅπειρα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου: καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιωτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ οὓσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μείζον ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθήσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων ὧδε Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ

σφαγεῖς οἶδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἔσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ: οὐ γάρ τις αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους ἀπέλειπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπόντες: ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεὶ. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἅμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

[134] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντίθετον ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὃ γε οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ: καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγίνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην μὲν οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσθησε καὶ προεσήμηνε πολλάκις. Κασσίῳ τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος ἀνεστραμμένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε: καὶ Νίκη, χρύσειον ἀνάθημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἤφει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθητο συνεχεῖς ἔσμοι. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῇ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῆσαι: “ἄλλὰ με μοῖρ' ὅλοῃ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.”

μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινομένου τοῦ φωτὸς ὅσιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἶπεῖν: ‘ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός: ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις.’ καὶ ὀφθῆναι φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.

ἐξιώντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίῳσ ὑπήντησε: καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτῆτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τόδε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἅμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βροῦτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

[135] καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φοινικίδι εὐθύς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψε. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βροῦτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν: καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδωκαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια

αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἄμφι τὸν Βρούτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου: ὧν ἦν Λεύκιος τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὅδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἴθ' ὑποχωρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὐβλητος ἢ ἀμφοτέρα εἴη. Λαβεὼν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφία γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις: τοῦ δὲ πιστοτάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφομένῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε.

καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, [136] Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θρᾶξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν πολλοὺς, καὶ γέρας ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σφύζεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν: ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἶδε οἱ Θρᾶκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφορίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισφύζοι τὸν ἡσώμενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπεῖτε ἀμφοῖν ὧδε ἀποθανόντων ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάντῳ ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἀρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθρώκων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ' ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλα τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὃ τι βουλευσοῖντο περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ πάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πολλή.

[137] οὕτω μὲν διὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοὺς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαν τηλικούτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων, ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ ὁρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσηδέτινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολῖται τε ὄντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συστρατιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ἐπανισουμένης ἐκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

[138] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῇ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῇ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῇ μεταβαλόντες. ἀπῆντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο Ῥωμαίοις: ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον

μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρὶς γε τῆς μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως, ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑπὸ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσησδε παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα αὕτη, ὥς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, ἀπήντα.

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μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ὅθεν ἂν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπηϊός τε Σέξτος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὢν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιήλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντωνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.

[2] Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπὶ κλινὴν ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὅμοιον ἐν Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιτο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὐρών 'έτεθνήκει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βρούτος', ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὗσαν ὀπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἐχώρει. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἐτέρας ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινὰ ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμοτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἐτέρας δυνάμεως, ἡ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μούρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνοβάρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἴονιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηῖῳ Σέξτῳ συνήψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τιν' αἴρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

τοιάδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, [3] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους ἔθουν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπῆνουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων 'ὥδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἵλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὐθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου: τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦντος

αὐτόνομον ἀφίεναι γνώμη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὃ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι: καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδῆς ἢ διαβολῇ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοῦς ἐντελῇ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεῦσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ ἱππῆες μύριοις καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἕξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίου, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε: καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

[4] ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοῖντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατὰ τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὥδε:

ὕμᾱς ἡμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἤμεν Ἀττάλου: οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάζαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνῆκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ' ὕβρεις ἔπαυσεν: ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά, σφαγεῦσί τε οὖσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

[5] τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὥς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ', ὥς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσῃς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὥς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δὲ ἐστὶν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἀνευθεν οἱ ἱππῆες καὶ ἕτερος ὅμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾷν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσω ὁ Καῖσαρ ἅπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλιν καὶ οἰκῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἅπαντα ὁὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθῆ, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἶομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν, ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει:

ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνεῖσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπέιποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζεται.

[6] ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἔπεν, ἐς ὅκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνη συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει: οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένης ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐλέου, δόντες δ' ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

[7] περιόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λευκίος τε ὁ Κασσίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἰκέται προσήεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλην τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος: τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφίεις καὶ Ξάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίοις δὲ διδοὺς Ἄνδρον τε καὶ Τήνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων: καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίους δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τήνον Αἴγιναν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἰκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιπαριῶν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφοράς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου Γλαφύρας: ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυράννους.

[8] καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων: τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἷ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψει, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθεῖν ὑπὸ τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἤσσης τυχόνφος, Κασσίῳ τε δις ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτῇ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἥς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἐαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγυνώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὔσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἱπαρχῶν εἴπετο.

[9] εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἡμβλύνετο,

Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὸν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἱκέτιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυνηῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνέειλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς, συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίῳ, Τυρίων ὄντα ἱκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἱκέτην, ὃν τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφανοὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλῖδα ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἱκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἱππέας περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασαμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππεῖς τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

[10] καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάσαι, πολλῶν ἐκ Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται. Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον ἔπεμψεν ἐτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσσον τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἄρα τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων εἶχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθυαίων: ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὗς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πληθήσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἁμαρτῶν, οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστήσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσσοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

[11] ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ιδιώτου σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἴθ' ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευδούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέθειτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαίτα μεθ'

Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

[12] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν τοιαύδε: Καίσαρι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανιόντι ἢ τε νόσος αὔθις ἤκμαζεν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥάϊσας δ' ἐσήλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δὲ Καληνόν τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέστελλον Σεξσίῳ Λιβύης καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποιοῦν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἀμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμοντι δυσεργές ἦν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ἤτουν, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμένοι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἡξιοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦς δωρουμένους ἤτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἐστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μηδ' αὔθις ἀνακῦψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρφοκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἐτοίμων, ἐς ὃ τι χρῆζοιν.

[13] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὥς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἦρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλεονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὥς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεια συνήγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἢ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὥς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὥς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένων καὶ καταβοωμένων μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

[14] ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὁ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καῖσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέρειτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἡξιοῦν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς

μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὥς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδιά τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευον μὴ περιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι: τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόει μὲν ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκιστὰι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνοώστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλεον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὴ πλῆθος ἦν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεῦουσαι τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσσεις τῶν προγραφῶν: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίνεσθαι.

[15] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ: οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμὸν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεῦειν σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῆζειν αὐθις εὐνοίας στρατοῦ: διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. ἐν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἔδρας παρήλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας: καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἡγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπῆτουν, οὐχ ὀρώμενον ἡγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύδεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὥς τὰ κοινὰ προδιδόντα: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

[16] κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμησιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπίνοντος ἡγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὥς κόλακα, πλέονος δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἕς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξειρύσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρήνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστήναι μανιδῶει φορᾷ. ὁ δ' ἐπῆει μὲν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος τὸ μανιδῶδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν, ὥς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρήνει καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς βαρύτητος μετενόει καὶ ἡδεῖτο

καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νώνιον ἁμαρτόντας ἡξίουσανεὐρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδῶτι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀζιωθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμεον ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

[17] καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἶδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἷτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὥς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρεῖα τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκῃ νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλυεν, οὔτε στρατεῦσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιᾶλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξιοῦτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἱ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἐχθραν κοινήν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο· ἢ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὥς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν ὥς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὥς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

[18] οὕτῳ μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπῆξεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὁ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεῶς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὥς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρῆζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ ληστευομένῃ πόλει.

[19] Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένη, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγίνετο καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τοὺς τε γεωργοὺς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφηροῦντο, ἱκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχεῖτο, κάκεινων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβίᾳ ὥς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὥς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρα, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικὸς τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἐφομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὥς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλεον ἔχοι. ἱπέων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττιῶν ἡῖονα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἱπτικὸν

ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

[20] ὧν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυόμενους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τὰ τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἐτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέμεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῶχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐτι Ἀσίτιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς Ἀλπεις.

[21] οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων, ἐς Πραίνεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφροῦρητος ὧν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἥδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προυτίθει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἐκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἱ διδάξιν ἐμὲλλον περὶ ἐκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὖρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὅ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐθις, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἐν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμεφετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

[22] αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγεῖρειν ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπείας προκαταλαμβάνειν· τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδὲ πω παρατάττεται λιμωττοῦσης ὧδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπείαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ

τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διωκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἃ ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἡξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὠρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἑκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑώρα πολεμῆσιόντας αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι.

[23] δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ᾠκισμένα, Καίσαρι τε ὄντα πατρῷα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἱ ἔμελλον ἑκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμῆσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν: δῆλοί τε ἦσαν, ὃ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὠριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλιν ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραίνεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μὴ τίς ποθεν ὀρῶτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες οἶδε ἐτέροις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν τινες αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δεΐσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν: καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένον, οὐκέτι ἐπέιθετο.

[24] οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἑνδεκα ἔτερα, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν: Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἕξ δὲ ἔτερα Σαλουιδηνὸς ἦγεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἕξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπὸ τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψυλεῖς.

[25] Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἕξω. Πομπήιος γάρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα: καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὥρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὅφ' ὅτῳ στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἰρούμενον. γεγένητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίας λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελεῖ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφῆκτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ναῦς ὀγσοήκοντα: καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ

Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

[26] ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἥσσω ἐγένετο: ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὑπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγὼν τινὰς τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἐτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἐκατέρων καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὐθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἐκατέρας ἐκράτει: Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλέα Λεύκιος ἐπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρρίνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀννόβαρβός τε ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἴλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τεῖχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμειν.

[27] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τοὺς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον: πείραί τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχυτέραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ εὐνοία τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχομένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβούμενὴ τὰ ὅμοια: τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν. ἐχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἑκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

[28] καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε: ‘καταγινώσκομαι μὲν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσκονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἡ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρή χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον: ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξει τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δεῖξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὔσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς

καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξίῳ μάρτυρας εἶναι μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου.

[29] ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραίνεστον ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέφικτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆι, φύλακα τῆς Ῥώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυνον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.

[30] καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καῖσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καῖσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔσπετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεῶν, ἡμέρας δὲ τὴν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προὔπεμψεν, αἱ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἶπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καῖσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καῖσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

[31] καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπών, ἡδομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἡθροίζεν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνετο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξαπάτης ἦσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπὴντα Σαλουιδιηνῷ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καῖσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἶποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἷδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καῖσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθεῖν, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ

Σαλουιδινοῦ περισπᾶσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἷ τὸν Σαλουιδινὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίνετο ἅπαντα: ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ἦει, ἐνοχλοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδινοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

[32] ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρήλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδινὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώσαντο: καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους, ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιούσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὄκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὐτ' ἐς μάχην ἦει τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὖσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλεόν, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπε, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιγνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δύο, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

[33] καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ σταδίους περιῶν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροίτο. ἀντεπονεῖτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἐτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέζαν ὀχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτίον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἠπειγὲ βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπε ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδεύον διέφθειρεν: Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὁμῶς καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπὼν. οἱ δὲ οὔτε τῷ συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφοτέρα εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψους καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν ἴσθι χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους: καὶ ἐπάλλεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἕς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἰ τις ἐξῴθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντίζειν μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων: καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον

συμπλεκόμενοι.

[34] ὥς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεσκευασμένης. ὢν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἐορτὴν ὥς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὥς διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἑτέραν: πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπεύrais ἐπιδραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνέωσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερώς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεῦνῃ σίτου, ὅσα εὔροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

[35] οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντώντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδινοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός: ἔνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄμφι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὥς μαχοῦμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ' ἔτι καταδοκεῖν τὰ γινόμενα: καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἦδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἵκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτομάχησεν αὐθις ἐκ πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἑω περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτειχίσμα: καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὐθις ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπέειπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασσαν αὐτοὺς μὴδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἡλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἶ τινα εὔροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατώρυσσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμός καὶ νόσος.

[36] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ ὀπλίται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὐθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὥς διακόφοντες αὐτὰ πάντως. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, 'οὐκ ἀξίως,' ἔφη, 'πρώην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἡγωνισάμεθα,' καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναί σφᾶς ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἡγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἀπάντων καὶ, ἵνα μὴ τις ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἤγε πρὸ ἡμέρας, σίδηρόν τε τειχομάχον εἶχον τολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἶδη πάντα διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγχλωστήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐς τὰ τεῖχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα

τοῖς σκόλοσιν ἐπιρριπτεῖσθαι. προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ' ὀρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπήγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους· ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τότε ἐγίνετο κατὰ μέρος πολλά· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες ... ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

[37] Ἐκταθεισὼν δὲ πού τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσιν μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶποντο ἕτεροι· καὶ τάχα ἂν τι ἐξεύργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μὴ, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρεῖων ἀκμηῆτες ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοῇ σφῶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ' ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνηρημένων ἐσκυλευμένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ διαναπαύομενοι. ὣδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκη, ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὐθις ἀρπάσαντες ὁ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τεῖχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλέποντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἰμώζοντας ἀπῆγεν ἄκοντας.

[38] τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις ἐπιτολήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφῆδρενε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἴδρυσεν καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέφ τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δὲ τινων Καῖσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὀρμῇ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίνετο, δέος ἦπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθεῖν.

[39] γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὥδε· ἡ γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πατριὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, τυρραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ', ἐφ' ἣ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἰς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην

διώκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἡξίου τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δὲ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέω τῶν γεωργῶν· καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἡγνόησα ἐπὶ πλείστον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἱ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγώγησε γάρ τινας ἢ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὄχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ' αὐτῶν. ὑμῖν δ' ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένους τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελειμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρῆσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὓσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ.'

[40] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνάρμοζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένου. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἐνὸς ἐκατέρους ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ, τούτοις ὅμοια, ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὡς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδία δὲ ἓνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβόν, Φοῦρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

[41] οἷδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδίαν γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φοῦρνιον ἐλοιδόρουν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἡξίου ἢ σπονδὰς αὐθις αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἰδιόν τι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπῆναι μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἐτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ἦει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελοῦντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἐωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἦδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἐκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ἦει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεῖς ἀντεμμεῖτο ἐς δεῖγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν

Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης: ὥς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καῖσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἥδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώματος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιαύδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπὸ τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυντο.

[42] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη:

εἰ μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμησα, ὃ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχροὺς ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἦσσαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίονα ἔτι τὴν παράδοσιν: καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐκολον παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτῃ διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ἡγοῦμαι μετὰ τοιαύτου προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου ἡσσησθαι. καὶ τάδε λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὃ τὶ θέλοις 'διὰ γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἰέμην, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἴτιον ἐπιγινούς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ νομίσης δὲ ἐλεγχθῆσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκαιρον γάρ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

[43] ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς αἰ τείποις: καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὥς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἡξίουν, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἐκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆ σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ὥμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' αἷς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἕλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευομένοις διένεμον. ἀλλὰ με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σπαντοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας: ἀνεπίεσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δῆ σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα: νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἶ τῆς πατρίδος, κάμει ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ἃ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μὲν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

[44] λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἑμαυτὸν σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὃ τὶ θέλοις, ὑποδεικνὺς δέ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμεν. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα: περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων

καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις· με λέγοντα, συμβουλευσὺ τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίῳ πράγματι, κωλύσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρεαίαις ἐτελήσοντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσέλπιστον σῶζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὑποπτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν.

[45] τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν:

ἄσπονδον μὲν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὄρων, ὃ Λεύκιε, ὑπὴντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν σεαυτοῦ βουλευόιο καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομίζεις σοὶ συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ με βλάβειν ἐλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἐβλαψας. σπονδὰς γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἡδικημένου καὶ νενικηκότος: ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν, ἀφαιρῇ μὲν πᾶσαν ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπλέκεται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὢν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν: ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὃ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας.

ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὥκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατόν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνητον εἰπόντα, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἥθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς ὁψεως ἐκατέρων.

[46] καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος: οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλάρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἐκατέρους τὰ ἴδια: ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθυνε, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἐσκευα σμένον δ' ὥς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ὥς αὐτοκράτορα ἡσπᾶσαντο καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν, οἳ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνῃ, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασιν θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἰστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληροῦχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρῳ προσελθεῖν, διεγνώκως ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε ποιήσῃν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἷα

προδιδάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ὡς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἡσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλειον καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέρους τοῦ πάθους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεῦτων: οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὐκριτον.

[47] ὄθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοήν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. 'ὕμεις μὲν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, οὕτως αἰεὶ μοι προσενήνεχθε ὡς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι: ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεῦτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεῦσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σφωζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι, τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιώθεντες ἢ τί μείζον παρ' ἐτέρου προσδοκῶντες ἐναντία ὄπλα ἦσαντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἥς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετήν. καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι.' οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, 'συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε,' ἔφη, 'καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν.' ὑπισχνουμένων δ' ἑκατέρων βοαὶ τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα: καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἔνθα περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

[48] καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατήεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν ὧσι πάντες οἰκτρᾷ καὶ ὀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξήεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης: καὶ ἔλθοῦσι συνέγων. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνῆρέθησαν, χωρὶς Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερώς καὶ πάντας φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

[49] τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δὲ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τότε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐχούση καὶ ἀξιώσεως: ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δυώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοὶ: τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἡφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπασιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως ἀνῆρέθησαν: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα

Καίσαρος ἔχθροί, Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάνιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικός καὶ ἕτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

[50] καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἰππέας ἐξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Λεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦσαν, ἕτερος ἐτέρας ὁδοῦς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μοῦρκον ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλούντων τὰ περὶ μάλιστα: ὧν δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερίᾳ. ἔφυγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἰππέων οἱ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβᾶσα ἀνήγετο: καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἵλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον: καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τὰδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὥς αὐτίκα ἤξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

[51] ἄλλῳ δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ Ἄλπεις, οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἥδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥς ἐς ἀμφοτέρω πρόφασιν εὐρών, ἦει καὶ παρελάμβανε τὸν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὖσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχεί.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἔνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλκε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν: [52] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὤδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἦσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν: Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ Σατουρνίνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῆζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἡξίουσαν αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ γινώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίῃ Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένει τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν

ὁμολογημένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσασθαι καὶ Πομπήιον Καῖσαρι συναλλάξαι.

[53] ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιών ἦσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν: ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδ' ὥς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευσεν: οὕτως ἢ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγῶγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Ἀηνοβάρβου κατὰ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν ἥρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων, ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος ἑλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον ἐπέστελλε Μαικίηνα συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνία, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπόπτειε, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἔξ.

[54] Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπήνει μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκῶς ἴδιον τὸ ἀμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίη περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. 'ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων,' ἔφη, 'Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φίλων διώκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἑμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον: ὁ δὲ οἶα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε: 'Φουλβίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερώς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ' ἐπιλέγοιτο κἀκεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σέ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι: τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος καὶ γένους.' ὧδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτόν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατῆγων ἐφύλασσε ἀφανῶς: [55] Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ

Ἀηνοβάβρον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθεῖσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον ἣν γὰρ Ἀηνοβάβρος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκη καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων, ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπιβάς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάβρου παντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὀξείας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος, ἔδειξεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστὼς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πείραν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἰρεῖσθαι παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σφῆζεσθαι δειλὸς ὀφθείς, ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστῶς, εἴτ' ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντῶσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθήρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεῶς περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἡσπᾶσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάβρου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνοβάβρον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάβρῳ καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνοβάβρος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

[56] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάβρῳ μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολέμιῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετειχίζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μνηοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου προσελεθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ εὐκαιρα καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι δύναται. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδῶ Καίσαρος οὕσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν συμφορσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὐσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν.

[57] ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὐσονίδα ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγεν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλαθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἐτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς

κληρούχοις αὐθις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνφικισμένους ἤγεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίῃ, Καίσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ὦν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετελιχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.

[58] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὥς πολὺν μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἐσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλῆθους, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον ὥπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἤδη δ' αὐτῶ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ ἐσπέραν ἐκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβὼν, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέraitεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλη προσίων τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἰππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' ὧν εὗρεν ἐτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἰππέων τετρακοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ πόλιν Ὑρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

[59] αἱ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἤκοιεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἤκουσι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προύφερον, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὐσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῷ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμυνόμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακώμασι προύλεγον.

γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκούσα ἐπιτρίψαι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου· νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἐωράκει. ἐδόκει δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναιίου φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τό γε μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ αἴτιος γεγενέαι.

[60] Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθείς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἦρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκηίου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος 'νὺν μὲν,' ἔφη, 'τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλοι διὰ Καικίνα: καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ Κοκκήιος οὐκ εἶα τῷ τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἔς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγεννημένον. ὁ δὲ 'ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με,' φησὶν, 'ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὖνους μόνοις: οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισφύζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν.' καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος, ἃ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ὥχετο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

[61] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ θᾶσσον ἔλθοι: 'οὐ γάρ,' ἔφη, 'καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν, ἴν' ἐχθρὸς ἦς μοι, περιέσωσα.' ὁ δὲ 'πῶς,' ἔφη, 'τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;' καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ 'οὐ γάρ,' ἔφη, 'Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ μειρακίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδί γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου: αἷς καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον: οἱ γοῦν ἰπτέες αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν.' καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος 'ἐτέρως,' ἔφη, 'τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος.' καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι 'οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι, Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάρβου καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλείσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

[62] ὁ δὲ 'σπένδεσθαι μὲν,' ἔφη, 'συνεχωρήσατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε: καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασπον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἢ δὲ ψήφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς πῶ τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὥς φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσῃν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολемоῦμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξῃν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις: εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα

πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν.’ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλὼν ‘τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν,’ ἔφη, ‘κάμει σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανίος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Αεύκιος ἐπολέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου.’ καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος ‘οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν,’ εἶπεν, ‘ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου πεμφθεὶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς.’ ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ‘οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος’ ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον εἶπεν: ‘ἀλλ’ οὐ χαίρήσει Πομπήιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθεῖς.’ καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος τὰ ἀμφύλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὡς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον· ἐκποδὼν δὲ κάκεινης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη “πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε.”

[63] οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καῖσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐπιστεῖλαί τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράψαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον· μέμψεσθαι δ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενῆς οὔσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ’ υἱοῦ. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιώντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκήϊῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδεῖη πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνόβαρβον δὲ ποι πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιτο. παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ‘γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλιῶν, ἡσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήιον αὐθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοῖη. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκήϊου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπιζομένου τι πλεον εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκεκριμένων, καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

[64] ὧν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανόμενοι πρέσβεις εἴλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρίναι σφίσι, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι, σφίσι δ’ αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικῆναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἐγνώσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνησίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεῶτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίας πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἅπανστοι δι’ ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

[65] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ’ ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς

ἔω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. Ἀηνοβάρβῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον.

αἶδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ γερόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπε, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος, ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβηνὸν τὸν Λαβηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

ἃ μὲν δὴ Λαβηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφή: [66] "Ἐλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὁρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὐθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου. ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὥς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἷτιον γερόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλευῆσαι καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τότε ἐξεῖπεν: οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυῆς ὢν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὖνοιαν: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὥς ἐπὶ δὴ τι μόνου χρήζων καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὐθις ἐς τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὥς ὑποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

[67] Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπείεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπηίου ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὥς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἡξίου ταχύνειν γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὀρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπούμενους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὁρμῇ μανιδῶει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ' ἐς ἐπὶ κτητὸν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτοὺς.

συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνισταμένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπεύλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, [68] ἕως τὸ μὲν πληθὸς ἅπαν

ἡρέτιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπάσπισταις ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλον τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἠδοῦντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἔτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέοντας, οἱ ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὥς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνήρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ διαδρομῇν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρήλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καίσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερριπτεῖτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὀρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ περιδυνόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα ὡς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστενε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

[69] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχῶρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὠρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν Αἶναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὐθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἡξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξήεσαν ἐς Βαΐας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

[70] Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπέστελλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὡς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καταδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μοῦρκόν τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διὰ τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην ἐγκρατῇ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι Μοῦρκῳ προσεῖχεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει καὶ τινὰς ἰδὼν φύλακας ἐπομένους ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδόρει. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μοῦρκου διαφθείρας ἔπεμπε ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεράποντων ἀνηρῆσθαι· ἐς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάνθανε δεῦτερον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῇ τόδε μύσος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐγκρατῇ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν

Πομπήιον εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἐκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

[71] Μοῦρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὥς οὐκ εὐνοία τοῦ δεσπότητος μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχει στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίστης, ἐξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων: ἅμα δὲ ἔφ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστροφμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρήλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ πεπονημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ρεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦκειν ὥτε ἀντὶ Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἐκατέρων προκλήσεσιν. ἦται δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἷ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαῖου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ὠνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων: καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος: καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὖνουν ἀνεκάλει.

[72] Μουκίας δὲ αὐτόν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουσῶν, αὐθις οἱ τρεῖς συνήλθον ἐς τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμουσῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε: λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσὶ, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον ἄρχειεν τῶν ἐτέρων Ἀντωνίος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σῆτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται: καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον ἔφρουγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρι τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

[73] ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῖς

ιεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες, πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐξήρους Πομπήιος περιωρμὶς μένης ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, σκηνοποιοισάμενοι καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἐστιῶντο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὧς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἱ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρώρμουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιεστῆκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεζωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῶαν δι' ὀξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδὲνα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως· 'εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ.' Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἤρμωσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδὴν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἶτα Ἀγνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἴτ' αὖθις Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

[74] τὰδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὤδουν ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαιάνιζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἰῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πῖσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτήρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστὺ ἐμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνον δὲ ἦχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχῆκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι πρὸς τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

[75] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὖθις στρατηγούς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμη. ἴστη δὲ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρόδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ συγχεῖμάσειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμάσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνούς ἔπεμπε, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ

Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπειρῷ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὥς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα ἔχη, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις χειμάσειν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξτίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄζοντα ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον ἀφρηῆσθαι Σεξτίου.

[76] ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὐθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἡρεμούσας. ἐξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολουθοῖς δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἢ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδία μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας· πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρῦη, ταχὺς ὢν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ἐτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἢ τε ἐσθῆς αὐθις καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἢ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως· πρεσβεαῖ τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἡρέμουν κεκελευσμένοι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθεύκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

[77] καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ μὲν αἰτίας, ὥς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἐτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἶδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὤφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτὸν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι· χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὥς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἶθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἐτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζεин, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὐνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ληστήριά τε αὐθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγενῆναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ Πομπήιον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιτέμψαι· καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

[78] ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνῳ καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καῖσαρος ἀπελευθέρος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνοδώρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὐνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειρεῖν Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν

πλήθος ἕτερον. καὶ τότε ὃν ἔργον εἶτε Φιλαδέλφου εἶτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μὲν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὁμως, ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου: ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὀξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὥς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκῇ.

[79] ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὐρὼν οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἶτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὥς παράσπονδον εἶτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἰδὼν πολλὴν οὖσαν ὅου γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἢ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτε τι σημεῖον δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὐρέθῃ δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλελειμμένου, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ἦσθημένου: καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἔω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἠπειλεῖ Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὥς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην: γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὥς πολεμίου.

[80] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχειρίζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὐθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἑτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο: Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἡγαγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουσίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλεονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμῶν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἢ ναυαρχίς ἢ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη: καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὥς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λησταὶ κατεΐποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατεΐποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

[81] ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουσίσιος δὲ Σαβίνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας: περιήει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνოდώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος ἦσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουσίῳ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἔχριστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτῃ προσετασσεῖν ἅπαντὰν ἐπὶ στολου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δέϊλνῃ

ἐσπέραν πελάγιος, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἶναρίαν παρήλθεν· ἡοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῶ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν μνηοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκπλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὐθις ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχρίμπτων ἐξεώθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμάχοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησίς τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλονται, καὶ σκαφῶν ἐτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἕκ τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκινήσιας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἐώκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχοντες.

[82] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέντες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσῃν ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἢ μὲν τὸν ἔμβολον τῆς Μηνოდώρου νεώς, ἢ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνოდώρου νεώς, οἱ τε καταρράκται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τεθνεώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατατετρωμένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῶ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλῶχινι Ἰβηρικῷ ὀλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπέϊξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὥς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεώς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριπεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

[83] καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπράχει. ἕκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μὲν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουίσιου συμπεσόν, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνέπιμpra τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουίσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανίων τὰς τε φευγούσας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανάγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ηὐλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προῦχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ· Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἥττη μεγίστη ὄσο γὰρ οἶδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος, ἅπαντα μεθεῖς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλόν.

[84] ὁ δὲ Καλούσιος ἔως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενε, ἔνθα περ ὤρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἱ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλόλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπήιον περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι, ὥς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκεῖνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, Καλούσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὐβουλον εἶναι τὸ ριποκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκῇ.

ὧς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους· [85] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ Καλουσίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλεόν καὶ Στυλίδα ἤδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καί περ ἐνοχλούμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καῖσαρος οὐκ ἔδωντος, εἴτε δεῖσαντος ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεγνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουσίου· γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ πρῶραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπionτας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἤδη, πρὸς τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο· καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἶδε ὥσπερ αἱ περὶ Κύμην, ὁρμοῦσαι τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

[86] ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐσθῶτας ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προκεῖσθαι. τόλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἐτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιοῦτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλουσιός τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἑώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατεῖδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέκεσθαι.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται· [87] νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁμοίως ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἑω

κακοπαθήσαι. ταλαιπωρούμενῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλουίσιος μὲν οὐδ' ὧς ἐγίνωσκετο προσπλέων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολουμένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια: ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρου δαίμονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς κρημνοὺς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτῆρων παρόντων, ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῶδε ταράχῳ διερριμμένων. περιπέμψας δ' εὐθύς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι σφύζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλουίσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς καὶ ἀδοκῆτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

[88] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας ἰστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σφύζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουισίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα: τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἡρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουίσιον εἴτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνώκωτον. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἑκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κύμα βίαιον ἐν ῥοῳδῃ καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

[89] Μηνόδορος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν: ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κύμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσίᾳ ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾷ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὥς ἐν ἔαρ, τὰς ναῦς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξέώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι: βοή τε ἦν παμμιγῆς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμωγόντων καὶ παρακελεύοντων ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀνήκοον: οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης ἰδιώτου διέφερεν οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὁμοῖος ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων: ἔγμεν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἰστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπᾶσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξέπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μὴδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

[90] οἰμωγαί τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις

ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρηνουμένων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὥς ἀπολωλότας· ἔμπαλιν τε ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ κύμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἐκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῇ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἦσσαν ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κύμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτω καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστήναι· ἡ γὰρ στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιτεσῶν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ τῶν περικειμένων ὀρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλῶμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἰλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος ἡνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνησκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυβοῦμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παρίεμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὥς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοῦς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ κύμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ποτὲ τηλικούτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλεόν.

[91] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ συνενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰππώνειον εὐθὺς ἦει διὰ ὀρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδὴν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφορὰν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μὴ τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ὥς ἐν κατοπραγία γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζωννυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ Ἰππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζων εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὥσπερ εἰρηταί μοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας.

[92] Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἡμῖς τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ἦει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὐθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ' ἔχρηζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐώντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν αἰεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικίηναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἐναγγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὀλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεῖς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον

συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεων τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγγυτο: [93] ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἑτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προὔφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἢ αὖθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὁμῶς καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει: τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγία τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὁκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελειφθαι τοῖς κινδύνους ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκκελεύσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλιᾶν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλιᾶν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον: βουλευθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδί Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὠμολόγητο. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἡ Ὁκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλιᾶν ἔπεμπε, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδοῦς: ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὲν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίζειν Ἀντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

[94] κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ρεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορῶν ἔς τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμιμεῖτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἑκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἐτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὁκταουίαν ἦξον ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθε τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχῆς ἡ μεταβολή, πρὸς τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

[95] τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο: ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὁμῶς ἀλλήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ δισμυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὀπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιτέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο: ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὁκταουία τὸν ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασήλοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἕκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὁκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίους λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξατο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔλληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐνήφιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἐτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὥριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου

δεθέντες. οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπειγέτο, τὴν Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ θυγατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

[96] Μηνόδαρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὢν φύσει παλιμπροδότης εἴτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου, ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι νομίζων παρ' ᾧ προσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότου καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελθεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἠτομόλησε πρὸς Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ ναυσί, Καλούσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν Ἀγρίππαν.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλέοντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ ἀπαΐσια τραπῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἄπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικά καθαίρουσιν.

[97] ἔμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προεῖρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἣν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰουλίου ἀντὶ Κвинτιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσισούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γενόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον εἰ Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὀπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἔω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὐκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅτῃ δεήσειεν.

[98] οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἡοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὀλκάσι καὶ μακραις ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα καὶ ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίαις καὶ ἑτέρα παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἐξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδαίαις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσῃ, συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρῶων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύνων, καὶ Ἄππιος μετὰ πλῆθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἶπετο. τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὀλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε πολλές, ὠρμίσθη δὲ ὁμοῦς ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν

πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἐτέρας ἐβιάζετο: ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀππίου δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνεντρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἑλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ διελύθη: λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκᾶτο, ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀνεωγμένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἀτοπώτερον.

[99] ἐνδόντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδνε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἐτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἥδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος: ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπέξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρω ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπε. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικὴναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου: οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλειπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου: τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰπώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ περὶ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἥδη καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

[100] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ εὐκαιρίᾳ τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους παταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαννούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι γλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανὴν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιοῦμενον ἄρα ἐαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναξεύξειν τὸν Καῖσαρα, ὥς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσοῦμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὥς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἠγαγεν ἔπεμπε κατασκευσόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἠξίωτο ὧν ἠγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολίαν.

[101] ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὥς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσίᾳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίους καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγούμενων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἥρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σῆτον ἔφερον, ὀρμούσας ἢ παραπλευούσας κατέδυνεν ἢ ἀνεδεῖτο ἢ

ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλῃν ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἐκὼν ἐς ἔρμα γῆς ἀπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καταθορόντων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρου θήραν ἔτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ὥχeto σὺν θαύματι.

ὡς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἐχθρὸς τε καὶ φίλος εἶη, Ῥέβιλον μὲν ἐλὼν, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνόμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον. [102] Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἐταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγωνῶς αὐτομολία, τοῖς μὲν ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλευεῖν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἡξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἕς τινα νησίδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουσιῖου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαι τινα τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνδοοίασε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχυρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἢ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ἠτύτομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἡξίου συγγνῶναν μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνως κε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοὺς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοien.

[103] ἐτόιμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἰπώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὄρος, ὁ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τὴν τε γῆν ἱππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἰππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἰπώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὡς μοι προείρηται, τὰς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασεν ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

[104] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὀλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθεῖλκοντο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὀλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισσηνὸς

ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

[105] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἰππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης: στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἔν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἵκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππα διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἰππώνειον αὐθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἰππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ὥς Ταυρομένιον αἰρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἰερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ἰερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι: ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης. ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἐβδομήκοντα.

[106] Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἰερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπία μόνῳ ναυμαχίσων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἤγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἰερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν: ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατὰ τε πρῶραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγέννητο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ περίπλους, καίσαρι δὲ μείζω καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι: καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κόπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἥσσονα: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὥς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυνον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὥς ταπεινοτέρας ἀφ' ὕψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικά τοῦ Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, [107] ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἔτο μάλιστα εὐθὺς τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῦλα ἀνέρρηξεν: ἡ δὲ τούς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσεῖσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστρωμα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμούσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὐθις ἐπήει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὅρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελοῦσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε

συμπλακείν, Ἀγρίππα δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες αἱεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

[108] καὶ Ἀγρίππας, κωλύοντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλας ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμωνι θαλάσσῃ, μόλις ἐσπέρας ἀνεξεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν ἢ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ροῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππα καὶ Παπία γενομένης: [109] τὸν δὲ Καῖσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπὼν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει: καὶ παρήλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξέώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν: ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομενίον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκώς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι: καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππα παραμένειν. κατασκευάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπὼν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομενίον προσέτεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαζόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπωκισμένοι.

[110] ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεῶς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤλισθε καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον: ᾧετο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμηῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλανε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ

τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππées εὐθύς ἠνώχλουν οἱ Πομπηίου χαρακοποιούμενους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφόρμησε, τάχα ἂν τι μείζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπηίῳ. νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ θορύβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον ἄκραν ὠρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο. τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππées χωρὶς ἵππων πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

[111] τὰ μὲν οὖν πεζὰ πάντα Κορνικίῳ παραδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὃ τι ἐπείγοι· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὦν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀλικομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἰστίων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαι· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἤρουν ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππées οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορνικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορνικίος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὐκαιρον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

[112] Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχέοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορνικίον ἐπανελθεῖν διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγει, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Λβάλαν λιμένα παρήνεγκε μεθ' ἐνὸς ὀπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλαθῇ, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθεράπευτος, ἔς τε Κορνικίον ἔστελλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σφύζοιτο, Κορνικίῳ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμπειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπανσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξῆει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἡξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρόνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καὶ τινες παρακινοῦντες

ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἰππώνειον.

[113] Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκλήρυχεσαν: ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον φυγὼν, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνησάμενος νῦν ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσσηδε συμφορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ περιέσφριζε.

Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προυκαλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὥδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

[114] τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἦν ῥύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνῃς ὁδεύουσι νυκτός, πνιγώδῃ τε οὔσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδῶδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ἰέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξήρσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἑτεροὶ κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἀσθενεστερῶν τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως. κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὔσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἑτεροὶ δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελῆς ἤδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

[115] ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφθεῖς, οὐπὼ μὲν ἔνδηλος ὢν, ὅτι φίλος εἶη: ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος αἰεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὐθις αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως: ὅσοι δὲ ἡμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον.

οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Μύλας: [116] ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντό τε αὐτῷ πάντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἓν τέλος. ἰππῆες δὲ δισμύριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπὶ τε Ναυλόχους καὶ Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου κατεῖχον, αἱ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὥς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν ὁρῶν ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον. Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπελεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ἣ φασὶ τὰς Ἥλιου βοῦς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.

[117] ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ Πομπήιος ἤσθεις τῶν στενῶν ἀφηρημένος καὶ Τισιηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῷ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα καὶ διημάρτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὅρος τὸ Μυκόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκηνος ἐνυκτέρευσε: ὄμβρου τε πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἵτνης σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ εὐνίων ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Αἵτνης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ρύακα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστινηῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνη παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφοτέρω.

[118] γιγνομένων δ' ἂν ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικόπτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχῃ μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ πάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεζὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχίᾳ κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεκρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχροὺς δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσαι νῆες ἐκατέρων ἰδία παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἄρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἐκατέρας: τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἶχeto

τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἄρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλῶδια πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἄρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεῶς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.

[119] ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἄμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγνυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστα εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι: καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικά τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἔκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶδιων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω: κοπήναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὐπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλῶδια ἐποίει: οὐδὲ τὸ μηχανήμά πω προέγνωστο, ὥς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι: ἔν δ' ἐπενόουν ὥς ἐν ἀδοκῇ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

[120] ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὐπορον: ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῇ, τὰ τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντα ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πεῖραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ: τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὥς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἐξακοσίων ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκατέρωθεν.

[121] μόλις δὲ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναίς διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὥς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας: καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὖθις ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὀρμιζομένας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν: ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γινόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠγάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῶμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ναυολόγων ἀναθορῶν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ

τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκήψας· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισσηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱππάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετριβήσαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

[122] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἡλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά· παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιον τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἠπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφηνεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ' ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι· καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ σπονδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἡξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα ἐς ἔω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπάζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ· [123] ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσιν ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίη τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἔς τε τὰ φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἱ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὄνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα αἱ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρήσαι.

[124] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθητο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὐθις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἡσημένιοις καταστάντες. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραινέσοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρato πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ

Καῖσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῆει μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἐκάστοις ἄκων ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὁρώντων, οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ πρῶτοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάραι, καὶ συγγνῶναι σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουν οὐπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἤρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἔλυνον ἕτεροι.

[125] καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. βολαὶ τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη: τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππείας. Λεπίδου δὲ τι φρουρίον ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ: καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἐτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καῖσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἱππέων μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος περιέπεμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους: καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὐνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐθις οἱ Πομπηϊανοί, ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη: Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἡπείλει καὶ ἐδέϊτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἶχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δεῖσας μεθήκεν.

[126] οἱ δὲ ἱππείες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα: ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν. οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκῆτ' ἅπαντων ἀπιστία συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθιε πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἦν σχήματος, ιδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλήν ιερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης.

ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσοῦσδε ὁμοτίμους, ιδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε. [127] Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ' ἐτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτριὰν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἕξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο 'οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν, εἶθ', ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἱππείες δισμῦριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν

ἰππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραὶ τε νῆες ἐξακόσιαι: τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλήθος, καίπερ ὄν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίους ἔδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἥδη διδούς, τὰ δὲ ὑπischynόμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπηίου.

[128] ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσθησε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ᾗδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπischynεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευομένοις, ὅτε κακεῖνος ἀφίκηται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμησε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὀρκῶν καὶ κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὕφηκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἕτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλιάρχος Ὀφύλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα: καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδοροῦμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτῳ δικαίως.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τότε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφανῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο: [129] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μὲν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἑνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθεῖραιεν ἐτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλήθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιορκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπῆναι καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει, καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκάστω. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελία μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξακόσια, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν προῦπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

[130] ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἥ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσαστο ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτὴν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε: καὶ ὑπῆντων ὅτι πορρωτάτα καὶ

αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι ἐξ τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουλευγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἐστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὐπὲρ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων. καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι “τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν”.

[131] τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἦν ἓνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὥς πολέμιον κελεύοντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀνειλήσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾷς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο. καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἀπέδρασεν.

[132] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρουν. ληστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἀρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ ληστεία λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον ἐοικότων, Σαβίνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολλὴν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἀλISCOμένων, ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὅμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περιήγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκῆτου διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτήσιοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῇ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κάκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφημοῦντες εἴλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς αἰεὶ, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

[133] Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρα Λακινία προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαῖω Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδία Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομπήιος

ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἢ φήμῃ μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὖθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὥς ἢ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθυμῖός τε οἱ συνεχῆς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθών. καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἔς τε Θράκην καὶ ἔς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ εἰς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπίσας εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δεξέσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖον τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

[134] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ἤρητο καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν οὕτως:

ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλευσαι, φίλην οὖσαν αὐτῷ πατρώθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἰρούμενος δὲ εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοὶ τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προὔτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὗτ' ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας 'οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχες', οὗτ' ἂν σὺ ἦττησο ἐν Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, ὃν συνέθετο: ἐκράτεις δ' ἂν ἤδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ τότε μάλιστ' ἂν σοὶ γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολλακίς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπηίῳ τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

[135] λοιπὸς δ' εἰς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπη: ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἰρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεται σοὶ τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν εἰς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοὶ μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα περισώζεις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν εἰς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα.

[136] τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβειων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ὡς ἐντείλαιοτο Τιτίῳ· καὶ εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοίη Πομπήιος, ἤξειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς παρηγοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι· δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

[137] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιώμαχος ὦν οὔτε πῶ τὴν γνώμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἐτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγοῦνται τὸν πρέσβει ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὅμως ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμπσακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαῖου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτεψε τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς. ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

[138] Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, αἰεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἔωντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθὼν. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίου ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὄμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιώμαχοι. προσδεχομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς εἰσφορὰς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι γενομένης νίκης, ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπύθετο ἵλην ἱππέων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Αθήναις ἀπεσταλαμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐς διαφθοράν τῆς ἵλης μετὰ χρυσίου.

ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ

χρυσίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διένειμεν· ^[139] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ἠϋξετο παρ' ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥρος ἀρχομένου, νῆες ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι ἑμετά γάρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν, ἦκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἑτέραις ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ κατήραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δέισας οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὥπλισεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ Νασιδίος καὶ Σατορνῖνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀντίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρήσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος αὐτῷ Φάνιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστής αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Λίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τίτιον παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παύόμενον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετήλθον.

^[140] ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὢν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναζευζάντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὃ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας, συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἀνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχυρῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἢ αὐθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἀλίσθεντες εἶποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἠξιώσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιωτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

^[141] ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μὲν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. ἑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμη πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλευέται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ προορῶν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμῆναι τὴν πρεσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην ἢ λαβόντας ἄγειν ἤδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπιτρέψω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶον ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίῳ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῷ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνᾳ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡμείψατο:

ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν ἑαυτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτόν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περιμένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δέ, ἃ πεποίηκας ἅπαντα· τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνωκας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τίτῳ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν· Τίτῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου· καὶ πίστιν, ἣν

αἰτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνι σοι καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν. κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολεμοῦντα μὲν σε κατακανεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως.

[142] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τίτιῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμένῳ πολεμήσειν πρὸς αὐτόν: ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἡδόξει, Πομπήιος ὢν, ἐπὶ Τίτιῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάνυ ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπόπτειν αὐτὸν ὥς οὐ βέβαιον ἐς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καὶ τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίῳ δ' αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι παρεκάλει. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τίτιῳ: ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλπικτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἳ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τίτιου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐτίνοιαν οὐκ ἤδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν Ἀμύντας ἐδίδωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερώς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἦδη τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντῃ, ὁ Τίτιῳ μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

[143] οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Πομπήιος Σέξστος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μενιάκιον ἦδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα ληστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου παῖδα, ἐλήστευέ τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἡγείρε πολλὸν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἴλε, καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύο θάλασσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπικούρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλοὺς, οἳ τότε δι' αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς οὐ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἡμύνητο μόνον.

[144] καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἐάλωκει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκανεν, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ, μηνίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστεῖλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότες Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὖνως

ἔχουσιν τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαζάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατρέψαιεν.

[145] ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὖθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριούς, οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καὶ μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνῶριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἰδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἐτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

The Dual Texts



Marble portrait of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from AD 161 to 180 — Appian claimed to have addressed several emperors, including Marcus Aurelius, while working as a lawyer in Rome.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXTS



Translated by Horace White

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Appian's works, alternating between the original Greek and White's English translation.

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ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκ τῆς Βασιλικῆς — CONCERNING THE KINGS

“ἄρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπυος, ὃς ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ ἤκμαζε πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἔς τινα τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλόν, Λώρεντον ἐπικαλούμενον, ἔνθα καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίνων τῶν τῆδε Ἰταλῶν Φαῦνος ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ὃς καὶ ζεύγνυσιν Αἰνεῖα τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Λαουινίαν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Λαουινίον ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Αἰνεΐας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Λατίνου Φαύνου Λατίνους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Λαουινίαν τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Ῥουτούλων τῶν Τυρρηγῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναιρεῖται πολέμου νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνεΐας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθεὶς, ὃς ἐγεννήθη τῷ Αἰνεΐᾳ ἐκ Κρεοῦσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικός. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθῆναι φασι, τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

Fragments

“ÆNEAS, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at that part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping-place is shown to this day, and that shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The Aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four hundred stades in circuit. Here Æneas built a town, which he named after his wife, Lavinium. Three years later, at the death of Faunus, Æneas succeeded to the kingdom by virtue of his marriage relationship, and he called the Aborigines Latins, from his father-in-law, Latinus Faunus. Three years later still, Æneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king. He was succeeded in the government by Euryleon, otherwise called Ascanius, the son of Æneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Æneas and Lavinia.

[2] Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλβης οἰκισιν ἔκειτο πόλιν, Ἀλβην καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Λαουινίου τὸν λαὸν μετόπισεν ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σίλουιος. καὶ Σιλουίου παῖδα Αἰνεΐαν Σίλουιόν φασιν, Αἰνείου δὲ Λατῖνον Σίλουιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιβερίνον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλον. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ: οὗ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀουεντῖνον, Ἀουεντίνου δὲ Πρόκαν γενέσθαι καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Σίλουιον ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. τῷ δὲ Πρόκῳ δύο

ἐγενέσθην υἱοί, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βία κατέσχευεν ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἔγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουίαν ἰέριαν, ἵνα ἅπαις διαμείνῃ, καθίστησι· τὸν μέντοι Νεμέτορα τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐξεῖλε πραότης καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια. ἀλλ' ἡ Σιλουία ἔκυε παρὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμούλιος ἐπὶ κολάσει συνελάμβανε, δύο δὲ παῖδας ἐκ τῆσδε γενομένους ποιμέσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰς τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ βρέφη· Θύβρις ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ, Ῥῶμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμύλος οἱ παῖδες, ἐξ Αἰνείου ἔλκοντες μητρόθεν τὸ γένος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φύντος ἀδελον.”

Phot. Biblioth. b 4 Bekk.

“ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἐπτὰ βασιλέων, Ῥωμύλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἄγκου Ὀστιλίου καὶ Ἄγκου ἐτέρου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερουίου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεις περιέχει. ὧν ὁ πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστὴς γεγονώς, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς, ὅμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἠφανίσθη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἥττον βεβασιλευκῶς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε ζήσας ... ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσφ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ὁμοίως σφαγῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη· ἐξ οὗ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθείσης εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη.”

id. b 22.

“ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπισχνεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον.”

Suid. vv. Τάτιος et φυλάξασα.

“κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχόσθη.”

Suid. v. λιθάζω.

“ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμύλον Τατίου αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διή τησαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χειρὰς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἡδὴ σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὕβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἶκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μιανοῦ πολέμου, ἢ πρῶτας ἀνελεῖν αἱ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορία καὶ οἶκτῳ τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνώσκοντες ἡδὴ μὴ καθ' ὕβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν

γενομένην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τάτιόν τε καὶ Ῥωμόλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων μετοικίζεσθαι ἐπ' ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ.”

U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) .

“ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ' ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγγειλεν Ὀστιλίῳ.”

Suid. v. ἰδιόξενος.

“οἱ δὲ ἐβλάσφημουν αὐτὸν ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι τὰ πάντα θέμενον.”

id. v. βλάσφημος.

“συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν Γάβιοι δικαιῶσιν.”

id. v. δικαιῶν.

“ὠνεῖται τὰ τρία βιβλία τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐννέα.”

Bekk. Anecd. , 15.

“ὁ δὲ Ὀράτιος λελωβημένος ἦν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἔτυχεν οὔτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν.”

Suid. vv. ἀχρηστία et Ὀράτιος.

“οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰ ὄρκια προύτεινον, καὶ ἐς πάντα ἔφασαν ἐνδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι.”

id. v. προσήσεσθαι.

“ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθιζε. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἀνὴρ Σαβίνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός, οὐκ εἶα τοὺς Σαβίνους παρασπονδεῖν, ἕως κρινόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔφυγεν ἐς Ῥώμην μετὰ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ δούλων πεντακισχιλίων. οἷς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν ἐς οἰκίας ἔδωσαν καὶ γῆν ἐς γεωργίαν, καὶ πολίτας ἔθεντο. τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἔργα λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν Σαβίνων: καὶ φυλὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν.”

Vales. Excerpt. ex collectan. Const. Porph. .

“Λατῖνοι ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτούς ... οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἐγκλήματα εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφῶς ὄντας ἐνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς.”

Suid. vv. ἔνσπονδος et πάρεσις.

[2] Ascanius died four years after the founding of Alba (for he also built a city and gave it the name of Alba, and settled it with a colony from Lavinium),

and Silvius succeeded to the throne. They say that this Silvius had a son named Æneas Silvius, and he a son named Latinus Silvius, and he a son named Capys, and he a son named Capetus, and he a son named Tiberinus, and he a son named Agrippa, who was the father of the Romulus who was struck by lightning, and who left a son Aventinus, who was the father of Procas. All of these bore the surname of Silvius. Procas had two sons, the elder named Numitor, and the younger Amulius. When the elder succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, the younger took it away from him by force and violence. He also killed Egestus, his brother's son, and he made Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, a vestal, so that she might remain childless. Notwithstanding a conspiracy against his life, Numitor himself was saved because of the gentleness and clemency of his manners. Silvia having become pregnant contrary to law, Amulius cast her into prison by way of punishment, and when she had given birth to two sons he gave them to some shepherds with orders to throw the babes into the neighboring stream called the river Tiber. These boys were Romulus and Remus. Being of the lineage of Æneas, on their mother's side, for their father's lineage was unknown, they always boasted their descent from the former."

FROM PHOTIUS

"My first book contains the deeds of Rome's seven kings, viz.: Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (a descendant of Numa), Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius, a son of the other Tarquinius. The first of these was the founder and builder of Rome, and although he governed it rather as a father than as an absolute monarch, he was nevertheless slain, or, as some think, translated. The second, not less kingly, but even more so than the first, died at the age of . . . The third was struck by lightning. The fourth died of a disease. The fifth was murdered by some shepherds. The sixth lost his life in a similar manner. The seventh was expelled from the city and kingdom for violating the laws. From that time kingly rule came to an end, and the administration of government was transferred to consuls."

FROM PHOTIUS

"Having kept careful watch against her father's return, she (Tarpeia) promises Tatius to betray the garrison."

FROM SUIDAS

"At the command of Tatius they threw pieces of gold at the girl until she succumbed to her wounds and was buried under the heap."

FROM SUIDAS

“When Tatius waged war against Romulus, the wives of the Romans, who were daughters of the Sabines, made peace between them. Advancing to the camp of the parents they held out their hands to them and showed the infant children already born to them and their husbands, and testified that their husbands had done them no wrong. They prayed that the Sabines would take pity on themselves, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their daughters, and either put an end to this wretched war between relatives, or first kill them in whose behalf it was begun. The parents, moved partly by their own difficulties and partly by pity for the women, and perceiving that what the Romans had done was not from lust but necessity, entered into negotiations with them. For this purpose Romulus and Tatius met in the street which was named from this event Via Sacra and agreed upon these conditions: that both Romulus and Tatius should be kings, and that the Sabines who were then serving in the army under Tatius, and any others who might choose to come, should be allowed to settle in Rome on the same terms and under the same laws as the Romans themselves.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“The general, learning this fact from one of his personal friends, communicated it to Hostilius.”

FROM SUIDAS

“Some blamed him [Tullus Hostilius] because he wrongly staked everything on the prowess of three men (the Horatii).”

FROM SUIDAS

“[The Romans thought] that peace might be made [by Tarquinius] on the terms that the Gabini considered just.”

FROM SUIDAS

“[Tarquinius] bought three books [from the Sibyl] at the price [previously asked] for the nine.”

FROM THE ANONYMOUS GRAMMARIAN

“Horatius [Cocles] was a cripple. He failed of reaching the consulship, either in war or in peace, on account of his lameness.”

FROM SUIDAS

“The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquinius. (Y.R.

FROM SUIDAS

“Tarquinius incited the Sabines against the Roman people. (B.C. 504) Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus, opposed any violation of the treaty, and being condemned for this action, he took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves, to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and the Claudian gens received its name from him.”

FROM PEIRESC (Y.R. 256) (B.C. 498) “The Latins, although allied to the Romans by treaty, nevertheless made war against them. They accused the Romans of despising them, although they were allied to them, and of the same blood.”

FROM SUIDAS

[Here follow, in the Teubner edition, four detached sentences, or parts of sentences, which, without their context, convey no meaning.]

ἐκ τῆς Ἱταλικῆς — CONCERNING ITALY

“Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέστες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους.”

Suid. v. κληροῦχον.

“ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸν Μάρκιον μετιόντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειροτόνησεν, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιώς αὐτοῦ.”

id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

“ὁ Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, φυγὴν καταδικασθεὶς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοῦς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο.”

id. v. πίμπραται.

“ὅτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαζάμενος ἦκοι, τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἰρήσεσθαι βουλευθεὶς.”

id. v. ἀλλαζάμενος.

“ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Οὐολούσκους καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἠπεῖλει τῇ βουλῇ παραδῶσιν τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσιντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ῥωμαίοις πρεπούσης, οἱ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολούσκων ἀκροωμένῳ προὔτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμησκον ὥς οὐχ ἁμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτόν καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὅμως Οὐολούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἂν ἦν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδῶσι, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὥσπερ Λατίνους. ἔως δ' ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατούντων οἱ κρατούμενοι, οὐχ ὅρᾳ τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσοντας ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἐπὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἴλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

Fragments

“The Volsci, in nowise terrified by the misfortunes of their neighbors, made war against the Romans and laid siege to their colonies.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 263) “The people refused to elect Marcius (Coriolanus) when (B.C. 491) he sought the consulship, not because they considered him unfit, but

because they feared his domineering spirit.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 265) “Marcius being inflamed against the Romans when they (B.C. 489) banished him went over to the Volsci, meditating no small revenge.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 266) “When he arrived there, having renounced his own country (B.C. 488) and kin, he did not meditate anything in particular, but intended to side with the Volsci against his country.”

FROM SUIDAS

“When Marcius had been banished, and had taken refuge with the Volsci, and made war against the Romans, and was encamped at a distance of only four hundred stades from the city, the people threatened to betray the walls to the enemy unless the Senate would send an embassy to him to treat for peace. The Senate reluctantly sent plenipotentiaries for this purpose. When they arrived at the camp of the Volsci and were brought into his presence and that of the Volscian chiefs, they offered oblivion and permission to return to the city if he would discontinue the war, and they reminded him that the Senate had never done him any wrong. He, while accusing the people of the many wrongs they had done to him and to the Volsci, promised nevertheless that the latter would come to terms with them if they would surrender the land and towns they had taken from the Volsci and admit them to citizenship on the same terms as the Latins. But if the vanquished were to keep what belonged to the victors, he did not see how peace could be made. Having named these conditions, he dismissed the ambassadors and gave them thirty days to consider. Then he turned against the remaining Latin towns, and having captured seven of them in the thirty days, he came back to receive the answer of the Romans.

[2] οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δ' ἀντειπόντος ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἐκουσίους ἐὰν γίνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδοῦμένον τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτόντων. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἔπεμπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐσταλμένους, ταῦτά τοῦ Μαρκίου δεησομένους· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις ἔφη δεῖν ἢ τὰ κελεύόμενα ποιεῖν, ἢ μηδ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὥς ἄνωθεν ἀμυνόμενοι Μάρκιον.

[2] They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory

they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms. When he refused this, they sent ten others to beg him that nothing should be done unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honor of his country and the principles of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and brought stones and missiles upon the walls to fight off Marcius from above.

[3] Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Οὐολουμνίαν, πένθιμα ἡμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδιά ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσαι, συνεξελεῖν αὐταῖς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἡξίουσαν αὐτάς, καὶ δεηθῆναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἔχθρῶν στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ῥωμαῖον ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιούσαις ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθήρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τὴν μητέρα, προσδραμών τε ἡσπάζετο, καὶ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Οὐολούσκων, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι χρήζοι.

[3] Now Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, brought a company of women to Veturia, the mother of Marcius, and to Volumnia his wife. All these, clad in mourning garments and bringing their children to join in the supplication, implored that they would go out with them to meet Marcius, and beseech him to spare them and their country. The Senate allowed these women to go alone to the camp of the enemy. Marcius admiring the high courage of the city, where even the women were inspired by it, advanced to meet them, sending away the rods and axes of the lictors, out of respect for his mother. He ran forward and embraced her, brought her into the council of the Volsci, and told her to tell what she wanted.

[4] ἡ δὲ συνηδικῆσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένῳ τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἔφη, ὅρᾳν δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν ἤδη καὶ τίσιν ἔτισαν ἱκανήν, ὣν χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέφθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολώλασι πολλαί, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαῖοις ἔσχατον, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις ἐμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερέας καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα, τό τε ἀδίκημα ἰῶνται ἀμνηστία καὶ καθόδῳ. 'σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ, μηδὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπιχειρεῖ κοινᾷς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων. ποῖ φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ; μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὴν σῆν; μετὰ τὴν ἐστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά; δὸς χάριν, ὃ παῖ, κάμοι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρακαλούσαις.' ἡ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἶα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην: οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἂν ἀδικῇ, οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν εὖ ποιοῦν: καὶ τὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκέλευεν ὅρᾳν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην

πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεψάντων. τιμᾶς τε ὅσων ἠξίωτο, καὶ ὅρκους οὓς ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεξήκει, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοῦς αὐτοῦς ἐκεῖνοις τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

[4] She said that, being his mother, she was as much wronged as he in his banishment from the city; that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a sufficient penalty, so much of their territory had been laid waste and so many of their towns demolished, and themselves reduced to the extremity of sending their consuls and priests, and finally his own mother and wife, as ambassadors to him, and offering to rescind the decree and to grant him forgetfulness of the past and a safe return to his home. “Do not,” she said, “cure an evil by an incurable evil. Do not be the cause of calamities that will smite yourself as well as those you injure. Whither do you carry the torch? From the fields to the city? From the city to your own hearthstone? From your own hearthstone to the temples of the gods? Have mercy, my son, on me and on your country as we plead.” After she had thus spoken Marcius replied that the country which had cast him out was not his, but rather the land which had given him shelter. Nothing was dear to him that was unjust, nor was anybody his enemy who treated him well. He told her to cast her eyes upon the men here present with whom he had exchanged the pledge of mutual fidelity, who had granted him citizenship, had chosen him their general, and had intrusted to him their private interests. He mentioned the honors bestowed upon him and the oath he had sworn, and he urged his mother to consider his friends and enemies hers also.

[5] ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἤδη πρεσβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίου βασιλέως καὶ Γαΐου Μαρκίου, τούτοις δὲ Τάτιον μὲν, ὄντα ξένον καὶ ἀληθῆ πολέμιον, ἐνδοῦναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἰδοῦμενον, Μάρκιον δ' ὑπερορᾶν πρεσβείας γυναικῶν τοσῶνδε, καὶ τῆς γεγαμημένης καὶ μητρὸς ἐπὶ ταῦταις. ‘ἄλλη μὲν οὖν,’ ἔφη, ‘μηδεμία μήτηρ, ἀτυχοῦσα παιδός, ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίκοιτο προσπεσεῖν αὐτῇ: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑφίσταμαι: προκυλίσομαί σου.’ καὶ λέγουσα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν ἐρρίπτει. ὁ δὲ ἐδάκρυσέ τε καὶ ἀνεπήδα καὶ ἀντείχετο αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πάθους ἐξεφώνησε, ‘νικᾷς, ὦ μήτερ, ἀλλὰ νίκην ἐξ ἧς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολεῖς.’ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὥς λόγον ἀποδώσων Οὐολούσκους καὶ τὰ ἔθνη συναλλάζων: ἐλπίς τε ἦν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα πείσει Οὐολούσκους. κατελεύσθη δὲ φθονούμενος παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀττίου.”

U. .

“ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίου.”

Suid. v. ἐδικαίου.

“ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιάπαινοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο

Ῥωμαίοις πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλεθρίας, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται.”

Suid. vv. ἐλεεινός et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.

“τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθής ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπιδησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ.”

id. v. ἐθελοκάκως.

“ὅτι σημειῶν γενομένων ἐκ Διὸς ἀηδῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἄλῳσιν, οἱ μάντιες ἔλεγον ἐκλειφθῆναί τινα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀνήνεγκεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοιτο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρήσαντι περὶ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τοὺς λαβόντας ὅτιοῦν ἐκ τῆς Οὐηιέντης ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὄρκῳ τὸ δέκατον εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὤκνησε καὶ τῆς γῆς ἤδη πεπραμένης, ὡς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθεῖναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔκειτο χρύσεος ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιητῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκιῷ πολέμῳ κατεχώνευσεν, κεῖται δ’ ἡ βάσις.

[5] While he was still speaking, she, in a burst of anger, and holding her hands up to heaven, invoked their household gods. “Two processions of women,” said she, “have set forth from Rome in the deepest affliction, one in the time of King Tatius, the other in that of Gaius Marcius. Of these two Tatius, a stranger and downright enemy, had respect for the women and yielded to them. Marcius scorns a like delegation of women, including his wife, and his mother besides. May no mother, unblessed in her son, ever again be reduced to the necessity of throwing herself at his feet. This I must submit to. I must prostrate myself before yours.” So speaking she flung herself on the ground. He burst into tears, sprang forward and lifted her up, exclaiming with the deepest emotion: “Mother, you have gained the victory, but it is a victory by which you have lost your son.” So saying he led back the army, in order to give his reasons to the Volsci and to make peace between the two nations. There was some hope that he might be able to persuade the Volsci, but on account of the jealousy of their leader Attius he was put to death.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Marcius did not think proper to gainsay either of these [demands].”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 275) “(The Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their misfortunes (B.C. 479) as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For it was a great

misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 283) “The army was incensed against the general (Appius Claudius) (B.C. 471) from remembrance of old wrongs, and refused to obey him. They fought badly on purpose, and took to flight, putting bandages on their bodies as though they were wounded. They broke up camp and tried to retreat, putting the blame on the unskilfulness of their commander.”

FROM SUIDAS

“Bad omens from Jupiter were observed after the capture of Veii. The soothsayers said that some religious duty had (Y.R. 359) been neglected, and Camillus remembered that it had been (B.C. 395) forgotten to appropriate a tenth of the plunder to the god that had given the oracle concerning the lake. Accordingly the Senate decreed that those who had taken anything from Veii should make an estimate, each one for himself, and bring in a tenth of it under oath. Their religious feeling was such that they did not hesitate to add to the votive offering a tenth of the produce of the land that had already been sold, as well as of the spoils. With the money thus obtained they sent to the temple of Delphi a golden cup which stood on a pedestal of brass in the treasury of Rome and Massiliat until Onomarchus melted the cup during the Phocæan war. The pedestal is still standing. (Y.R. 363)

[2] αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἐδίδωκεν ὡς αἴτιον γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλεπῶν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐζημίωσε πεντήκοντα μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὐδ’ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἐτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρισθῇ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετόκησεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχὴν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τότε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον· Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέφυγε καὶ δικτάτορα αὐθις εἵλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς πράξεσι συγγέγραπται.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων ἡξιώθη. ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐφημούμενος πᾶσιν ἡφίει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προϊὼν δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκοπίαις ἐπαιρόμενος ἐβούλευσεν ἥδη χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς κοινάς, ἢ τὸν

δῆμον ἡξίου τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἔτι οὕσαν ἀνέμητον.”

Val. .

[2] Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of (B.C. 391) being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some time set against him, fined him heavily, having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep grief he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came (Y.R. 365) to pass very soon, for when the Gauls captured the city, the (B.C. 389) people fled for succor to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.”

FROM PEIRESC

“When Marcus Manlius, the patrician, saved the city of Rome from a Gallic invasion, he received the highest honors. (Y.R. 370) At a later period when he saw an old man, who had often (B.C. 384) fought for his country, reduced to servitude by a money lender, he paid the debt for him. Being highly commended for this act, he released all his own debtors from their obligations. His glory being much increased thereby, he paid the debts of many others. Being much elated by his popularity, he even proposed that all debts should be cancelled, or that the people should sell the lands that had not yet been distributed and apply the proceeds for the relief of debtors.”

FROM PEIRESC

ἐκ τῆς Σαυνιτικῆς — THE SAMNITE HISTORY

“ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορουῖνος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομάς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἶδε Καμπανοῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὔσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους ἑαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἕκαστοι τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμον προσαγαγέσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὁδεύων ἔμαθε τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἀφῆκεν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινα χρεῖαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χιλιάρχον τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ᾧ εἴρητο ἀφανῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἑκάτεροι δ’ ὑπώπτευν μεμνηῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ Ταρρακίνην ἀφίστανται τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δεδεμένους ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ ὀπλίσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἤλαυνον ἐς Ῥώμην ὁμοῦ δισμῦριοι γεγονότες.

Fragments

(Y.R. 411) “WHEN the Roman generals Cornelius and Corvinus, and (B.C. 343) the plebian Decius, had overcome the Samnites they left a military guard in Campania to ward off the Samnite incursions. These guards, partaking of the luxury and profuseness of the Campanians, were corrupted in their habits and began to envy the riches of these people, being themselves very poor and owing alarming debts in Rome. Finally they took counsel among themselves to kill their entertainers, seize their property, and marry their wives. This infamy would perhaps have been carried out at once, had not the new general Mamercus, who was marching against the Samnites, learned the design of the Roman guard. Concealing his intentions, he disarmed some of them and dismissed them, as soldiers entitled to discharge for long service. The more villanous ones he ordered to Rome on the pretence of important business, and he sent with them a military tribune with orders to keep a secret watch over them. Both parties of soldiers suspected that their design had leaked out, and they broke away from the tribune near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working under sentence in the fields, armed them as well as they could, and marched to Rome to the number of about 20,000. (Y.R. 412)

[2] ἔτι δ’ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπήντα Κορουῖνος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἡρεμεί, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἔτι, καὶ μέγα ἠγούμενος ἀπεγνωκὸσι μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμίσγυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ ὁδυρμοὶ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις ἀμαρτεῖν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ὧν ὁ Κορουῖνος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὀκνῶν ἄψασθαι πολιτικοῦ καὶ

τοσούτου φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τότε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν δύναιτο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμειξίας ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ οὐδ' ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ἢ πιστός, ἅτε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον αὐτῶν αἰτιώμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύουσιν ἔφη περὶ μειζόνων· καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσκειν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ' οἰκείων τοσῶνδε. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατήεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ὁ ὕπατος τοιοῦτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετὴν. τοῦτ' αὖ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἀμελὴς ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸν εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενόν τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ παῖς ὅδε Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτων ξιφίδιον, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἠξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὥς δὴ τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπέκλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἠπειλεῖ τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὁμώσειεν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤμοσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν· ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμπρὸς ἦν, ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιόσδε ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεῖχε, μετὰ δέ, οὐ φέρων ἔτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντήλασε τὸν ἵππον.”

Suid. v. ἐρέθισμα.

“ὅτι Σαννῖται ἐς τὴν Φρεγγιλλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Σαννιτῶν καὶ Δαυνίων ὀγδοήκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἴλον, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀνελόντες ἀπανάστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπρέσβευον οἱ Σαννῖται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὥς αἰτίους τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότας ἀνηρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιουσίας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ πάνυ νομίζουσα τετρῦσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδῶσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἢ παρητοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἔφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες. λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆεσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πείραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

[2] About one day's march from the city they were met by Corvinus who went into camp near them on the Alban mount. He remained quietly in his camp

while investigating what the matter was, and did not consider it wise to attack these desperadoes. The men mingled with each other privately, the guards acknowledging with groans and tears, as among relatives and friends, that they were to blame, but declaring that the cause of it all was the debts they owed at (B.C. 342) Rome. When Corvinus understood this he shrank from the responsibility of so much civil bloodshed and advised the Senate to release these men from debt. He exaggerated the difficulty of the war if it should be necessary to put down such a large body of men, who would fight with the energy of despair. He had strong suspicions also of the result of the meetings and conferences, lest his own army, who were relatives of these men and not less oppressed with debt, should be to some extent lacking in fidelity. If he should be defeated he said that the dangers would be greatly increased; if victorious, the victory itself would be most lamentable to the commonwealth, being gained over so many of their own relatives. The Senate was moved by his arguments and decreed a cancellation of debts to all Romans, and immunity also to these revolters. The latter laid down their arms and returned to the city.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 414) “Such was the bravery of the consul Manlius Torquatus. (B.C. 340) He had a penurious father who did not care for him, but kept him at work with slaves in the fields and left him to partake of their fare. When the tribune Pomponius prosecuted him for numerous misdeeds and thought to mention among others his bad treatment of his son, young Manlius, concealing a dagger under his clothes, went to the house of the tribune and asked to see him privately as though he had something of importance to say about the trial. Being admitted, and just as he was beginning to speak, he fastened the door and threatened the tribune with instant death if he did not take an oath that he would withdraw the accusation against his father. The latter took the oath, dismissed the accusation, and explained the reason to the people. Manlius acquired great distinction from this affair, and was praised for being such a son to such a father.”

FROM PEIRESC

“With jeers he challenged him to single combat. The other [Manlius, the consul’s son] restrained himself for a while; but when he could no longer endure the provocation, he dashed on his horse against him.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 432) “While the Samnites were raiding and plundering the territory (B.C. 322) of Fregellæ, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them out of

the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of the men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold taken from their store. Wherefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, or if they disputed any, they either entreated and begged for better terms, or referred the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they could not bear even to hear anything on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable, implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. (Y.R. 433)

[2] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἔτι παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἕως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ' ἐνεμέσῃσεν τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὕστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤχθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐς γὰρ στενωτάτων χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγούντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Πόντιον καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ἣν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχουσι καιροί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοῖεν. θρήνος οὖν ἦν οἷα πόλεως ἀλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἔτι ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὁκνοῦντες ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι· ὥς δ' οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὃ τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτούς, καὶ νεότης ἦν πέντε μυριάδων, ἣν ὥκνουσιν φθειρομένην ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκάλουν, εἴτε κτείνειν εἴτε πωλεῖν εἴτε φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἔλοιτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀτυχούντων ὑβρίσαι.

[2] A god humbled this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win the gratitude of the Romans, such as not many opportunities offer. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him unless they were prepared to surrender their arms and their persons. There-upon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him either to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep (B.C. 321) them for ransom, but not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate.

[3] ὁ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καυδίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γήρωσ ἀμάξῃ. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, ‘ἐν ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἢ κολάσεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσσουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἴσθι νίκην τήνδε πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν· καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μήτ’ ἐνυβρίσας μήτ’ ἀφελόμενος μηδέν, ἵνα σῶον ἦ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δ’, ὡς ἀκούω, φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόναις εὐεργεσίαις ἠττώμενοι διαγωνιοῦνταί σοι περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος. ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τήνδε τὴν εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἦν δέ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθῃ, κτεῖνον ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς, μηδ’ ἄγγελον ὑπολιπόν. λέγω δ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἰρούμενος, ταῦτα δ’ ὡς ἀναγκαῖα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ὅτιοι ὕβρισθέντες ἀμννοῦνται σε πάντως· ἀμννεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μῆζον δ’ οὐκ ἂν εὔροις βλάβος νέων ὁμοῦ πέντε μυριάδων.’

[3] Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: “My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure, — either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Regard this first and greatest victory as a treasure-house of good fortune. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so that the greatness of the benefit may inure to your advantage. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honor. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in deeds of kindness. It is in your power to attain this state of kindly action as a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time.”

[4] ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν: ‘ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ θαυμάζω: προεῖπας γὰρ ἐρεῖν ὑπερβολὰς ἐκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσοῦτους, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀφαιρήσομαι δι’ ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὐδ’ αὐτῷ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ, Ῥωμαίων πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἔτι νῦν ἐχόντων, τούσδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω: ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἢ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δέ, παρεῖς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν: ὧν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνᾶσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρημένοι χρήζουσι παραμυθίας: φύσει δὲ γαῦρον ὁ νενικηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπονται. τίς οὖν ἀνέξεται μου τούσδε μὴ κτείνειν μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλ’ ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀπαθεῖς προπέμπειν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρῶμεν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἐγώ, τῆς δ’ ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι: ὡς δ’ ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλοιμι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἶην, ὅπλα μὲν

αὐτοῦς, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι καὶ χρήματα 'καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐκπέμψω δ' ὑπὸ ζυγὸν σώους, ἢ τινὶ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατ' ἄλλων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἱπέων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὁμηρα τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἕως ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐπισηφίσῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἡγοῦμαι νενικηκότος τε ἔργα ποιήσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ῥωμαίους τε ἀγαπήσειν ὅσα καὶ αὐτοί, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἐς ἄλλους ἔδρασαν.'

[4] When he had thus spoken his son answered: "I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of a god and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I shall not do that. Such unreasonable leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed like meritorious persons? Therefore let us discard the two extremes — the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of others, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed to put upon others. Then I will establish peace between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have accomplished what belongs to a victor and to a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others."

[5] ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐδάκρυσέ τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπῆνης ἐς τὸ Καῦδιον ἀπήλauen. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἴ τις εἰρηνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρείη. τοῖς δὲ παρῆν οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐπὶ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοῖς οὖν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, 'ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσπενδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἴτ' αὐθις αὖ φιλίας ἡμῖν γενομένης, Νεαπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσιν. καὶ οὐκ ἡγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἦν ὑμῖν

παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔν τε ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐδ' ἠρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλοτριᾶς, καὶ κληρούχους ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἡμῶν δις πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωροῦντων, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπενδομένους ἀλλ' ἐαλωκότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ' ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῖν συνοικούντων. ἔνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἄσπονδα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσίν τε θεῶν αἰδοῦμενος, ἦν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας τῆς ποτὲ μνημονεύων, δίδωμι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν σὺν ἱματίῳ σῶον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἦν ὁμόσητε τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ' ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδέ ποτ' ἐπὶ Σαννίτας στρατεύσειν.'

[5] While Pontius was speaking the old man burst into tears, then seated himself in his carriage and went back to Caudium. Pontius then summoned the Roman envoys and asked them if they had any fetial priest with them. There was none present because the army had marched to undertake an irreconcilable, implacable war. Accordingly he commanded the envoys to make this announcement to the consuls and other officers of the army and to the whole multitude: "We had concluded perpetual friendship with the Romans, which you yourselves violated by giving aid to the Sidicini, our enemies. When peace was concluded again, you made war upon the Neapolitans, our neighbors. Nor did it escape us that these things were part of a plan of yours to seize the dominion of all Italy. In the first battles, where you gained the advantage on account of the unskilfulness of our generals, you showed us no moderation. Not content with devastating our country and occupying towns and villages not your own, you planted colonies in them. Moreover, when we twice sent embassies to you and made many concessions, you treated us disdainfully, and demanded that we should yield you the supremacy and obey you, as though we were not a nation to make terms with but a conquered race. Thereupon you decreed this irreconcilable, implacable war against your former friends, descendants of the Sabines whom you made your fellow-citizens. On account of your insatiable cupidity we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you despised), and mindful of our former relationship and friendship, will permit each one of you to pass under the yoke safe and sound with the clothes you stand in, if you swear to give up all of our lands and strongholds and withdraw your colonies from the same, and never wage war against the Samnites again."

[6] ἀπαγγελλθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρήνος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον: θανάτου γὰρ ἡγούντο εἶναι χεῖρονα τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ. ὥς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπύθοντο, αὐθις ἐθρήνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὑπὸ δὲ

ἀπορίας αὐτὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὤμνουν ὃ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι, δύο ὄντες Ποστούμιος τε καὶ Οὐετούριος, καὶ ταμιαὶ δύο καὶ ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλιάρχοι δώδεκα, σύμπαντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἦρχον. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας τι τοῦ διατειχίσματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἄλλο ἐπιθείς, ἐξέπεμπε Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τούτῳ. καὶ τινα ὑποζύγια ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας, καὶ τροφήν, ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇδε ζυγόν, ὀνειδίζειν ὡς δοριαλώτοις.

[6] When these terms were communicated to the camp there was wailing and lamentation, long and loud, for they considered the disgrace of passing under the yoke worse than death. Afterwards, when they heard about the knights who were to be held as hostages, there was another long lament. Yet they were compelled by want to accept the conditions. Accordingly they took the oaths, Pontius on the one side, and the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, on the other, together with two quæstors, four division commanders, and twelve tribunes, — all the surviving officers. When the oaths had been taken, Pontius opened a passage from the defile, and having fixed two spears in the ground and laid another across the top, caused the Romans to go under it as they passed out, one by one. He also gave them some animals to carry their sick, and provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This method of dismissing prisoners, which they call sending under the yoke, seems to me to serve only to insult the vanquished.

[7] ἀπαγγεληθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρήνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχυρῶς περισεσωσμένους ὡς ἀποφανόντας, ἥ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιτόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσαίαι καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἕως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήεσαν: οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσηλθον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἔπρασσον δὲ οὐδέν."

U. .

“Δεντάτω κατὰ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς εἶπετο νεων λογάδων πλῆθος ὀκτακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἔτοιμοι. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας.”

Suid. v. ζῆλος.

“ὅτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ καὶ διέρριπεν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνήρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὑπατος τοῦ μύσου ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηγῶν εἶσεν, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἡνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἡβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε, πλὴν Βριτομάριος, ὃν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἤγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

[7] When the news of this calamity reached the city there was wailing and lamentation like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. The senators discarded their purple-striped tunics. Feasts, marriages, and everything of that kind were prohibited for a whole year, until the calamity was retrieved. Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city by night. The consuls entered by day according to law, and they wore their usual insignia, but they exercised no further authority.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 464) “On account of admiration for his bravery a multitude of (B.C. 290) chosen youths numbering eight hundred were in the habit of following Dentatus, ready for anything. This was an embarrassment to the Senate at their meetings.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 471) “Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic tribe, aided (B.C. 283) the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were furnishing mercenaries to fight against the Romans. Although they bore the caduceus, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and flung the parts away, alleging that his own father had been slain by the Romans while he was waging war in Etruria. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, abandoned his campaign against the Etruscans, dashed with great rapidity by way of the Sabine country and Picenum against the towns of the Senones, and devastated them with fire and sword. He carried their women and children into slavery, and killed all the adult youth except a son of Britomaris, whom he reserved for awful torture, and led in his triumph.

[2] οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι ἀνηρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἤγον ἐπὶ Ρώμῃς. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργιζόμενοί τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν.”

“ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἐθεάτο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχροῦς τε βεβιωκὸς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαῖς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας, παροξύνας τε ἔπεισεν ἐπαναχθῆναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναῦς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἔς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιοῦμενοι ὅτι Ἑλλήνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεινα αἵτιοι μάλιστα ἐγεγένητο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν.

[2] When the Senones who were in Etruria heard of this calamity, they joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome. After various mishaps these Senones, having no homes to return to, and being in a state of frenzy over their misfortunes, fell upon Domitius [the other consul], by whom most of them were destroyed. The rest slew themselves in despair. Such was the punishment meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 472) “Cornelius went sight-seeing along the coast of Magna (B.C. 282) Graecia with ten ships with decks. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nicknamed Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium. By his passion he persuaded them to excitement against Cornelius, and they sunk four of his ships and seized one of them with all on board. They accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans overpassing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison that was stationed there under a treaty.

[2] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Ταραντα πέμπουσι, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὓς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλὰ θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ’ οὓς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἃ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτίσαι, σφίσι δ’ ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχλεύαζον εἰ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐλληνίσειαν· ἔσκωπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον. Φιλωνίδης δὲ τις, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκώμμων, Ποστουμίῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἐπικύψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατησχμήονησεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιζεν ὥς ἐπὶ γελοίῳ, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, ‘ἐκπλυνεῖτε,’ ἔφη, ‘τοῦτο αἵματι πολλῷ, τοιοῦτοις ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν.’ καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀποκριναμένων

ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὕβριν ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος οὐκ ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις,

[2] When the Romans learned of these events, they sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand that the prisoners who had been taken, not in war, but as mere sight-seers, should be surrendered; that the citizens of Thurii who had been expelled should be brought back to their homes; that the property that had been plundered, or the value of what had been lost, should be restored; and finally, that they should surrender the authors of these crimes, if they wished to continue on good terms with the Romans. The Tarentines made difficulties about admitting the embassy to their council at all, and when they had received them jeered at them because they did not speak Greek perfectly, and made fun of their togas and of the purple stripe on them. [The text here describes an indignity put upon Postumius, the chief of the embassy, by one Philonidas, which will not bear translation.] This spectacle was received with laughter by the bystanders. Postumius, holding out his soiled garment, said: “You will wash out this defilement with plenty of blood — you who take pleasure in this kind of jokes.” As the Tarentines made no sort of answer the embassy departed. Postumius carried the soiled garment just as it was, and showed it to the Romans. (Y.R. 473)

[3] καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν Αἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλε τὰ μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντίνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ οἷς ἡξίουν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγὰς προκαλέσασθαι, ἂν δ’ ἀπειθῶσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε προὔτεινε τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὀρώντες, ἀλλ’ ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς γυνάμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ βουλευομένοις ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι τινὰς ἤδη δεδουλωμένων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνους ἐπισφαλές. ‘εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκρατὺς ἐξόμεθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἴσου, Πύρρον ἐξ Ἡπείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλῶμεν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφήνωμεν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου.’ ὃ καὶ γέγονεν.”

U. .

“Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἡπείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντίνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τε παρὰ σφᾶς βία, καὶ φανερώς ἐνυβρίζοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναίξιν καὶ παισίν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβάς ὥς οὐ πρεπούσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάσιά τε ἔνοπλα ἔτασεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν ὠρίζε, τότε δὴ καὶ πάμπαν ἀθήσειν ἔργους καὶ ἐπιτάγμασι κάμνοντες οἱ Ταραντίνοι τῆς πόλεως ὥς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντίνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν ἡσθάνοντο σαφῶς.”

Val. .

“Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, μὴ τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν Ῥηγίωνων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὐωχουμένους ἐν ἑορτῇ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναίξιν ἀκουσίαις συνῆσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφερον ὅτι Ῥηγῖνοι τὴν φρουρὰν προεδίδουσιν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατῳκνημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κἀκεῖνοις ἐς ἰδίους ξένους ὅμοια δεδρακόσιν.

[3] The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Æmilius, who was waging war against the Samnites, to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy (B.C. 281) had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and designate him the leader of this war." This was done."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

(Y.R. 474) "After a shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrived at the (B.C. 280) harbor of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, tired out by these most unusual exercises and orders, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly."

FROM PEIRESC

"Some Roman soldiers were stationed in Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were observing a public festival, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of an outrage on their hosts not long before.

[2] ἀλγήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἰατροῖς ἀπιστοῦντα, μετὰπεμπτos ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ῥηγῖνος ἀνὴρ, μετῴκηκώς ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν ἀγνοοῦμενος. οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ συντόμῳ φαρμάκων ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρίσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι, καὶ λαθὼν ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὁδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὔρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

[2] Suffering from an affection of the eyes and distrusting the physicians of Rhegium, Decius sent for a medical man who had migrated from Rhegium to Messana so long before that it was forgotten that he was a Rhegian. The latter persuaded him that, if he wished speedy relief, he should use certain hot drugs. Having applied a burning and corrosive ointment to his eyes, he told him to bear the pain till he should come again. Then he secretly returned to Messana. Decius, after enduring the pain a long time, washed off the ointment and found that he had lost his eyesight.

[3] Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τὴν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἔτι Ῥηγίοις λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἱ μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἄταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς, οἷα πηρός, ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων ἐς διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην Κινέαν τὸν Θεσσαλόν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀρετὴν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μήτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσαντος μήτ’ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσημένον στρατόπεδον: ἐδίδου δ’ αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρον, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους Ἑλληνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔφεν, Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίταις καὶ Δαυνίοις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἀποδοῖεν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γιγνομένων ἔφη τούτων Πύρρον ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων.

[3] Fabricius was sent by the Romans to restore the city to those Rhegians who still remained. He sent the guards who had been guilty of this revolt back to Rome. They were beaten with rods in the forum, then beheaded, and their bodies cast away unburied. Decius, being placed under strict guard, in the discouragement of a blind man, committed suicide.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, having gained a victory over the Romans and desiring to recuperate his forces after the severe engagement, and expecting that the Romans would be particularly desirous of coming to terms, sent to the city Cineas, a Thessalian, who was so renowned for eloquence that he had been compared with Demosthenes. When he was admitted to the senate-chamber, he extolled the king for a variety of reasons, and among others for his moderation after the victory, in that he had neither marched directly against the city nor attacked the camp of the vanquished. He offered them

peace, friendship, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, provided the Tarentines should be included in the same treaty, and provided the other Greeks dwelling in Italy should remain free under their own laws, and provided the Romans would restore to the Lucanians, Samnites, Daunii, and Bruttians whatever they had taken from them in war. If they would do this, he said that Pyrrhus would restore all his prisoners without ransom.

[2] οἱ δ' ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἕως Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καῖκος ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἥδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, 'ἡχθόμην,' εἶπεν, 'ὅτι μὴ βλέπω· νῦν δ' ὅτι ἀκούω. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ὑμῶν βουλευόμενα ἤξιον μὴτ' ὀρᾶν μὴτ' ἀκούειν, οἱ δι' ἐν ἀτύχημα ἀθρόως οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκτέλῃσθε, καὶ τὸν τοῦτο δράσαντα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτόν βουλεύεσθε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτά τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ὀνομάζειν.' ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις ὁ Ἄππιος εἰπὼν καὶ ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μῆτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μῆτε σύμμαχον μῆτε Ῥωμαίους δικαστὴν ἢ διαιτητὴν.

[2] The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said: "I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Have you become so forgetful of yourselves all of a sudden, by reason of one misfortune, as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give back to the Lucanians and Bruttians the property that your ancestors took from them? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator in Roman affairs.

[3] καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταῦθ' ἄπερ καὶ Ἄππιος εἶπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέας. Λαιουίνῳ δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἴ τις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔτι παρών, καὶ θεώμενος αὐτοὺς ὥθουμένους ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφάς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθὼν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρὸς ὕδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἱ δὲ οὐ Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πύρρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα: καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος τῷ Λαιουίνῳ Κορουγκάνιος

ἦκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ' ἧς εἶχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυνθανομένων Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὅλη, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυμάσαντος μεταλαβὼν φάναι, 'βασιλέων μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγῶν.' Πύρρος δ', ὡς οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖόν οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, πάντα δηῶν. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγνίαν, βαρεῖαν δ' ἔχων ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἡγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διήρει.

[3] The Senate made answer to Cineas as Appius advised. They decreed the levying of two new legions for Lævinus, and made proclamation that whoever would volunteer in place of those who had been lost should put their names on the army roll. Cineas, who was still present and saw the multitude hastening to be enrolled, is reported to have said to Pyrrhus on his return: "We are waging war against a hydra." Others say that not Cineas, but even Pyrrhus himself said this when he saw the new Roman army larger than the former one; for the other consul, Coruncanius, came from Etruria and joined his forces with those of Lævinus. It is said also that when Pyrrhus made some further inquiries about Rome, Cineas replied that it was a city of generals; and when Pyrrhus wondered at this, he corrected himself, and said that it seemed more like a city of kings. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no expectation of peace from the Senate, he marched toward Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

[4] Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν λῦσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ σπενδομένοις μὲν ἔφη, καθάπερ προεῖπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσοούτους. ἐξένιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειεν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινωὸν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς Ἑπείρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δώσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασασμένοις. ἐπιγέλασας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, 'τὴν δ' ἐμήν,' ἔφη, 'παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς οἶσεις σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ: καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον.' οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω φασὶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἑπειρώται μεταλαβόντες ἐμὲ σοῦ προθήσουσιν.

[4] Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and his other allies whom they held. He replied that if they were ready for peace on the terms proposed by Cineas, he

would release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. Otherwise he treated them in a kingly way. Perceiving that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would bring about a treaty of peace, he (Pyrrhus) would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who perfected the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer as to public matters, but said: "Neither you nor your friends, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear." Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."

[5] ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κρονίων τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔπεμπεν ἄνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ᾧ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἃ ὁ Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἑορτάσαντας ἐπανήκειν ἐς αὐτόν. τούτους ἡ βουλή, πᾶν παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἑορτάσαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὐθις ἐδόκει."

U. .

"ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἤδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατέπλησεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβοῦμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἄρχων Σικελίαν ἄρτι ἐτεθνήκει, οὗ θυγατέρα Λάνασσαν ἔχων ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νῆσον οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπετο. ὥκνει δ' ὅμως ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἄνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπεῖν. ἄσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτόμολον ἐπιβὰς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην χάριν ὁμολογήσοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἄγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὅτι δύναιτο πράζοντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἔφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι πολλὰ δὲ γυναιξί, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόδωρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενος, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰσχύειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

[5] Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus learned

again that everything depended on the arbitrament of arms.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 476) “While Pyrrhus was perplexed by the Roman complication (B.C. 278) he was disturbed by an uprising of the Molossians. At this time also Agathocles, the king of Sicily, had just died. As Pyrrhus had married his daughter Laneia, he began to look upon Sicily as more of his concern than Italy. Still he was loath to abandon those who had summoned him to their aid, without some kind of arrangement for peace. Seizing eagerly the occasion of the sending back of a traitor who had deserted from him, he testified his gratitude to the consuls for this act and sent Cineas again to Rome to repeat his thanks for the man’s safe-keeping, and to surrender the prisoners by way of recompense, — instructing him to procure peace in whatever way he could. Cineas brought a large number of presents both for men and women, knowing that the people were fond of money and gifts, and that the women had had large influence among the Romans from the earliest times.

[2] οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις· καὶ φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ’ αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ δώρων· ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτοὶ πολυτελῶς ἐξένιζον, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἰχμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετὰ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων ... καὶ ὀκτακισχλίων ἱππέων, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανήλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας.”

id. .

“ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανήλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρὺν ἐπὶ τε ξενίαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶνδε γεγινώς ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, φορτίσι δὲ καὶ ὀλκάσι πολὺ πλείοσιν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διανναυμαχῆσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναὺς ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἅπλους ἐποίησαν, πλὴν δώδεκα μόνων, αἷς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἐτίνατο Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐπιζεφυρίους, ὅτι φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτῆς, ὑβρίσαντας ἐς αὐτούς, ἀνηρήκεσαν. ὥμῳς δ’ αὐτούς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων τε καὶ συλῶν ὁ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκώψας τὴν ἄκαιρον θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι πλοῦτον ἄπονον εὐβουλίαν.

[2] But they warned each other against the gifts, and replied that no man or woman would accept anything. They gave Cineas the same answer as before.

If Pyrrhus would withdraw from Italy and send an embassy to them without gifts, they would agree to fair terms in all respects. They treated the embassy, however, in a sumptuous manner and sent back to Pyrrhus in exchange all the Tarentines and others of his allies whom they held as prisoners. Thereupon Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with his elephants and 8000 horse, promising his allies that he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, for the Carthaginians had driven him out of Sicily.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 478) “After the battle and the armistice with the Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily promising he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much (B.C. 276) larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sunk seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except twelve. Fleeing with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. Such savage vengeance did he take on them in the way of killing and plundering that he did not spare even the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying by way of joke that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labor.

[2] ἀναχθέντα δ’ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμῶν ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ’ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέβριπεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Λοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὥστε καὶ Πύρρον ὁπὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναι τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, καὶ θυσίαις ἰλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλαῖς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ ἀπαντῶντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτῷ συμβουλευσάντας ἢ λέγοντι συνθεμένους, ἢ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἔκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν δὲ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπεπράχει κακῶς.”

Val. .

[2] Loaded down with spoils, a tempest overtook him, sunk some of his ships with the men in them, and cast the others ashore. The waves cast all the sacred things safe upon the Locrian beach. Wherefore Pyrrhus, perceiving too late the consequences of his impiety, restored them to the temple of Proserpina and sought to propitiate the goddess with numerous sacrifices. As the victims were unpropitious he became still more furious, and he put to death all those who had advised the temple-robbing, or had assented to it, or had taken part in it. Thus had Pyrrhus come to grief.”

ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς — THE GALLIC HISTORY

“Κέλτοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εἶλον ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξήλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ’ ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοϊντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοί, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοῖς Γάιος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀπῆντα, ὅς τις καὶ στρατηγῇ τοιοῦτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται: ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλῳσιν οἱ δεῦτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ’ ἀφίεντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθεῖν τὰ δόρατα: βαλόντων δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων ἀναπηδᾶν ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοῇ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι: καταπλήξειν γὰρ ὧδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶνδε δοράτων ἄφεςιν καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχειρήσιν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ ἀπεικότα ἀκοντίοις: ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν ὑσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦδε καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρὶς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατιᾷ.

Fragments

(Y.R. 365) “AT an early period the Gauls waged war against the (B.C. 389) Romans, took Rome itself, except the Capitol, and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and expelled them. At a later period, when they had made a second invasion, he overcame them again and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being then in his eightieth year. A third army of Gauls which invaded Italy was destroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to rush forward suddenly with a shout and join battle at close quarters. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by an immediate charge, would throw the enemy into confusion. The spears of the Gauls were not like javelins, but what the Romans called , four-sided, part wood and part iron, and not hard except at the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans. (Y.R. 404)

[2] ἄλλους δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκα Ποπίλλιος, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου υἱός. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μαρίου ὑπατειῶν πλεῖστόν τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τε

ἡλικία μάλιστα φοβερώτατον χρήμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τινες ὑπάτους Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατέκοψεν: ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεῖς ἅπαντας διέφθειρε. τελευταῖα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίους πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγούντι γενόμενα. μυριάσι τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον, εἴ τις ὑφ' ἐν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίων πλείοσι, καὶ τούτων ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐξώγησαν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔθνη δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὀλίγην κομιδῇ στρατιὰν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ κατέκανε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλὼν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἔπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιὼν καὶ παραθαρρύνων, καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμητέον, τὰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀπήνης φερόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βάδην χειραγωγούμενος.

[2] Another Gallic force was defeated by Popillius, and (B.C. 350) after this Camillus, son of the former Camillus, defeated the same tribe. Afterwards Æmilius Pappus won some trophies from the Gauls. Shortly before the consulships of Marius a most numerous and warlike horde of Celtic tribes, most formidable in bodily strength, made incursions into both (Y.R. 649) Italy and Gaul, and defeated some of the Roman consuls, (B.C. 105) and cut their armies in pieces. Marius was sent against them and he destroyed them all. The latest and greatest war of the Romans against the Gauls was that waged under the command of Cæsar, for, in the ten years that he held command there, he fought with more than 4,000,000 barbarians, taken all together. Of these 1,000,000 were captured and as many more slain in battle. He reduced to subjection 400 tribes and more than 800 towns, which had either revolted from their allegiance or were conquered for the first time. Even before Marius, Fabius Maximus Æmilianus with a very small army killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only fifteen of his own men; and he did this although suffering from a recent wound, urging and encouraging his troops and showing them how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others.

[3] Καῖσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλουητίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πίσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμεψεν, ὥς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Λαβηνὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ Τρικούρους ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ' Ἀριοουίστου Γερμανούς, οἱ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζους τῶν μεγίστων ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλλει, καὶ πόα ἐχρῶντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τροφῇ, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, οὐ φερέπονι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὐδὲ λογισμῷ

ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινὶ ἄλλᾳ θυμῷ χρώμενοι καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης καὶ φερεπονίας ἡσώοντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὀρμῆς βαρυτάτης ἐπεπῆδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνεώθουν· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ κατεστρατήγουν αὐτούς, καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίους αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ἀπέκτειναν.

[3] Cæsar began his war against them by gaining a victory over some 200,000 of the Helvetii and Tigurini. The latter at an earlier period had captured a Roman army commanded by Piso and Cassius and sent them under the yoke, as is related in the writings of Paulus Claudius. The Tigurini (Y.R. 696) were now overcome by Labienus, Cæsar's lieutenant, and (B.C. 58) the others by Cæsar himself, together with the Tricorii, who were aiding them. He also overcame the Germans under Ariovistus, a people who excelled all others, even the largest men, in size; savage, the bravest of the brave, despising death because they believe they shall live hereafter, bearing heat and cold with equal patience, living on herbs in time of scarcity, and their horses browsing on trees. It seems that they were without patient endurance in their battles, and did not fight in a scientific way or in any regular order, but with a sort of high spirit simply made an onset like wild beasts, for which reason they were overcome by Roman science and endurance. For, although the Germans made a tremendous rush and pushed the legions back a short distance, the Romans kept their ranks unbroken, and outmanœuvred them, and eventually slew 800000 of them. (Y.R. 697)

[4] μετὰ τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς καλουμένοις Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμόν τινα περῶσι, τοσοῦτους ἀπέκτεινεν ὥς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτρέψαντο, ἄρτι στρατόπεδον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσαν, τοὺς δὲ ταξίαρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἅπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθάρησαν, ἐξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλοβρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπετῶν δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοι τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σούκαμβροι δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔτρεψαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

[4] Afterwards Cæsar fell upon the so-called Belgæ as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies. The Nervii defeated him by falling suddenly upon his army as it (B.C. 57) was getting itself into camp after a march. They made a very great slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. Cæsar himself took refuge on a hill with his bodyguard, and there he was surrounded by the enemy. The latter being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion were destroyed, although they were 60,00000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri

and Teutones. (Y.R. 699) Cæsar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered (B.C. 55) 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tenchteri, armed and unarmed together. The Sicambri with 500 horse put to flight 5000 of Cæsar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

[5] ἐπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον, ἡπεῖρου τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον ἔτι. ἐπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμπώτεως· ἄρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἤπτετο τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλεύετο, ἡρέμα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαίῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν.”

“ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῖρα Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἰκανὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς· οἱ τό τε Ἄλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν, καὶ Κλουσίοις, εὐδαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν, ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλοι δὲ οἱ Κλουσῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπονδοὶ γεγονότες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις συνέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβίους τρεῖς, οἱ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἔμελλον προαγορεύειν ἀνίστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὐπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλουσίνους ἐνῆγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνεῖλέ τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα φορῶν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Κλουσίον.”

U. .

“ὅτι ὁ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἱ Κελτῶν ἀπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινούς νόμους ἐπολέμησαν. ἦται τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότους οἱ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεγίνωσκον μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἀμαρτεῖν, αἰδοῖ δὲ οἴκου διαφέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονοῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἤδη. τοῦ δ’ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ἦκειν αὐτούς, ἂν ἔτι μνηώσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάσασθαι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.”

Suid. v. ὑφίσταται.

“ὅτι Καιδίκιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνῖσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. ὁ δὲ ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸν ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, ‘οὐκ ἂν ηὐξάμην ἐπιποθῆσαί με Ῥωμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτην ἤλπισα τὴν ἐπιπόθησιν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιότεραν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν.’”

Val. .

“ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἡρέμουν ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον παραστησόμενοι. καὶ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατέβαιναν ἐρεῦς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δὴ τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεῶν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰδεσθέντων ἢ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐλόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τότε φησὶν ὧδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος.”

id. ib.

“τοῦ δὲ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδην ἐνεπίμπαντο οἱ Κελτοί, τὴν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρπούς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἀφυᾶ. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ὑγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἀδύνατα ἀμπαν ἐγίγνετο: ὑπὸ τε ἰδρωτός καὶ ἀσθματος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως.”

id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἄδην.

“οὓς γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαῖος, ‘οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν βοὴν βαρεῖαν ἰέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἰωροῦντες. ὦν τὸ ἄτολμον ὀρῶντες, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίσθε τῷ ἔργῳ.’”

Suid. v. ἰέντες.

“τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρᾶν, καὶ τοῖς πονουμένοις ἐτέρους νεαλεῖς ἐπιπέμπειν αἰεὶ. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῇσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως.”

id. v. νεαλής.

“ὁ δὲ Κελτὸς ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ληφαιμῶν ἐδίωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπείγομενος: ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος αἰεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε

πρηνῆς ὁ Κελτός· καὶ δεύτερον τοῦτο μονομάχιον ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλύνουσι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.”

id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

“ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τὰ τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριπεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσους ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνω σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθήρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἥβῃ πάντας ἔκτεινεν ὁμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἦγεν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμῃ. ὕστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι πατρίδας ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσι, συνέπεσον ἐς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἡττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μαρικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἦδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν.”

U. .

“ὅτι οἱ Σαλῶν δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδιδόντας, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Γναίου Δομετίου. ὃ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλῶν ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτῆς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἐσκευασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρείποντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες· δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι. μουσικός τε ἀνὴρ εἶπετο, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοῖτον, εἶτ’ Ἀλλόβριγας, εἶτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἕς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμνῶν· οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τοῖς Σαλῶν δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν.”

id. .

“ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολὺάνδρος ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπειοῖς, ἥ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ διάβασις στενωπάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειρούντων δ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αἰτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ’ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ’ οὐκ ἐπῆν ὥς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοησαί τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀφέξεσθαι· ὁ δ’ ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁδῶν ἡγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτοὺς

διαδραμών, ἀδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἔτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσών, ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ζόφος καὶ ὄμβρος καὶ βρονταὶ βαρεῖαι, τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης ἐπιπεσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη. σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐς ὕλας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυγόντες, τρίτῃ μολὶς ἡμέρᾳ συνήλθον. καὶ Τεύτονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρουν.”

id. .

“ὁ δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἀψαυστεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἕως ἡμέρα γένγται, πολύχρυσά εἶναι δοκῶν.”

Suid. vv. ἀψαύστως et Κίμβρος.

“ὅτι ἔθνη δύο Τιγύριοι καὶ Ἑλουήτιοι ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καῖσαρ Γάιος πυθόμενος διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανὸν ἐστὶ ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσαμένοις ἐπὶ διαπείρα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὁμηρα δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκριναμένων δ' εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενος φθάσαι τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Τιγυρίους ἐλάσσους ὄντας ἔπεμπε Λαβιηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλουητίους ἐχώρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβιηνῶ τὸ ἔργον εὐμαρές, ἀδοκήτοις Τιγυρίοις περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεψαμένῳ καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀσυνταξίᾳ.”

U. .

“ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνον, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἰδουοῦς ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπολέμει φίλοις οὔσι Ῥωμαίων. τότε μὲν δὴ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθεῖς, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰδούων, καὶ φίλος ἡξίωσε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ψηφισαμένου.”

id. .

“ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος ὁ Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αἰθῆς συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἡξίωσεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστειλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ' ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Οὐσιπέται, ἔθνος Γερμανικόν, καὶ Ταγχρεαὶ δοκοῦσι πρότεροι σφετέρους ἱππεῦσιν ὀκτακοσίοις τρέψασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὥς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις

συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καῖσαρα ὡς ἐναγὲς ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσαμένους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχιλίους. ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων.”

id. ib.

“εὐθὺς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκῆσαι, ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἔτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

Suid. v. παρορκῆσαι.

“δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τοῦπίσω.”

id. v. δείσαντες.

“ὅτι ὁ Βριτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἰδούους Ῥωμαίων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιὰν ἐφθακέναι.”

Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nov. collect.* t. 2 .

[5] Cæsar was also the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine. He also passed over to Britain, an island larger than a very large continent, and still unknown to the men of Rome. He crossed by taking advantage of the movement of the tide. As it rose the fleet was impelled by the waves, slowly at first, then more rapidly, until finally Cæsar was carried with great swiftness to Britain.”

AN EPITOME OF APPIAN'S BOOK "DE REBUS GALLICIS"

(Y.R. 364) “In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt along the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate the country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared no mortal man in threat or war, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief

of that band, stripped his body, and (B.C. 390) carried his arms back to Clusium.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, though he had refused to recognize the Roman embassy, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were now holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still in a bad humor. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an insult and took it hard. Accordingly they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause of war with them. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 365) “He (Cædicus) promised to carry letters through the (B.C. 389) enemy’s ranks to the Capitol.”

FROM SUIDAS

“When Cædicus bore the decree of the Senate to Camillus, by which he was made consul, he exhorted him not to lay up against his country the injury it had done him. The latter, interrupting him, said: “I could not have prayed to the gods that the Romans might some time long for me if I had cherished any such feeling as that towards them. Now I pray the nobler prayer that I may render my country a service equal to the calamity that has befallen her.”“

FROM PEIRESC

“When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed safely, with the sacred utensils, through the ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and his venerable appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for

the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us.”

FROM PEIRESC

“The Gauls filled themselves to repletion with wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature, and inhabiting a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other productions. Thus their large bodies became delicate, distended with fatness, and heavy by reason of excessive eating and drinking, and quite incapable of running or hardship; and when any exertion was required of them they speedily became exhausted by perspiration and shortness of breath.”

FROM SUIDAS AND PEIRESC

“He (Camillus) showed them naked to the Romans and said: “These are the creatures who assail you with such terrible shouts in battle, and clash their arms and shake their long swords and toss their hair. Behold their weakness of soul, their slothfulness and flabbiness of body, and gird yourselves to your work.”“

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 394) “The people beheld the battle from the walls, and constantly (B.C. 360) sent fresh troops to take the place of the tired ones. But the tired Gauls having to engage with fresh opponents took to disorderly flight.”

FROM THE SAME

“The Gaul, furious and exhausted with loss of blood, (B.C. 349) pursued Valerius, hastening in order to grapple with him. As Valerius was all the time dodging just in front of him, the Gaul fell headlong. The Romans felicitated themselves on this second single combat with the Gauls.”

FROM THE SAME

(Y.R. 471) “The Senones, although they had a treaty with the Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, wherefore the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the caduceus in their hands, and wore the garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, moved with great speed against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country

and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword. He reduced the women and children to slavery, killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for anybody else. He carried off Britomaris alone as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones (who were serving as mercenaries), having no longer any homes to return to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being (B.C. 283) defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 633) “The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by the Romans, (B.C. 121) took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnæus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants likewise arrayed, and also by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as body-guards. A musician was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; for which reason chiefly their illustrious ambassadors usually take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 641) “A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no attempt in this direction he attacked them, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would keep hands off. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then marched by (B.C. 113) a shorter one and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, though they were still desisting from hostilities, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans fled in small bands through

the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“He ordered them to leave the bodies of the Cimbri intact till daylight because he believed they were adorned with gold.”

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 696) “Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion (B.C. 58) into the Roman province of Gaul. When Cæsar heard of this movement he built a wall along the river Rhone about a hundred and fifty stades in length to intercept them. When they sent ambassadors to him to endeavor to make a treaty, he ordered them to give him hostages and money. They replied that they were accustomed to receive these things, not to give them. As he wished to prevent them from forming a junction he sent Labienus against the Tigurini, who were the weaker, while he marched against the Helvetii, taking with him about 20,000 Gallic mountaineers. The work was easy to Labienus, who fell upon the Tigurini unawares on the river bank, defeated them, and scattered the greater part of them in disorderly flight.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 695) “Ariovistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, (B.C. 59) crossed to this side before Cæsar’s arrival and made war against the Ædui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from Ædui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Cæsar being consul and voting for it.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, who had been voted a friend of the Roman people, came to Cæsar to have a colloquy. After they had separated he wished to have another. Cæsar refused it, but sent some of the leading men of the Gauls to meet him. Ariovistus cast them in chains, wherefore Cæsar threatened him and made war on him, but fear fell upon the army on account of the military reputation of the Germans.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 699) “It is believed that the Usipetes and the Tenchteri, German tribes, with 800 of their own horse, put to flight about 5000 of Cæsar’s horse. When they sent ambassadors to Cæsar he held them as prisoners and made an attack on them, and took them so completely by surprise that 400,000 of them were

cut to pieces. One writer says that Cato in the Roman Senate proposed that Cæsar should be surrendered to the barbarians for this deed of blood perpetrated while negotiations were pending. But Cæsar in his own diary says that when the Usipetes and Tenchteri were ordered to go back forthwith to their former homes, they replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi, who had driven them away, and that they were waiting for their answer; that while these negotiations were pending, they set upon his men with 800 of their horse, and by the suddenness of the attack put to flight his 5000; and that when they sent another embassy to explain this violation of good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before (B.C. 55) giving his answer."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Straightway they stirred up the Britons to violate the oath, complaining that while a treaty with them was in force the camp was still among them."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 700) "Cæsar apprehending an attack on [Quintus] Cicero turned (B.C. 54) back."

FROM SUIDAS

"Britores seduced the Ædui from their Roman allegiance. When Cæsar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.

[Here follow two fragments of only three words each.]"

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

ἐκ τῆς Σικελικῆς καὶ Νησιωτικῆς — OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

“ὅτι ἀποροῦντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρημάτων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυπήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, Καρχηδόνιοι δ’ ἐς Πτολεμαῖον ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρῶμενοι. τῷ δ’ ἦν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ’ ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ’ ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων.”

U. .

“ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δις ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δις ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ᾗ δὴ καὶ πάνυ προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποροῦντες ἥδη καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἦτουν ἀνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπόν τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον τὸν ὑπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἦκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρῦσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρήνευσεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἔκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σάνισιν ἐνηρμοσμένα πάντοθεν ἐστῶτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύναίτο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνέθεντο.

Fragments

(Y.R. 502) “BOTH Romans and Carthaginians were destitute of money; (B.C. 252) and the Romans could no longer build ships, being exhausted by taxes, yet they levied foot soldiers and sent them to Africa and Sicily from year to year, while the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, seeking to borrow 2000 talents. He was on terms of friendship with both Romans and Carthaginians, and he sought to bring about peace between them. As he was not able to accomplish this, he said: “It behooves one to assist friends against enemies, but not against friends.”“

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 512) “When the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to

negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, (B.C. 242) after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans.

[2] καὶ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις εἰσὶ, Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστήναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων νήσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίαις δὲ ἢ Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράννῳ πολέμου Καρχηδονίους μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ξενολογεῖν, ποινὴν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσιν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆες ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἑπτακόσαι, Καρχηδονίων δὲ πεντακόσαι. Σικελίας δὲ οὕτω τοῦ πλέονος Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, ὅσου Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον: φόρους τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον ἔπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἰέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ' ὃν αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνεπεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

[2] The conditions were these: All Roman prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians were to be delivered up; Sicily and the small neighboring islands to be surrendered to the Romans; the Carthaginians not to initiate any war against Syracuse or its ruler, Hiero, nor to recruit mercenaries in any part of Italy; the Carthaginians to pay the Romans a war indemnity of 2000 Euboic talents in twenty years, in yearly instalments payable at Rome. The Euboic talent is equal to 7000 Alexandrine drachmas. So ended the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, having lasted twenty-four years, in which the Romans lost 700 ships and the Carthaginians 500. In this way the chief part of Sicily (all of it that had been held by the Carthaginians) passed into the possession of the Romans. The latter levied tribute on the Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges among their towns, and sent a prætor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had coöperated with them in this war, was declared to be their friend and ally.

[3] καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίους τὸν τε μισθὸν

ἦτουν τὸν ἔτι ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχας. ἦτουν δὲ καὶ Λίβυες, ὑπήκοοι μὲν ὄντες οἶδε Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατείας ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὀρῶντες: ἐχαλέπαινόν τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τρισχιλίων, οὓς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὐνεκα. διωθουμένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἄμφω Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ἡ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνα: ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τήν τε ἄλλην ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἐπειθον καὶ δούλων πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τά τε Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεηλάτουν. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμοῦμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβυας Ῥωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιὰν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἐκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύναιτο διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον: οἱ ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρατῶς εἶχοντο τοῦ πολέμου.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Ἴπποκράτης καὶ Ἐπικύδης, ἀδελφῶ μὲν ἀλλήλων, στρατηγῶ δὲ Συρακοσίων, Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ πολλοῦ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τὰς Συρακούσας οὐκ ἴσχυον ἐκπολεμῶσαι, κατέφυγον ἐς Λεοντίνους διαφερομένους τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ κατηγοροῦν τῆς πατρίδος ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς Ἰέρωνος ἐφ' ὅλην Σικελίαν πεποιημένου μόνοι Συρακόσιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαινίσειαν. οἱ δὲ ἡρεθίζοντο. καὶ Συρακόσιοι μὲν ἐπεκήρυσσον, εἴ τις Ἴπποκράτους ἢ Ἐπικύδους κομίσειε τὴν κεφαλὴν, ισόσταθμον αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἀντιδώσειν, Λεοντῖνοι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἴπποκράτη στρατηγὸν ἡροῦντο.”

Val. et hinc Suid. v. Ἐπικύδης.

“ὅτι Σικελοὶ καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὀμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλον τι καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἴπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμυντο μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἀγορὰν τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον, ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους.”

Val. ib.

“ὅτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπίστευον χωρὶς ὄρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωρούντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὤμοσε μήτε φρουρήσειν τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.”

id. ib.

“ὅτι Κρήτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτῃ βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λησταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχεῖν σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ

Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀντώνιος, καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματῖσαι δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός. καὶ ἦν ὁδε πατὴρ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ὕστερον Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησί πολεμεῖν διὰ τὰδε, οἱ Κρητεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐκδοῦναι τε αὐτοῖς Λασθένη τὸν πολεμήσαντα Ἀντώνιῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ ληστικά πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχον αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅμηρα τριακόσια καὶ ἄργυρίου τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια.

[3] When this war was ended the Gallic mercenaries demanded of the Carthaginians the pay still due to them for their service in Sicily, together with the presents that Hamilcar had promised to give them. The African soldiers, although they were Carthaginian subjects, demanded the same things, on account of their service in Sicily, and this they did the more arrogantly as they saw that the Carthaginians were weakened and humbled; they were angry also on account of the killing of 3000 of their own number whom the Carthaginians had crucified for deserting to the Romans. When the Carthaginians refused the demands of both Gauls and Africans, they joined together and seized the city of Tunis, and also Utica, the largest city in Africa after Carthage. Starting thence they detached the rest of Africa, and brought over to their side some Numidians, and received into their ranks a vast number of fugitive slaves, and pillaged the Carthaginian possessions in every direction. Being pressed by enemies on all sides the Carthaginians appealed to the Romans for aid against the Africans. The Romans did not send them a military force, but allowed them to draw supplies from Italy and Sicily, and to recruit mercenaries in Italy for this war only. They also sent deputies to Africa to arrange peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 540) “Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals (B.C. 214) of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans. They accused their own countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 542) “The Sicilians, who had been for a long time embittered (B.C. 212) against the Roman general Marcellus, on account of his severity, were still more excited against him because he had gained entrance to Syracuse by treachery. For this reason they joined themselves to Hippocrates, and took an oath together that none of them would make peace without the others, and sent him supplies and an army of 20,000 foot and 5000 horse.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Marcellus was in such bad odor that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauro-menians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.”

FROM PEIRESC

(Y.R. 680) “The island of Crete seemed to be favorably disposed (B.C. 74) towards Mithridates, king of Pontus, from the beginning, and it was said that they furnished him mercenaries when he was at war with the Romans. It is believed also that they recommended to the favor of Mithridates the pirates who then infested the sea, and openly assisted them when they were pursued by Marcus Antonius. When Antonius sent legates to them on this subject, they made light of the matter and gave him a disdainful answer. Antonius forthwith made war against them, and although he did not accomplish much, he gained the title of Creticus for his work. He was the father of the Mark Antony who, at a later period, fought against Octavius Cæsar at Actium. When the Romans declared war against the Cretans, on account of these things, the latter sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. The Romans ordered them to surrender Lasthenes, the author of the war against Antonius, and to deliver up all their pirate ships and all the Roman prisoners in their hands, together with 300 hostages, and to pay 4000 talents of silver. (Y.R. 685)

[2] οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος. καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κνωσσὸν Πανάρης Μετέλλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτός. Μετέλλου δὲ Κνωσσὸν περικαθημένου, ὁ Λασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κνωσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρηῖτες ἐς Πομπήιον Μάγνον, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ ληστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ὁ δὲ ἀσχόλως τότε ἔχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μέτελλον, ὡς οὐ δέον ἔτι πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξανίστασθαι τῆς νήσου: παραλήψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθών. ὁ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτὴν, Λασθένει συνθέμενος ὅμοια Πανάρει. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὁδε δικαιοτέρον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος.”

“ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ ποῦλχερ ἐπίκλην, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εὐπρεπής, τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἦρα. καὶ ἀρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὄντα ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαΐου παρελθεῖν οἷα γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναις γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθῆναι.”

Val. .

[2] As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen as the general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Gnosus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Gnosus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which was full of money, and fled from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great, who was conducting the war against the pirates, and against Mithridates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. (B.C. 69) Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 692) “The patrician Clodius, surnamed Pulcher, which means (B.C. 62) handsome, was in love with Cæsar’s wife. He arrayed himself in woman’s clothes from head to foot, being still without a beard, and gained admission to Cæsar’s house as a woman in the night, at a time when the mysteries [of the Bona Dea] were celebrated, to which only women were admitted. Having lost his guide, and being detected by others by the sound of his voice, he was hustled out.”

FROM PEIRESC

Ιβηρικη — THE WARS IN SPAIN

Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεῦνται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιμόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περικλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ὄρων καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἐσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτς ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἡμισυ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὥς ἐν χώρα μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ρέουσι ναυσίποροι.

CHAPTER I

Boundaries of Spain — King Arganthonius — Early Carthaginian Occupation — Hamilcar Barca — His Death

THE Pyrenees mountains extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by Celts, otherwise called Galatians, and more lately Gauls. From this part westward, beginning at the Tyrrhenian sea and making a circuit by way of the Pillars of Hercules to the Northern ocean, the Iberians and Celtiberians dwell. Thus the whole of Iberia is sea-girt, except the part embraced by the Pyrenees, the largest and perhaps the most precipitous mountains in Europe. In coasting they follow the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They do not traverse the Western and Northern ocean, except in crossing over to Britain, and this they accomplish by availing themselves of the tide, as it is only half a day's journey. For the rest, neither the Romans nor any of the subject peoples navigate that ocean. The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.

[2] οἱ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐδὲν μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοὶ μοι δοκοῦσι ποτε, τὴν Πυρηνὴν ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρῦν. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαι τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἑλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδ' εἰς τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ: ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἰβηρσίην ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσός ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοινικῆς μοι δοκοῦσιν ἰδρύσασθαι: καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὃ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθεῖσθω.

[2] What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not very important for me to inquire, in writing merely Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phœnicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpeessus. I think also that the Phœnicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits.

The religious rites performed there are still of Phoenician type, and the god is considered by the worshippers the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquaries.

[3] τὴν δὲ γῆν τήνδε εὐδαίμονα οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἥρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη, τὸ δ' ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἃ μὲν εἶχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενά τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἶλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῖραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ὃ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφήν.

[3] This fruitful land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and afterwards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the doings of the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history.

[4] πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἑκδημος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὁδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθουν. ἥρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ' ἐκ τοιαύδε προφάσεως.

Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσιν οἱ καὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Λιβύην, ἀπαιτούντων ἐκείνων ὁ Λιβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξῆπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Λιβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοσαν ποινὴν ὧν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ Λιβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶνδε συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὧν ἦν

δημοκοπικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα ἔχων, τὰς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγὸς ἔπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰρεθῆναι μετ' Ἄννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς εὐθύνας τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.

[4] The first external war waged by the Romans against the Carthaginians in reference to Sicily was waged in Sicily itself. In like manner the first one concerning Spain was waged in Spain, although in the course of it the combatants sent large forces into, and devastated, both Italy and Africa. (Y.R. 536) This war began about the 140th Olympiad by the infraction (B.C. 218) of a treaty which had been made at the end of the Sicilian war. The infraction came about in this way. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, while commanding the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, had promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries and African allies, which they demanded after he returned to Africa; and thereupon the African war was kindled. In this war the Carthaginians suffered severely at the hands of the Africans, and they ceded Sardinia to the Romans as compensation for injuries they had inflicted upon Roman merchants during this war. When Hamilcar was brought to trial for these things by his enemies, who held him to blame for such serious calamities to the country, he secured the favor of the chief men in the state (of whom the most popular was Hasdrubal, who had married Barca's daughter), by which means he escaped punishment; and as a disturbance with the Numidians broke out about this time, he secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship. (Y.R. 516)

[5] πανομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἄννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος ὢν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστήν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα, διήλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκοπίας ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διήρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλυσκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοῖεν, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου, μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἱ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοί, κτείνουσιν ὧδε. ξύλων ἀμάξας ἄγοντες, αἷς βοῦς ὑπέξευξαν, εἶποντο ταῖς ἀμάξαις ὠπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἰδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος· ὥς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρες αὐταῖς βουσὶν ἐξήψαν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ ἐξώτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἰβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτόν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.

[5] At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer (B.C. 238) certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits

to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. They loaded a lot of wagons with wood and drove them in advance with oxen, they following behind (Y.R. 525) prepared for battle. When the Africans saw this they fell (B.C. 229) to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. When they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons and drove the oxen against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid.

CHAPTER II

Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar — Rise of Hannibal — He attacks Saguntum — The Saguntines appeal to Rome

[6] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀρσσκοόμενοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἐπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστήν, ὄντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις, παῖδά τε ὄντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γιγνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοῖ προσήγετο, πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἐς τε τὰ βίας δεόμενα τῷ μεираκίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς μέσσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρρήνης ἀφεστὼς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.

[6] The Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and who soon after became famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal brought many Spanish tribes to his support by persuasion, for he was attractive in personal intercourse, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Iberus (Ebro), which divides Spain about in the centre, and at a distance of about five days' journey from the Pyrenees flows down to the Northern ocean.

[7] Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες περὶ τε τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἰς πῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὥκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δεισαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφοτέροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπηκόοις οὔσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.

[7] The Saguntines, a colony of the island of Zacynthus, who lived about midway between the Pyrenees and the river Iberus, and other Greeks who dwelt in the neighborhood of Emporia and other Spanish towns, having

apprehensions for their safety, sent ambassadors to Rome. The Senate, who were unwilling to see the Carthaginian power augmented, sent an embassy to Carthage. It was agreed between them that the limit of the Carthaginian power in Spain should be the river Iberus; that beyond that river the Romans should not carry war against the subjects of Carthage, nor should the Carthaginians cross it for a similar purpose; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. So these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage. (Y.R. 534)

[8] Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὠμῶς διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν: ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ ὄντα κομιδῇ νέον, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῶν: καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολῖται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὃ τε δῆμος ἅμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγίγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκομένοις τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα: καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσοιτο τοῖς πατρώοις ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

[8] Some time later, while Hasdrubal was governing that (B.C. 220) part of Spain belonging to Carthage, a slave whose master he had cruelly put to death killed him secretly in a hunting expedition. Hannibal convicted him of this crime and put him to death with dreadful tortures. Now the army proclaimed Hannibal, although still very young, yet greatly beloved by the soldiers, their general, and the Carthaginian Senate confirmed the appointment. Those of the opposite faction, who had feared the power of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, when they learned of their death, despised Hannibal on account of his youth and prosecuted their friends and partisans with the old charges. The people took sides with the accusers, bearing a grudge against those now prosecuted, because they remembered the old severities of the times of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and ordered them to turn into the public treasury the large gifts that Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had bestowed upon them, as being enemy's spoils. The prosecuted parties sent messengers to Hannibal asking him to assist them, and admonished him that, if he should neglect those who were able to assist him at home, he would be thoroughly despised by his father's enemies.

[9] ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν οὕσαν ἐπιβουλῆς: οὐδ' ἡξίου τὴν ἐχθραν, ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἔσαι καὶ

μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καρχηδονίων κουφόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥαδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὢν ἐπὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρκωθῆναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἄσπειστος ἐχθρὸς ἔσσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπενόει μεγάλους καὶ χρονίους πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεῇ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὐθις ἀναρριπίσειεν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίσι καὶ φόβοις ἔσσεσθαι μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δέ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχουσαν ἀποφήνας 'οὐ γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις', εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὥς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.

[9] He had foreseen all this and he knew that the persecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor put up forever with the fickleness of the Carthaginians, who usually repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into doubts and fears, he would place his own affairs and those of his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain in peace. But if he could stir up a war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the government of the habitable world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him great renown.

[10] ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσσεσθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολήτας, οἱ γείτονές εἰσι Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἱ καταβοᾶν ὡς τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικούντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπε, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπεῖθαι ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλων, ἕως ἢ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὃ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὐθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρέσβεις, οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μὲν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ῥωμαίοις ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπε ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐρίστη. ἐλείν

δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρυνε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεις ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

[10] Conceiving that if he should cross the Iberus that would constitute a brilliant beginning, he suborned the Turbuletes, neighbors of the Saguntines, that they should complain to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were coöperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. Since he had a pretext, he arranged that the Turbuletes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and that the latter should send legates also. When Hannibal commanded them to explain their differences to him, they replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon (Y.R. 535) ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed (B.C. 219) the Iberus with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed plenty of guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

[11] Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγχει μένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ: τούτοις τοῖς πρέσβεσι πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνοσιν σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἡτιῶντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προυκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν: οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν χρήζειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. ὧν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπέιχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμαχοῦς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

[11] The Saguntines, oppressed by this sudden and unheralded attack, sent an embassy to Rome. The Senate commissioned its own ambassadors to go with them. They were instructed first to remind Hannibal of the agreement, and if he should not obey to proceed to Carthage and complain against him. When they arrived in Spain and were approaching his camp from the sea, Hannibal forbade their coring. Accordingly they sailed for Carthage with the Saguntine ambassadors, and reminded the Carthaginians of the agreement. The latter accused the Saguntines of committing many wrongs on their subjects. When

the Saguntines offered to submit the whole question to the Romans as arbitrators, the Carthaginians replied that there was no use of an arbitration because they were able to avenge themselves. When this reply was brought to Rome some advised sending aid to the Saguntines. Others favored delay, saying that the Saguntines were not inscribed as allies in the agreement with them, but merely as free and autonomous, and that they were still free although besieged. The latter opinion prevailed.

[12] Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἐπέζεε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιεκάθητο συνεχῶς ἑυδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει τῆς πολιορκίας, τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσος ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχώνευσαν ὡς ἀχρεῖον Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἐλόμενοί τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξέδραμον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἔτι καὶ οὐδέν τοιοῦτον ὑπονοοούντων: ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὀπλιζομένους, ἔστι δ' οὗς ἤδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπώλοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρώσαι τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγῶν, αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαζον. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίοις, πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ δυνατῇ γενομένη. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν αἰκίζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὀρῶν ἐπιθάλασσόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὐ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγαθῆς, ὥκιζεν αὖθις καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄποικον ἀπέφαινε: ἦν νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενῆ.

[12] The Saguntines, when they despaired of help from Rome, and when famine weighed heavily upon them, and Hannibal kept up the siege without intermission (for he had heard that the city was very prosperous and wealthy, and for this reason relaxed not the siege), issued an edict to bring all the silver and gold, public and private, to the forum, where they melted it with lead and brass, so that it should be useless to Hannibal. Then, thinking that it was better to die fighting than starve to death, they made a sally by night upon the besiegers while they were asleep and not expecting an attack, and killed some as they were getting out of bed, others as they were clumsily arming themselves, and still others who were actually fighting. The battle continued until many of the Africans and all the Saguntines were slain. When the women witnessed the slaughter of their husbands from the walls, some of them threw themselves from the housetops, others hanged themselves, and others slew their children and then themselves. Such was the end of Saguntum, once a great and powerful city. When Hannibal learned what had been done with the gold he was angry, and put all the surviving adults to death with torture. Observing that the city was not far from Carthage and with good land about it situated on the sea, he rebuilt it and made it a Carthaginian

colony, and I think it is now called Spartarian Carthage.

CHAPTER III

War declared — The Two Scipios — Their Defeat and Death

(Y.R. 536)

[13] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, οἷς εἴρητο ἔξαιτεῖν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἀμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον· ἦν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπραξαν ὧδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὕτω γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελῶμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, ‘ἐνταῦθ’ ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω· ὑμεῖς δ’ ὁπότερα αἰρεῖσθε λάβετε.’ οἱ δ’ ἔφασαν, ‘σὺ μὲν οὖν ἂ βούλει δίδου.’ προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, ‘δεχόμεθα.’ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λελυμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπιῶν ὑπήγετο, ἢ πείθων ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρεῖαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεῦετο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ὁρῶν κατεσκέπτετο. καὶ διῆλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ...

[13] The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to (B.C. 218) demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: “Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose.” The latter replied: “You may give us whichever you like.” When the Romans offered war they all cried out: “We accept it.” Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighboring tribes and brought them under subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, telling nobody what it was for, but intending to hurl it against Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

[14] ... ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Λιβύῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι ὅου γὰρ δὴ μὴ Λίβυές ποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, οὐδ’ ὑπενόουν, Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Λόγγον ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Λιβύην ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ὅσα Λόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονιακῇ βίβλῳ συγγέγραπται, Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον

Σκιπίωνα ἔστειλλον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεμπον Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν. τοῦτοιν ὁ μὲν Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὁρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα, δέισας μὴ ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς Γναίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατιὰν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἕως Ἀννίβαν ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μόλις ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἡ ἐξῆς βίβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἥ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἀννιβαϊκῇ.

[14] When the Romans saw that war must be waged against the Carthaginians in Spain and Africa (for they never dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), they sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus and the other Roman generals did in Africa has been related in my Punic history. They also ordered Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain with sixty ships, 10,000 foot, and 700 horse, and sent his brother Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio with him as a legate. The former (Publius), learning from Massilian merchants that Hannibal had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, and fearing lest he should fall upon the Italians unawares, turned over to his brother the command in Spain and sailed with his quinqueremes to Etruria. What he and the other Roman generals after him did in Italy, until, at the end of sixteen years and with exceeding difficulty, they drove Hannibal out of the country, will be shown in the following book, which will contain all the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, and is called the Hannibalic book of Roman history.

[15] Γναῖος δὲ οὐδέν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφόν ἐπανελθεῖν. Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγουσῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφίναντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὖθις ἔστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσιν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμοῦμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην πιθανωτάτῳ στρατηγῆσαί τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.

[15] Gnaeus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him proconsul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios managed the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the

remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they were as persuasive in inducing subjects as in leading armies.

[16] θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὐθις ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς, Μάγωνά τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἕτερον, ὃς Γέσκωνος ἦν υἱός, καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὧς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνων ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὀρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶνι. ἐνθα αὐτῷ προσιών ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη: καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου, ἔλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδὲν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ σίτον ἐπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἕτεροι Λιβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ' αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε προτέρους ἀνηγήκεσαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἕως ἐσέδραμεν ἐς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνέπρησαν οἱ Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

[16] The Carthaginians, having made peace with Syphax, again sent Hasdrubal into Spain with a larger army than before, and with thirty elephants. With him came also two other generals, Mago and another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. After this the war became more serious to the Scipios. They were successful, nevertheless, and many Africans and elephants were destroyed by them. Finally, winter coming on, the Africans went into winter quarters at Turditanian, Gnæus Scipio at Orso, and Publius at Castolo. When news was brought to the latter that Hasdrubal was approaching, he sallied out from the city with a small force to reconnoitre the enemy's camp and came upon Hasdrubal unexpectedly. He and his whole force were surrounded by the enemy's horse and killed. Gnæus, who knew nothing of this, sent some soldiers to his brother to procure corn, who fell in with another African force and became engaged with them. When Gnæus learned this he started out, with (Y.R. 542) such troops as he had under arms, to assist them. The (B.C. 212) Carthaginians who had cut off the former party made a charge on Gnæus, and compelled him to take refuge in a certain tower, which they set on fire, and burned him and his comrades to death.

[17] οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἅμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι: καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπύθησαν Ἰβηρες, ὅσοι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἤνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἄρτι ἀφιγμένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν ... ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῆς. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ τῶνδε γιγνομένου, τὰ Λιβύων ὑπερηύξετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις

κατακεκλεις μένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο: καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἶδε οἱ Λίβυες ἐς τὰ ἕτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δέει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

[17] In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labors, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were greatly troubled. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and with him Claudius [Nero], to Spain, with a fleet and 1000 horse, 10,000 foot, and sufficient means. As nothing of importance was accomplished by them, the Carthaginian power increased until it embraced almost the whole of Spain, and the Romans were restricted to a small space in the Pyrenees mountains. When this was learned in Rome the people were greatly discouraged, and apprehensive lest these same Africans should make an incursion into northern Italy while Hannibal was ravaging the other extremity. Although they desired to abandon the Spanish war it was not possible, because of the fear that that war would be transferred to Italy.

CHAPTER IV

Cornelius Scipio — Arrives in Spain — Attacks New Carthage — Captures the City and Vast Booty

(Y.R. 543)

[18] προύγραφον οὖν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἔτι πλείων ἐγένετο φόβος, καὶ σιωπὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπεῖχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς οὗ Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ἐν Ἰβηρσιν υἱός, νέος μὲν ὦν κομιδῇ ἑτεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἦν, σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφὶ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὀδυράμενος ἐπεῖπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναι τιμωρὸς ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ καὶ πατρίδι. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἐπαγγεिलाμένος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε κουφολογῆσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα 'χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες' καὶ ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἀλλὰ προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὁμοία: καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντος. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐλομένου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξῆι μετὰ μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων πεντακοσίων: οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δηοῦντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακράς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, μεθ' ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

[18] Accordingly a day was fixed for choosing a general for Spain. When nobody offered himself the alarm was greatly augmented, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly. Finally Cornelius Scipio, son of that Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, still a very young man (for he was only twenty-four years of age), but reputed to be discreet and high-minded, advanced and made an impressive discourse concerning his father and his uncle, and after lamenting their fate said that he was the only member of the family left to be the avenger of them and of his country. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one possessed, promising to subdue not only Spain, but Africa and Carthage in addition. To many this seemed like youthful boasting, but he revived the spirits of the people (for (B.C. 211) those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older ones said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and repeated what he had said before, declaring that his youth would be no impediment, but he added

that if any of his elders wished to assume the task he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. He was not allowed to take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He received money and apparatus of various kinds and twenty-eight war-ships with which he proceeded to Spain. (Y.R. 544)

[19] παραλαβὼν τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὕς ἦγεν ἐς ἓν συναγαγὼν, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τῶν Σκιπίωνων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἦκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεόν. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθανόμενος δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεσθηκότες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὁμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθῃ τότε δὲ ἤδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἔκρινε πρῶτον ἐς τοὺτους ἐπιδραμεῖν διὰ τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὥς ὀρμητήριον ἀσφαλές ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔξω ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἀργυρεῖα καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Λιβύην βραχύτατον.

[19] Taking the forces already there, and joining them in (B.C. 210) one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as a general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he took care to give out that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2500 horse, and that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum (but then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines and its rich and prosperous territory abounding in everything, and its very short passage to Africa, would constitute a secure base of operations by land and sea against the whole of Spain.

[20] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῖσδε λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδενὶ προειπὼν ὅπῃ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου δύναντος ἦγε τὴν στρατιάν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν

Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα ἔφ, τῶν Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἡτοιμάζετο, κλίμακας τε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντη περιτιθεῖς, χωρὶς ἐνὸς μέρους, ἧ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἦν βραχύτατον, ἔλος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ αἱ νῆες αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ μεγαλοψυχίας ἠλπίζε πάντως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, πρὸ ἔω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς, τοὺς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὥς ἐκπηδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν ὃν γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνήγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὅδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοῆς καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρῶντο προθύμως ἅπανσιν.

[20] Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and darts in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbor so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for he had high hopes of capturing everything the city contained), at daylight he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, some to sally out at a favorable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and others to man the parapets. He made good use of his machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and did effective work. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some by machines, and some by slings; and whatever other apparatus or force was available was made use of to the utmost.

[21] ἑκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὠθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἦσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἱ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἔκαμνον ἤδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφῆρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐθις ἦν ὁ

πόνος πολὺς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἥ τὸ βραχὺ τείχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν: ἄμπωτις γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐπήει μὲν ἐς μαστοὺς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἰδὼν, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὥς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, ‘νῦν ὁ καιρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεὸς ἀφίκεται. πρόσсите τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ τείχους. ἡ θάλασσα ἡμῖν ὑποκεχώρηκεν φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ’ ἡγήσομαι.’

[21] Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they fought bravely, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. With the change of fortune, those who were on the walls began to be distressed. When the ladders were put in place, the Carthaginian swordsmen, who had sallied out, ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe labor to the Romans. Scipio, who, as commanding general, was everywhere, giving orders and cheering on his men, had noticed that, at the place where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon, the sea retired about midday. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one’s breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: “Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you.”

[22] καὶ πρῶτος ἀρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερε τε καὶ ἀνέβαινε, οὕτω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες αὐτὸν οἱ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοῦ κλίμακας προσετίθεσάν τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὀρμῆς ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὅμως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὥς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἦδη. ἕτεροί τε περιθέοντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοί τινες ἀνέφωξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας: ὁ δ’ ἐσεπήδησε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις τε καὶ κατεπηγχοσίν ἔχων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[22] He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armor-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and

began to mount. Amid shouts and clamor on all sides, giving and receiving blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and ordered them to sound a blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. Some of the inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these were cut down he fled with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately invested. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered.

[23] ὁ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἔλὼν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπῆρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα δρᾶν, αὐτὸς τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῆι μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβὼν, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλῃν, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὅμηρὰ τε Ἰβήρων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προεῖληπτο, ἔθνε τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆνει, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπίωνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρῶτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὲ πόλις ἔθνε ἐπὶ πρεῖς ἡμέρας ὥς τῆς πατρῴας εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὐθις ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγесαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

[23] Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Forum. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the

Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the Spanish prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days' thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune had shown itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

CHAPTER V

Scipio marches against the Two Hasdrubals — Battle of Carmone

[24] ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἐς ὕψος ἐγεῖραι: τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτὸς τε ἐπιὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἕκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπήγετο, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο. Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπὸν καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτῳ παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγει, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτι βεβαίους περιέπεμπε, ἀξίων Καρχηδονίοις ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιᾷς ἐλευσομένης αὐτίκα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος. Μάγωνα δ' ἕτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθεῖη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τινα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσκειν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαιτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευεν: ἔνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἤσσαντο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαιτύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.

[24] Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and ordered that the wall which was washed by the tide should be raised to the proper height. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing the others. There were two Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighboring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he made an incursion into the territory of Lersa which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Bætica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Bætica also. (Y.R. 547)

[25] ὁ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνήλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβήρων, οὓς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὧν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἱππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὧδε δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππείας ἐπιδιήρει, καὶ Λαίλιον μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἔπεμπε, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐπελαυνόντων: ὡς δὲ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτι διώκειν αὐτούς, τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευεν

εὐσταθῶς ἤπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα δύναμις ἐπτακισμῦριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἑξ καὶ τριάκοντα: Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρήτο μόνοις.

[25] Now this Hasdrubal ordered all the remaining Carthaginian (B.C. 207) forces in Spain to be collected at the city of Carmone to fight Scipio with their united strength. Hither came a great number of Spaniards under the lead of Mago, and of Numidians under Masinissa. Hasdrubal had the infantry in a fortified camp, Masinissa and Mago, who commanded the cavalry, bivouacking in front of it. Scipio divided his own horse so that Lælius should attack Mago while he himself should be opposed to Masinissa. This fight was for some time doubtful and severe to Scipio, since the Numidians discharged their darts at his men, then suddenly retreated, and then wheeled and returned to the charge. But when Scipio ordered his men to hurl their javelins and then pursue without intermission, the Numidians, having no chance to turn around, retreated to their camp. Here Scipio desisted from the pursuit and encamped in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number. For some time, therefore, he hesitated and did not venture a fight, except some light skirmishes.

[26] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζευξάμεν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων: θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεὶς πάλιν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦκειν τὸ σύννηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ: καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἔς τε πιστὶν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις. καὶ λέγων ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὓς μεθ' ὁρμῆς καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐδείκνυε τε, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθῶς ὁρῶν καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὥς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον ἡρεθίζοντο. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἶχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ' εἶασε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔτι ὢν θεόληπτος, ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς πολεμίους, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας Σιλανῷ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδοῦς:

[26] When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the deity had appeared to him in the customary way and told him to attack the enemy, and

had assured him that it was better to trust in heaven than in the size of his army because his former victories were gained by divine favor rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead with great swiftness and clamor. Looking up he pointed them out and exclaimed this was a sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one possessed. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardor to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "These signs tell us that we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led them against the enemy, who were not expecting them, giving the command of the horse to Silanus and of the foot to Lælius and Marcius.

[27] Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφω σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἄσιτον οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοῆς. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἵππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτι τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν: οἷς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι χρήσιμα: οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἡττῶντο δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῦς ἐπιθέοντός τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἵππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδί παραδούς, καὶ παρά τινος ἀσπίδα λαβὼν, ἐξέδραμεν ὥς εἶχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγώς, 'ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.' τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὄρῳντες οἱ κινδύνου φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρῳ πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδοῦμενοί τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας, ἣν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Λίβυες ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειπούσης αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἐσπέραν: καὶ πολλὸς αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίωνι τῆς περὶ Καρμῶνιν μάχης, ἐπισηφαλοῦς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντα: κισχίλιοι.

[27] Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, when Scipio was coming upon them unawares, being only ten stades distant, and their soldiers not having taken their food, drew up their forces in haste, amid confusion and tumult. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and

snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: “Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril.” Then those who were near seeing, and those who were distant hearing, what danger he was in, and all being in like manner moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general’s safety, charged furiously upon the enemy, uttering loud cries. The Africans were unable to resist this charge. They gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.

[28] μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἶπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν ὅσάκις καταλάβοι. ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν ὀχυρόν τι χωρίον προύλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἄφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἠπειγον ἕτεραι χρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπῆει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὐτῆς ὑποχωρούντων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν στρατιὰν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν τὴν Πυρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ' ὧν ἐξενολογῇκε Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας ὧδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγνοούντων, ἠπείγετο.

[28] After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. After they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians.

CHAPTER VI

Scipio visits Africa — Other operations in Spain — Destruction of Ilurgia — The Fate of Astapa

(Y.R. 548)

[29] Λεύκιος δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιών ἔφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγὸν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὧδε ἔσεσθαι, Λαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προῦπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιόνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν ἐπίωσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἕτερα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενός τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ἦι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Λαίλιῳ.

[29] Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from (B.C. 206) Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Lælius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship of the Scipios, and ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. When Scipio heard of this, judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Lælius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person.

[30] καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς ἐπανάγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἰστίῳ χρώμενος παρέπλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀδεῶς καὶ κατήχη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξένιζεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ἰδία καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὐθις αὐτῷ κατεῖχεν, ἕως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Σκιπίων, καταγόμενός τε καὶ πλέων: λέγεται δ' ἐν Σύφακος ἐστιώμενος συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος καταπληγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἶη.

[30] When he was approaching the shore the Carthaginian envoys who were still with Syphax sailed out against him with their war-ships, without Syphax's knowledge. But he spread his sails, outran them completely, and

reached the harbor. Syphax entertained both parties, but he made an alliance with Scipio privately, and having exchanged pledges sent him away. He also detained the Carthaginians, who were again lying in wait for Scipio, until he was a good distance out to sea. So much danger did Scipio incur both going and returning. It is reported that at a banquet given by Syphax, Scipio reclined on the same couch with Hasdrubal and that the latter questioned him about many things, and was greatly impressed with his gravity, and afterwards said to his friends that Scipio was formidable not only in war but also at a feast.

[31] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνί τινες Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρου, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἐτέρους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακιοχίλιους, Ἄννωνος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, ὅθεν ἀποροῦντες ἀπάντων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννονα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἄννονα στρατηγὸν ὄντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροώμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδωκαν· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἦτι καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἔς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, 'ἄξια μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, οἱ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ' ἡμῖν, εἴλεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν· δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθεῖσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι.' ἀγανακτῆσάντων δ' εὐθύς ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα μακραῖς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἄννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

[31] At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards were still serving under Mago as mercenaries, although their towns had gone over to the Romans. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He corralled 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain he said: "You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your country has espoused our side. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow

you to go unpunished.” At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, not unavenged, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno’s disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions.

[32] καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ’ ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγέσθαι, πολεμικῶς δ’ αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἶπετο· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Ἴλουργίαν πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος δ’ ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ὑποδεξαμένη Ῥωμαίων ὥς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεδεδώκει. ὧν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσσαρσιν ὥραις ἐξείλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχὼν ἕως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι’ αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἔκτεινον ὁμαλῶς καὶ παῖδια καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ’ ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφρουρεῖ, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἤρχε, διδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγνῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς ἐμποδῶν οὓσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ τοῖσδε μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι ἀγαθῆς· αὐτὸς δ’ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεξεύγυνε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύναιντο.

[32] While Mago lay here inert, Silanus was sent by Scipio to receive the submission of the city of Castax. When the inhabitants received him in a hostile manner, he encamped before it, and communicated the fact to Scipio. The latter sent him some siege engines and prepared to follow, but turned aside to attack the town of Ilurgia. This place had been an ally of the Romans in the time of the elder Scipio, but at his death changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to the Roman soldiers who had fled thither supposing it to be friendly, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high

reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could.

[33] Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις ἀεὶ ἐμμείνας ὁμαλῶς· οἱ τότε τοῦ Μάρκιου σφᾶς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὥρκωσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἀλίσκηται, τὰ γύναια καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάζαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρας τῶνδε ποιησάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκιον οὐχ ὑφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐτρέψαντο. ὀπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἦν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χεῖρους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἀπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαζαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.

[33] There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed the light-armed troops and cavalry whom they met. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. Finally the Romans overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the Astapians, spared the houses.

CHAPTER VII

Mutiny in Scipio's Army — The Mutiny suppressed — Masinissa makes an Alliance with Scipio

[34] μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διώκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ' ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἡρῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἐκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνός τινες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἐπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλόμενοι καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τᾶλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνουν ἀλλήλοις. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπειθῶσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ' ἅπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἤδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἦκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

[34] After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to revolt to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged others to try and win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to all the soldiers in common, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he was about ready to discharge his debt to them, and telling them to come to New Carthage and get their provisions.

[35] ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπόπτειον, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἤξιον καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὥδευον ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα, καὶ ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαι τε καὶ δεῖν λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς ἅμα ἔφ' ἑξίφηρις ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὐκαιρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαμβάνοντας, ἣν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ' ἄρτι

φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέθεον ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν, οἱ μὲν ἄζωστοι τὰ ξίφη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις, οὐ φθάσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.

[35] Upon reading these letters, some thought that they were not to be trusted. Others put faith in them. Finally they came to an agreement that all should go to New Carthage together. When they were coming, Scipio enjoined upon those senators who were with him that each one should attach himself to some one of the leaders of the sedition as they came in, as if to admonish him in a friendly way, should then make him his guest, and quietly secure him. He also ordered the military tribunes that each should have his most faithful soldiers in readiness at daylight unobserved, with their swords, and station them at intervals in convenient places about the assembly, and if any tumult should arise, to draw their weapons and kill at once, without waiting for orders. Shortly after daybreak, Scipio was conveyed to the tribunal, and he sent the heralds around to summon the soldiers to the place of meeting. The call was unexpected to them and they were ashamed to keep their sick general waiting. They thought also that they were only called to get their rewards. So they came running together from all sides, some without their swords others dressed only in their tunics, not having had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste.

[36] Σκιπίων δὲ φρουρὰν ἔχων ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀφανῆ, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἰτ’ ἔφη τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθήσειν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξασιν, ‘οὓς ἐγὼ κολάσω δι’ ὑμῶν.’ καὶ λέγων ἔτι προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ μὲν δὴ δίστανον, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺς αἰτίους παρῆγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλούντων, τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ χιλιάρχοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρουμένην εἶδεν, ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐκβοήσαντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀγένας ἀπάντων ἐς τοῦδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.

ὥδε μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι:

[36] Scipio, having a guard around himself that was not observed, first accused them of their misdeeds. “Nevertheless,” he said, “the blame belongs only to the authors of the conspiracy, whom I will punish with your help.” He had scarcely said this when he ordered the lictors to divide the crowd in two parts, and when they had done so the senators dragged the guilty leaders into the middle of the assembly. When they cried out and called their comrades to their aid, every one who uttered a word was killed by the tribunes. The rest of

the crowd, seeing that the assembly was surrounded by armed men, remained in sullen silence. Then Scipio caused the wretches who had been dragged to the middle space to be beaten with rods, those who had cried for help being beaten hardest, after which he ordered that their necks should be fastened to stakes driven in the ground and their heads cut off. The heralds proclaimed pardon to the rest. In this way was the mutiny in Scipio's camp put down.

[37] Ἰνδιβίλις δέ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμέ τι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδέετο προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ζημιώσας συνηλλάσσετο. λαθὼν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ὤμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἂν ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύῃ. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἡγγύητο Μασσανάσση: Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρως ἔκνιζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιοῦμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδοῦμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

[37] While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into the territory of Scipio's allies. When Scipio marched against him he made a very stiff fight, and killed some 1200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was desperately in love with the same girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. When Masinissa learned the facts he made an alliance with Scipio. Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned. (Y.R. 549)

[38] στρατηγούς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἔπεμπον ἀπὸ

τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀρμοστὰς ἢ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων ὀλίγην στρατιὰν ὥς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ καταλιπών, συνώκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε: καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραϊανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμοντος αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ δόξης αἰοδίδιμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διὰ τε νεότητα καὶ ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἱ τε φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὠμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἔκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετήλθον, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρέιλοντο, καὶ ὄμηρα ἤτησαν, καὶ φρουρὰς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔληγε.

[38] From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send prætors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. Scipio left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this was the native place of Trajan and Hadrian, who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honors upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realized in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honor of a triumph. As soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and punished (B.C. 205) with loss of goods and death. The tribes that took sides with Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio's departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end.

CHAPTER VIII

Cato the Censor — His Victory in Spain — Revolt of the Lusones — The Elder Gracchus in Spain

[39] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίπῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὐθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἰβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιος τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μάρκος Ἑλουῖος, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἔτι τῆς κινήσεως γιγνομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρεπής, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ρήτορα γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένη.

[39] Subsequently, when the Romans were at war with the Gauls on the Po, and with Philip of Macedon, the Spaniards (Y.R. 557) attempted another revolution, thinking the Romans now too (B.C. 197) distracted to heed them. Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius were sent from Rome as generals against them, and after them Minucius. As the disturbance became greater, (Y.R. 559) Cato was sent in addition, with larger forces. He was still (B.C. 195) a very young man, austere, laborious, and of such solid understanding and superb eloquence that the Romans called him Demosthenes for his speeches, for they learned that Demosthenes had been the greatest orator of Greece.

[40] ὥς δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγγεράτο, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὥς δ' ἔμελλε συνενεχθῆσεσθαι μάχῃ, τὰς ναῦς αἷς εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἵτην γὰρ εὐψυχίαν αἰεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι νεῶν ἀποροῦμεν, ὥς οὐκ ἔχῃν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπήδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτου δ' αὐτῆς ἐς δέϊλην ἐσπέραν ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἕς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πᾶν ἐποψόμενος. ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε τῆς νίκης. διώξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ' ὥς ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπρασεν.

[40] When Cato arrived in Spain at the place called Emporia, the enemy from all quarters assembled against him to the number of 40,000. He took a short time to discipline his forces. When he was about to fight he sent away the ships which he had brought, to Massilia. Then he told his soldiers that they had not so much to fear from the superior numbers of the enemy (for courage could always overcome numbers), as from their own want of ships, so that there was no safety for them unless they beat the enemy. With these words he had not inspired his army, as would other generals, with hope — but with fear; then he ordered an engagement. But when battle was joined he flew hither and thither exhorting and cheering his troops. When the conflict had continued doubtful till evening and many had fallen on both sides, he ascended a high hill with three cohorts of the reserve, where he could overlook the whole field. When he saw the centre of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a charge and a shout, and here his victory began. He pursued them the whole night, captured their camp, and slew a vast number. Upon his return the soldiers congratulated and embraced him as the author of the victory. After this he gave the army a rest and sold the plunder.

[41] πρεσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὁμηρά τε ἤτησεν ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἐκάστους περιέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντας ἀποδοῦναι: καὶ ὥριζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν πορρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἀπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν, αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἢ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν: εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμόν ἡπειλεῖ. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἡττημένοι μεγάλη μάχη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἶτε μόνοις εἶθ' ἅπασι ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὥς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καιρὸν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβοῦμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἕκαστοι προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τεῖχη καθήρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπακούειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾷς ἡμέρας, ὑφ' ἐνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθήρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃς.

[41] Now envoys came to him from all sides, from whom he required hostages. To each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and he charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the farthest town. The letters commanded the magistrates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the very day they received the order. If there was a day's delay he threatened to sell them into slavery. They, having been lately vanquished in a great battle, and not knowing whether these orders had been sent to them alone or to all, were much perplexed, for if it were to them alone they felt that

they were but weak objects of scorn, but if it were to the others also, they feared to be the only ones to delay. Wherefore, as they had no time to send to each other, and the officers who brought the letters urged them to obey, they decided to do so, each town consulting its own safety. And so they threw down their walls with all speed, for when they had once decided to obey they thought that those who did the work most expeditiously would receive most favor. Thus the towns along the river Iberus in one day, and by one act of generalship, levelled their own walls. Being less able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained longer at peace. (Y.R. 573)

[42] Ὀλυμπιάσι δ' ὕστερον τέσσαρσιν, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ὤκηνται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὕπατος Φούλουιος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχῃ. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν: ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐβίότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἥ νεόκτιστός τε ἦν καὶ ὀχυρά, καὶ ἠϋξέτο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἐκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππον καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔφη σάγους οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλῆζοντο. χρῶνται δὲ διπλοῖς ἱματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἡγοῦνται.

[42] Four Olympiads later, — that is, about the 150th Olympiad, — many Spanish tribes, having insufficient land, including the Lusones and others who dwelt along the river Iberus, revolted from the Roman rule. These being overcome in battle by the consul Fulvius Flaccus, the greater part of them scattered among their towns. The rest, being destitute of land and living a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, and which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that Flaccus should deliver to each of them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for their dead in the late war, (B.C. 181) and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers, he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighboring barbarians on the road. These people wore a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fastened with a clasp after the manner of the military cloak, and they called it the sagum. (Y.R. 575)

[43] Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος. Κάραουν δὲ πόλιν, ἥ Ῥωμαίων ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν: καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώσεσθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπείγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιούτος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντας οὐδὲ μηνῦσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἱλάρχων, Κομίνιος,

ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκῶν, ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάραουν διαδραμῶν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκατερέησαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανεστήσαν· δισμῦριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκῆτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὁ δ' εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἴτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνώκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς, καθ' ἃ Ῥωμαίων ἔσσονται φίλοι· ὄρκους τε ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι' ἃ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

[43] Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius (B.C. 179) Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish sagum and secretly mingled with the enemy's foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and passed through it into Caravis and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers fled. About the same time the inhabitants of Complega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus' camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and captured Complega and the surrounding country. Then he divided the land among the poor and settled them on it, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a splendid triumph.

CHAPTER IX

The Belli and the Titthi — Beginning of the Numantine War — Claudius Marcellus in Spain — Makes an Armistice — Licinius Lucullus succeeds Him — His Infamous Conduct — Scipio Africanus the Younger — Retreat of the Romans

(Y.R. 600)

[44] ἔτεσι δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἡγήρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιαύδε προφάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὕτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνῶκίζεν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο, Τίτθους τε ὁμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν ἐς ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ἦτει τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαι τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε: καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ' αἱ Γράκχου συνθήκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τεύχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτίβηρσιν ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας: τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφείσθαι μετὰ Γράκχον. καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἦσαν ἀφειμένοι, δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιαύδε δωρεὰς ἀεὶ προστιθεῖσα κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

[44] Some years later another serious war broke out in (B.C. 154) Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Gracchus. It persuaded some of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighboring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed by Gracchus, and ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify existing ones. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always added that they should continue only during the pleasure of the Roman people. (Y.R. 601)

[45] στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νοβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης: ὃν ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὕπῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονταί τε, καὶ Κάρων αὐτῶν Σεγηδαίων, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον,

αἰροῦνται στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρᾳ δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἕς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἔκτεινεν ἕς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρων τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἐτέρους ἄμφ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἶδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ' ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν: ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.

[45] Accordingly the praetor Nobilior was sent against them with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged that the latter would receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 500 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they were passing through. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him and killed (B.C. 153) Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valor, and not less than 6000 others with him. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so.

[46] Ἀρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς Νομαντίαν, ἥ δυνατωτάτῃ πόλιν ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγούς Ἀμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ἡροῦντο: Νωβελίων δ' αὐτοῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δὲ οἱ Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὓς Μασσανάσσης ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὀπίσω τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο: καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι σφῶν οὐ πρὶν ἑωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις ἔθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τεύχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεῖς ἠγγιώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνῆρει τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἔτι φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον. οἳ τε ἄλλοι ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὅμοια πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτουν. ὅπερ αἰεὶ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασιν πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἠγεῖσθαι πολεμίους: καὶ τινες διὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινούς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος: ἦν οἱ

Νομαντῖνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διώκοντες ἔκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα ἔλαβον. Κελτιβήρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχιλίους.

[46] The Arevaci convened immediately, even in the night, at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here he was joined by 300 horse and ten elephants sent to him by Masinissa. When he moved against the enemy he placed these animals in the rear where they could not be seen. Then when battle was joined the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior advanced at once against the city walls, where the battle raged fiercely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, scattering and hurling them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are enraged. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

[47] καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβών, ἀγορᾷ μὲν τινι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχειρεῖ περὶ Ἀξείνιον πόλιν σεσσωρευμένη, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κάνταυθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, ἐπανήλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἕς τι γειτονεῦον ἔθνος ἔπεμπεν, ἰππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν αὐτῷ τινὰς ἰππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶνδε πταισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὀκίλις, ἔνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχεύμαζε, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθὼν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλιγότῃ καὶ νιφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὥστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλλυντο.

[47] Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon the stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, his master of horse, to secure the

alliance of a neighboring tribe and to ask for assistance in the way of cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was returning with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, revolted to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold. (Y.R. 602)

[48] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νωβελίωνι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἄγων πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους· λοχόντων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διήλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὀκίλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχῆς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὦν τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὅμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβών. Νεργόβριγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἡρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑπισχνοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων. εἴτ' ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ὥς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὠμολογημένα ἁμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἔδησε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδῖον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν διεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. Νεργόβριγες δέ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἅμα μαὶ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες λυκῆν ἀντὶ κηρυκείου περικείμενον, ἦτουν συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφθ δώσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίτθοι δεσθεῖεν ὁμοῦ. ὦν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἡξίουσαν, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν· ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοί τινες ὑπ' ἐκείνων πεπολεμημένοι.

[48] The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was renowned for good fortune in war, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carried off a lot of baggage. When the leaders of the hundred horse arrived according to agreement, and were interrogated about the attack

on the rear guard, they replied that this had been done by some of their people who did not know of the agreement. Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a caduceus, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. (B.C. 152) This petition was opposed by some of the country people who had been incited to war by them.

[49] καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέγοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευον. ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουσα ὅτι μὴ, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἡξίου Νωβελίων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκέλλου, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐπετετρόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσειν ἔφη τὰ δόξαντα. καὶ στρατιὰν εὐθὺς ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως· πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀδίκους ποιῆσθαι τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε συναγαγεῖν. ὧν ἐστρατήγει Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὕπατος, πρεσβευτῇ χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδὼνα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον.

[49] Marcellus sent ambassadors from each party to Rome to carry on their dispute there. At the same time he sent private letters to the Senate urging peace. He desired that the war should be brought to an end by himself, thinking that he should gain glory thereby. Some of the ambassadors from the friendly faction on coming to the city were treated as guests, but, as was customary, those from the hostile faction lodged outside the walls. The Senate rejected the proposal of peace and took it ill that these people had refused terms to the Romans when they were asked by Nobilior, the predecessor of Marcellus. So they replied that Marcellus would announce the Senate's decision to them. And now for the first time they chose an army for Spain by lot, instead of the customary levy, for since many had complained that they had been treated unjustly by the consuls in the enrolment, while others had been chosen for easy service, it was decided now to choose by lot. The consul Icinus Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his lieutenant Cornelius Scipio who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage and of Numantia.

[50] ὁ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὤδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τὸν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς

Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα αἰτοῦσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν: ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑποπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστάθῃ τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργόβριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχὼν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ὃ τῶν Νομαντίνων στρατηγὸς Λιτέννων ὑποστάς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔφη Βελλοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Ἀρουακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. ὃ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὄμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντα ἤτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὃ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἔληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

[50] While Lucullus was on the march Marcellus notified the Celtiberians of the coming war, and gave back the hostages in response to their request. Then he sent for the chief of the Celtiberian embassy in Rome and conferred with him privately a long time. From this circumstance it was then suspected, and was strongly confirmed by later events, that he sought to persuade them to put their affairs in his hands, because he tried in every way to bring the war to an end before the arrival of Lucullus. Directly after this conference 5000 of the Arevaci took possession of the city of Nergobriga. Marcellus marched against Numantia, encamped at a distance of five stades from it, and was driving the Numantines inside the walls when their leader Litenno halted and called out that he would like to have a conference with Marcellus. This being granted he said that the Belli, Titthi, and Arevaci would put themselves entirely in his hands. He was delighted to hear this and having demanded (Y.R. 603) and received hostages and money, he let them go (B.C. 151) free. Thus the war with the Belli, the Titthi, and the Arevaci was brought to an end before Lucullus arrived.

[51] ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρήζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἕτερον γένος Κελτιβήρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Λεύκολλον ἀμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δ' ἐπίθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἦκοι δεόμενος ἢ τί πολέμου χρήζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοίη, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοῖς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη: καὶ τότε ἔφευγον οὐκ ὄντες μενεμάχοι, περὶ τε τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὠθυμένων ἀνηρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους.

[51] Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vaccæi, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbors of the Arevaci, against whom war had not been declared by the Senate, nor had they ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani whom the Vaccæi had maltreated they retired inside their walls, from which they sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. When battle was joined the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage at first, but when they had expended all their darts they were obliged to fly, not being accustomed to a standing fight, and while forcing their way through the gates about 3000 of them were slain.

[52] τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανωσάμενοί τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὐτῆς ἡρώτων τί ποιοῦντες ἂν εἶεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμηρὰ τε ἵται καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευέν οἱ συστρατεύειν. ὥς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἤξιον φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξαιρεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἰρητὸ γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τεῖχη. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Λεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμεαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἀπιστίαν λωιδороῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὡμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων· ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτέρας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἃ δύναιτο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα λείποιν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὐρεῖν.

[52] The next day the elders of the city came out wearing crowns on their heads and bearing olive-branches, and asked Lucullus what they should do to establish friendly relations. He replied that they must give hostages and 100 talents of silver, and furnish a contingent of horse to the Roman army. When all these demands had been complied with he asked that a Roman garrison should be admitted to the city. When the Caucaei assented to this he brought in 2000 soldiers carefully chosen, to whom he gave orders that when they were admitted they should occupy the walls. When this was (lone Lucullus introduced the rest of his army and ordered them at the sound of the trumpet to kill all the adult males of the Caucaei. The latter, invoking the gods who preside over promises and oaths, and upbraiding the perfidy of the Romans, were cruelly slain, only a few out of 20,000 escaping by leaping down the sheer walls at the gates. Lucullus sacked the city and brought infamy upon the Roman name. The rest of the barbarians collecting together from the fields

took refuge among inaccessible rocks or in the most strongly fortified towns, carrying away what they could, and burning what they were obliged to leave, so that Lucullus should not find any plunder.

[53] ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἕς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα περὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεφύγεσαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο: οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνειδίζει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοίη. ὁ δ', οἷον ἅπαντες οἱ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ' οὕτω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμινὰ δέ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἐθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος ἐπιτωθᾶσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γιγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὢν ὑπερήλγησέ τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὢν.

[53] The latter, having traversed a long stretch of deserted country, came to the city of Intercatia where more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had taken refuge together. Lucullus very foolishly invited them to enter into a treaty. They reproached him with the slaughter of the Caucaeï, and asked him whether he invited them to the same kind of a pledge that he had given to that people. He, like all guilty souls, being angry with his accusers instead of reproaching himself, laid waste their fields. Then he drew a line of siege around the city, threw up several mounds, and repeatedly set his forces in order of battle to provoke a fight. The enemy did not respond but fought with projectiles only. There was a certain barbarian distinguished by his splendid armor, who frequently rode into the space between the armies and challenged the Romans to single combat, and when nobody accepted the challenge he jeered at them, made insulting gestures, and went back. After he had done this several times, Scipio, who was still a youth, felt very much aggrieved, and springing forward accepted the challenge. Fortunately he won the victory over this giant although he was himself a man of small size.

[54] καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπῆρε Ῥωμαίους, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατεῖχον: οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Λεύκολλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον: καὶ συνεπήχουν οἱ ἔνδον αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων: οἶνου γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ' ἄλων οὐδ' ὄξους οὐδ' ἐλαίου, πυροὺς καὶ κριθᾶς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγῶν χωρὶς ἄλων ἐψόμενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγγυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ

τείχη τῶν πολέμιων τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μὲν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν· μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐξ τινα δεξαμενῆν ὕδατος ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνφοδόκουν. πάντῳ δ' ἐκατέρων κακοπαθόντων ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἥπτετο Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, Λευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίου καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὠρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐς ὄμηρα. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Λεύκολλος αἰτῶν, οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἡγοῦμενος ὅλην Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ' ἐκείνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.

[54] This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were seized with panic. A body of the enemy's horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and the flesh of deer and rabbits boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when a mound was completed so that they could batter the enemy's walls, they knocked down a section and rushed into the city, but they were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where many perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. They had so much confidence in his word that the war was brought to an end on these conditions: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver that Lucullus was after (and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver), he got nothing. Not only did they have none, but these particular Celtiberians did not set any value on those metals.

[55] ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ἦει πόλιν, ἥ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἶχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευόν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι σιτολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱπεύσιν ἠνώγλουν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυν. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀνεξεύγνυ, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων, ἐπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων

πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη.

[55] He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. Put, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. When his food was exhausted Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of a square, and pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Durius. From that place the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccæi, which was waged by Lucullus without the authority of the Roman people, but he was never called to account for it.

CHAPTER X

The Lusitanian War — The Doings of Mummius — Servius Galba — His Infamous Conduct

(Y.R. 599)

[56] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἱ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα ἐλήζοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασὶν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινὰς ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι Βλαστοφοίνικας. Πούνικος μὲν οὖν λίθῳ πληγείς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Καῖσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καῖσαρος Μουμμίῳ, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἡττώμενος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίῳ δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑννακισχιλίους, καὶ τὴν τε λεῖαν τὴν ἡρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβέ τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεῖα πολλά, ἅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετώθασον.

[56] At this time another part of autonomous Spain called Lusitania, under Punicus as leader, was ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their prætors (first Manilius and then Calpurnius Piso), killed 6000 Romans and among them Terentius Varro, the quæstor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the Blastophœnicæ, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people (B.C. 155) settlers from Africa, from whence they derived their name. Here Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Cæsar. The latter joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia. (Y.R. 601)

[57] Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιὼς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἴ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκίμως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν

λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κάκεινοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεωμένοι, Καυκαίνου σφῶν ἡγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἶλον Κονίστοργιν. παρὰ τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Λιβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἐπόμενος ἐννακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δηούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἐτέρων τινάς, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ἃ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὥς μὴδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ διαφυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις ἔκαυσεν.

καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν,

[57] Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled (B.C. 153) them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. While he was watching his opportunity the barbarians passed by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured. He fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. Some of the Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucenus, being incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured their large city, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the straits, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocile. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocile. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty he slew all of them, so that not one was left to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers. The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph. (Y.R. 602)

[58] ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, ὃς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, ἣ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπληζάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἓν τοῦ Οὐεττάνων ἔθνος, ὁμόρου τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὥς δ' ἀνεξεύγνυε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καὶ τινὰς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκούους ἐπολιόρκουν: οὗς ἐπείγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρονιος Γάλβας ὁ Ἀτιλίου διάδοχος, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίου διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ' εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμως. ὅθεν ἀσθενοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὔσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἔνθα

τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους διήλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχίμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

[58] He was succeeded in the command by Marcus (B.C. 152) Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracæ. This so terrified the neighboring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, (Y.R. 603) the successor of Atilius, hastened to relieve them. Having (B.C. 151) marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy's ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he received the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

[59] Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφίσματος πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάζων ἦσθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων, καὶ περιέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχίλιους. περὶ τε Γάδαιρα τὸν πορθμὸν ἐτέρων περὼντων ἔκτεινεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας ἐς τινα λόφον ἀπετάφρευσε, πληθὸς τε ἔλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἄπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβέβηκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχεσθαι ὥς δι' ἀπορίαν ληστεύουσί τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν. 'τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον,' ἔφη, 'καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει· δώσω δ' ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἀγαθὴν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικιῶ, διελὼν ἐς τρία.'

[59] Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccaei without authority, was wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighborhood he sent out some of his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them. He killed 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill and he drew a line of circumvallation around it and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded (Y.R. 604) Lusitania and gradually depopulated it. Galba did (B.C. 150) the same on the other side. When some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the treaty made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, though they had transgressed this treaty, he received them favorably, and made a truce and pretended to sympathize with them because

they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break their engagements. “For, of course,” said he, “poorness of soil and penury forced you to do these things. If you wish to be friendly, I will give you good land for your poor people and settle them in three divisions, in a fertile country.”

[60] οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήεσαν οἷ προσέτασεν ὁ Γάλβας: ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ πεδῖον ἐκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθών. ὥς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρῶτους, ἐκέλευεν ὥς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, θεμένους δ' ἀπετάφρευε τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινὰς ἐσπέμψας ἀνεῖλεν ἅπαντας, ὀδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστει ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνεῖλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστία μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιών, οὐκ ἀξίως δὲ Ῥωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὧν ἦν Οὐρίαθρος, ὃς μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἡγήσατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γενόμενα ὕστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Λευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος ὢν, ὀλίγα μὲν τινὰ τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὀλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὢν ὁμοῦ τι Ῥωμαίων: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπορκοῦντα διὰ κέρδη.μισούμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

[60] Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place where Galba directed. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country until he should assign them their places. Then he came to the first division and told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, they, meanwhile, crying aloud and invoking the names and faith of the gods. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery in a manner unworthy of a Roman, but imitating barbarians. A few escaped, among them Viriathus, who not long afterward became the leader of the Lusitanians and killed many Romans and performed the greatest exploits, which I shall relate hereafter. Galba, being even more greedy than Lucullus, distributed a little of the plunder to the army and a little to his friends and kept the rest himself, although he was already one of the richest of the Romans. Not even in time of peace, they say, did he abstain from lying and perjury in order to get gain. Although generally hated, and called to account for his rascalities, he escaped punishment by means of his wealth.

CHAPTER XI

*The rise of Viriathus — He defeats Vetilius — Defeats Plautius in Two Battles
— Is defeated by Maximus Æmilianus*

(Y.R. 606)

[61] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομίσεως, ἀλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἄγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρία προσλαβὼν, ἅπαντας ἔχων ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέπεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔς τι χωρίον, οἳ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπίνοντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὧδε γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἐπεμπον σὺν ἱκετηρίαῖς, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἤδη. Οὐρίατθος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγὼν, τότε συνὼν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεμίμησκε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας, ὅσακις τε αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαντες ἐπιθοῖντο, καὶ ὥς ὅδε πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐπιorkiῶν Γάλβα καὶ Λευκόλλου διαφύγοιμεν. οὐδ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου, ἂν ἐθέλωσι πείθεσθαι.

[61] Not long afterward those who had escaped the villany of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out would fall into the hands of the Romans. Being in these straits they sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was nearly made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them of the bad faith of the Romans, told them how the latter had often set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, (B.C. 148) he said, he would show them a safe retreat from this place.

[62] Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι γενομένων, ἡρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάζας ἐς μέτωπον ὥς ἐπὶ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὥς δύνανται, κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφυγον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ

Ουετίλιος αὐτοὺς δέισας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐριάτθον ἐστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπείς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ' ὠκυτάτοις ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ πάλιν ἰστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὥς δ' εἵκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἐτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὀρμήσας δι' ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποις ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διὰ τε βάρος ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀνομοιότητα. ὧδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογιγνώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐς τοὺς τῆδε βαρβάρους ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὅκτῳ ἔτη Ῥωμαῖοις ἐπολέμει.

[62] Excited by the new hopes with which he inspired them, they chose him as their leader. He drew them up in line of battle as though he intended to fight, but gave them orders that when he should mount his horse they should scatter in every direction and make their way by different routes to the city of Tribola and there wait for him. He chose 1000 only whom he commanded to stay with him. These arrangements having been made, they all fled as soon as Viriathus mounted his horse, Vetilius was afraid to pursue those who had scattered in so many different ways, but turning towards Viriathus who was standing there and apparently waiting a chance to attack, joined battle with him. The latter, having very swift horses, harassed the Romans by attacking, then retreating, again standing still and again attacking, and thus consumed the whole of that day and the next dashing around on the same field. As soon as he conjectured that the others had made good their escape, he hastened away in the night by devious paths and arrived at Tribola with his nimble steeds, the Romans not being able to follow him at an equal pace by reason of the weight of their armor, their ignorance of the roads, and the inferiority of their horses. Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reënforcements from different quarters, and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years. (Y.R. 607)

[63] καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάτθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἴ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο.

Ουετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ' Οὐριάτθος ἐν λόχμῃς ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Ουετίλιου αὐτός τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκατέρωθεν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐξώγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἐξωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ουετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχυν ὀρῶν, ἔκτεινεν ὥς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἐξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσει πόλιν, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων

πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἴπετο τῷ Οὐτετιλίῳ, συνέτασεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισχλίους συμμάχους, καὶ λαβὼν, προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἔκτεινεν, ὥς μὴδ' ἄγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

[63] It is my intention here to relate this war with Viriathus, so very harassing to the Romans and so badly managed by them, and to take up hereafter the other events that happened in Spain at the same time. Vetilius pursued him till he came to Tribola. Viriathus, having first laid an ambush in a dense thicket, retreated until Vetilius was passing through the place, when he turned, and those who were in ambush sprang up. On all sides they began killing the Romans, driving them over the cliffs and taking prisoners. Vetilius himself was taken prisoner; and the man who captured him, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he was old and fat, and considering him worthless, killed him. Of the 10,000 Romans, 6000 with difficulty made their way to (B.C. 147) the city of Carpesus on the seashore, which I think was formerly called by the Greeks Tartessus, and was ruled by King Arganthonius, who is said to have lived one hundred and fifty years. The soldiers, who made their escape to Carpesus, were stationed on the walls of the town by the quæstor who accompanied Vetilius, badly demoralized. Having asked and obtained 5000 allies from the Belli and Titthi, he sent them against Viriathus who slew them all, so that there was not one left to tell the tale. After that the quæstor remained quietly in the town waiting for help from Rome. (Y.R. 608)

[64] Οὐρίατθος δὲ τὴν Καρπητανίαν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιὼν ἀδεῶς ἐλεηλάτει, ἕως ἥκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαῦτιος ἄγων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε δ' αὖθις ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίατθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαῦτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχλίους, οὓς ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἔκτεινε χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὄρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Πλαῦτιος καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχέιμαζεν, οὐ θαρρῶν οὐδαμοὶ προΐεναι. ὁ δ' Οὐρίατθος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιὼν ἤτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

[64] Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania (B.C. 146) without hinderance, and ravaged it until Caius Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent 4000 men to pursue him but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and

eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed them. (Y.R. 609)

[65] ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἑαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεμον καταρωθοκτων, φειδοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας, οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἦκεν ἐς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὐπω μάχης ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειεν, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλγεομένων τισὶν ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιποὺς. τοῦ δ' ὑποστρατήγου συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὄλω μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἠκροβολίζετο, πειρὰν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους ἀεὶ τοῖς γυμνοῖς περίσστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ' ἱππέων αὐτός, οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἐώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται δεύτερος ὁδε τὸν Οὐρίατθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτόν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διώκων ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς. καὶ ἐχειμάζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τὰδε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε, διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοῖντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὔλου.

[65] When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, the son of Æmilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He obtained additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon his wood-cutters, killed (B.C. 145) many, and struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also

and captured a great booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his forces repeatedly and offered battle. But Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, frequently sending out skirmishing parties, making trial of the enemy's strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry. He had seen his father Paulus do this in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he (Y.R. 610) attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman general to (B.C. 144) put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, one of which he plundered and the other burned. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Bæcor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba. (Y.R. 611)

[66] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν, Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλοὺς, ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολέμον ἄλλον οἶδε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾷς Νομαντῖνον ἡγοῦνται, μακρόν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον. καὶ συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἓν μετ' Οὐρίατθον. Οὐρίατθος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐτέρῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοϊντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἡσσωμένος ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοϊντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεία τινα ἥρπασε: τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκκῃ φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν χώραν ἐλήζετο, Κοϊντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

[66] Now Viriathus, being not so confident as before, detached (B.C. 143) the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war from one of their cities. I shall give an account of this after finishing the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in another part of Spain with Quintus, another Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Venus mountain. From this he sallied and slew 1000 of Quintus' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Itucca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintus was unable to render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him.

CHAPTER XII

War with Viriathus continued — A Treaty with Viriathus — The Treaty is broken by the Romans — D. Junius Brutus — Guerilla Bands coöperate with Viriathus — Viriathus assassinated — Character of Viriathus

(Y.R. 612)

[67] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοϊντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίους. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίπῃ τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἡπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἑξακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιόντα οἱ μετὰ τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας ὑπέστη τε γενναίως καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὥς δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφῖκτο, καὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὠχύρου μέγα, καὶ προεπεχείρει τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἀτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τρισχιλίους τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατοπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τῷδε, ὀλίγων μόλις αὐτὸν ὑφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιός τε, ὁ Λαίλιου κηδεστής, λαμπρῶς ἠρίστευε, καὶ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν· ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρα θαμινὰ ἐπίων, καὶ οὐ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν Σερουλιανὸν ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.

[67] At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, (B.C. 142) the brother of Æmilianus, came to succeed Quintus in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Itucca with his army in divisions, Viriathus attacked him with 6000 troops with great noise and barbaric clamor, and wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part

hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Lælius, showed splendid bravery. The Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Itucca.

[68] τότε δὲ ἤδη τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἱ τῷ Οὐρίατθῳ συνεπεπράχesan. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστράτευεν ἐς Κουνέους, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσιτανοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὐθις ἡπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λήσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τὴν τε λείαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἷλεν Εἰσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐρίατθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν ἄλλαις· αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο. καὶ Κοννόβαν μὲν τινα λήσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβὼν, καὶ φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου,

[68] Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Bæturia and plundered five towns that had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunæi, and thence to Lusitania once more, against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured some booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolcola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Then he went into winter quarters, having already been two years in the command. Having performed these labors, Servilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus. The brother of the former, Maximus Æmilianus, having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, released him but cut off the hands of all of his men.

[69] τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίατθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Οὐρίατθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἅμα ἔφ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ρίψαντες ἔφευγον. τὴν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ, τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίατθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς κρημνοὺς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίατθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι

τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρῶ, συνεντίθητο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν: Οὐρίατθον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ πάντας ἧς ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Οὐρίατθου πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαῦσθαι, χαλεπώτατός τε Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσία καταλυθείς.

[69] While following Viriathus, Servilianus laid siege to Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans among some cliffs from which there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favorable opportunity to bring the war to an end and win the great gratitude of the Romans, he made an agreement with them, and this agreement was ratified at Rome. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman people, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been settled satisfactorily and brought to an end. (Y.R. 614)

[70] οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγ κείμενα: ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Σερουιλανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπίων, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχῶρει κρύφα λυπεῖν τὸν Οὐρίατθον ὃ τι δοκιμάσειεν: ὡς δ' αὖθις ἠνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἔκρινε λῦσαί τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὖθις Οὐρίατθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπίων Ἄρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐρίατθου παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίατθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπητανίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων. ὅθεν ὁ Οὐρίατθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μὲν τινα φάραγγα ἀφανῆ τὸ πλεόν τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπιέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λοφου δόξαν παρῆιχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δ' ἦσθετο τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονότων, ἐξίππευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὁξέως οὕτως ὡς μηδ' αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεῖς τὰ ἐκείνων ἐδήγουν.

[70] The peace was not of long duration, for Cæpio, brother of the Servilianus who had concluded it, and his successor in the command, complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly. By persisting and continually sending letters he procured the breaking of the treaty and a renewal of open hostilities against Viriathus. When war (B.C. 140) was publicly declared

Cæpio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and followed Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) as far as Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his. Viriathus deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Cæpio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields. (Y.R. 616)

[71] καὶ ζήλω τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ληστήρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγνω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρᾶς, ὅσῃν ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὅξέως, οἷα δὴ ληστήρια, μεθισταμένους δυσεργεῖς ἡγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν: ἐς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς ἐς ἐκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσιν διαλυθῆσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδήiou τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα, συμμαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναναιρουμένων, καὶ οὐ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεῖσθαι. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη μεθ' ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων: καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένοις συνεγίνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.

[71] Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla (B.C. 138) bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Durius, and Bætis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while flying from place to place after the manner of robbers, and yet disgraceful not to do so, and a task not very glorious even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With this design he began destroying everything that came in his way. Here he found the women fighting and perishing in company with the men with such bravery that they uttered no cry even in the midst of slaughter. Some of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, taking their goods as a fine. (Y.R. 617)

[72] καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐνδιδόντων ὄμηναι αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Λήθην μετῆει, πρῶτος ὅδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ

μέχρι Νίμιος ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθὼν, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἀρπασάντων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρους, οἳ εἰσιν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν ὀπλισμέναις καὶ οἶδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαίρουσαι τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἱ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βρούτος κατεστρέφετο αὐθις.

[72] He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and taking hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They were a very warlike people, the women bearing arms with the men, who fought never turning, never (B.C. 137) showing their backs, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus and soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to subjection again.

[73] ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἥ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστάσα ἠνώχλει, παρακαλοῦντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλαβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτοὺς ἐς ὃ τι χρήζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων ἦται καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ ὄμηρα ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων ὅσας ἀποσταῖεν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινόν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνειδῶν ἔληξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἥ εἴ τις ἄλλη δημοσία παρασκευή, πάντα περιεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὐθις οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βρούτος ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆει. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν Οὐριάτθου γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου ζῆλον ὑπὸ ληστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίνεσθαι.

[73] One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed these orders, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he ceased his reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general

resources, he gave them back their town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him. (Y.R. 614)

[74] Οὐρίαθος δὲ Καίπιον περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπε, Αὐδάκα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἱ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίπιωνος δόροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐρίαθον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὧδε. ὀλιγοῦπνότατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐρίαθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα ἐξεγρόμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἔτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἐξῆν καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὐδάκα φυλάξαντες αὐτόν, ἀρχομένου ὕπνου παρήλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς δὴ τινος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὥπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγὴν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ' αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καίπιωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἤτουν. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἤτουν, ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπε. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐρίαθου καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἔμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἔνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγούντων τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμουμένων ἐν οἷς εἰσὶ κινδύνους καὶ οἷου στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ἠῦρισκον, ὑπερήλυνεν.

[74] Viriathus sent his most trusted friends Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus to Cæpio to negotiate terms of peace. The latter bribed them by large gifts and promises to assassinate Viriathus, which they did in this way. Viriathus, on account of his excessive cares and labors, slept but little, and for the most part took rest in his armor so that when aroused he should be prepared for every emergency. For this reason it was permitted to his friends to visit him by night. Taking advantage of this custom, those who were associated with Audax in guarding him entered his tent as if on pressing business, just as he had fallen asleep, and killed him by stabbing him in the throat, which was the only part of his body not protected by armor. The nature of the wound was such that nobody suspected what had been done. The murderers fled to Cæpio and asked for the rest of their pay. For the present he gave them permission to enjoy safely (B.C. 140) what they had already received; as for the rest of their demands he referred them to Rome. When daylight came the attendants of Viriathus and the remainder of the army thought he was still resting and wondered at his unusually long repose, until some of them discovered that he was lying dead in his armor. Straightway there was grief and lamentation throughout the camp, all of them mourning for him, fearing for their own safety, thinking what dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. Most of all were they grieved that they could not find the

perpetrators of the crime.

[75] Οὐρίαθρον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ἱερεῖά τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἴλας οἱ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν ἔνοπλοι βαρβαρικῶς ἐπῆνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἄμφ' αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον κατέλιπεν Οὐρίαθρος, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ' ἐς ἅπαντα πρὸ ἀπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, αἰεὶ παρακαλούντων· ὁ δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἐδίδου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδενὶ πῶ στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὀκτῶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγῆς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος αἰεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἐλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἦν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ Τάνταλος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιάν τῷ Καιπίωνι παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἱκανήν, ἵνα μὴ ληστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.

[75] They arrayed the body of Viriathus in splendid garments and burned it on a lofty funeral pile. Many sacrifices were offered for him. Troops of horse and foot in armor marched around him singing his praises in barbarian fashion. Nor did they depart from the funeral pile until the fire had gone out. When the obsequies were ended, they had gladiatorial contests at his tomb. So great was the longing for Viriathus after his death — a man who had the highest qualities of a commander as reckoned among barbarians, always foremost in facing danger and most exact in dividing the spoils. He never consented to take the lion's share, even when friends begged him to, but whatever he got he divided among the bravest. Thus it came about (a most difficult task and one never before achieved by any other commander so easily) that in the eight years of this war, in an army composed of various tribes, there never was any sedition, the soldiers were always obedient and fearless in the presence of danger. After his death they chose a general named Tantalus and made an expedition against Saguntum, the city which Hannibal had overthrown and reestablished and named New Carthage, after his own country. When they had been repulsed from that place and were crossing the river Bætis, Cæpio pressed them so hard that Tantalus became exhausted and surrendered his army to Cæpio on condition that they should be treated as subjects. The latter took from them all their arms and gave them sufficient land, so that they should not be driven to robbery by want. In this way the Viriathic war came to an end.

CHAPTER XIII

The Numantine War — Pompeius Aulus lays Siege to Numantia — Makes a Treaty with the Numantines — The Senate repudiates it — Mancinus makes a Fresh Treaty — Æmilius Lepidus makes War Contrary to Orders of the Senate — The Senate repudiates the Treaty of Mancinus

(Y.R. 611)

[76] ἐπάνεισι δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οὓς Οὐρίατθος μὲν ἠρέθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, Καϊκίλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιτεμφθεὶς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουακοὺς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτων, Τερμεντία δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Νομαντία ἔτι ἔλειπον. ἦν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποταμοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὕλαι τε αὐτῇ πυκναὶ περιέκειντο, καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, ἡ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ' ἄμφι τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τοσοῖδε ὄντες ὅμως ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἠνώχλησαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιάν Κοῖντῳ Πομπηῳ [Αὔλῳ] διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντία παραστρατοπεδεύων ὥχετό ποι, καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ἔκτειναν. ἐπανελθὼν οὖν παρέτασεν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες, μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος ...

[76] Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci (B.C. 143) and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Cæcilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them suddenly while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The Numantines were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, there being about 8000 altogether. Although small in numbers, yet they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. When he returned he drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades. (Y.R. 613)

[77] καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν ἑπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλιάρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτη πείρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεάς αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἔνοπλοι, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἠγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἦλασεν, ἣν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπήϊῳ. ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦς καὶ ὅμηρα αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἣν ἐδήου λήσταρχος ὄνομα Ταγγίνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν φρονήματος ἐν τοῖς λησταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναὺς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διετίτρων.

[77] When he saw his forces wasted day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. Here he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night (B.C. 141) under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedatania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away. (Y.R. 614)

[78] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὐθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμόν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πίεσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχετεύοντας ἠνώχλουν. ἔβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἕως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἑτέροις ἐπιδραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, Ὀπιόν τε χιλιάρχον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἠγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς τῷ τε Πομπήϊῳ σύμβουλοι παρήσαν ἐκ Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις 'ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις' διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοί τε καὶ ἐτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν,

ἐπέμενε χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἔκαμνον, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἔνιοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σῖτον οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἕως οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐπεξήεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοῖς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἔκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς.

[78] Pompeius, coming back to the siege of Numantia, endeavored to turn the course of a certain river in order to reduce the city by famine. The inhabitants harassed him while he was doing this work. They rushed out in crowds without giving any signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and hurled darts at those who came to their assistance from the camp, and finally shut the Romans up in their own fortification. They also attacked the foragers and killed many, and among them Oppius, a military tribune. They made an assault in another quarter on a party of Romans who were digging a ditch, and killed about 400 of them including their leader. About this time certain counsellors came to Pompeius from Rome, together with an army of new recruits, still raw and undisciplined, to take the places of the soldiers who had served their six years. Pompeius, being put to shame by so many disasters, and desiring to wipe out the disgrace, remained in camp in the winter time with these raw recruits. The soldiers, being exposed to severe cold without shelter, and unaccustomed to the water and climate of the country, fell sick with dysentery and many died. A detachment having gone out for forage, the Numantines laid an ambuscade near the Roman camp and provoked them to a skirmish. The latter, not enduring the affront, sallied out against them. Then those who were in ambush sprang up, and many of the common soldiers and many of the nobility lost their lives. Finally the Numantines encountered the foraging (B.C. 140) party on its return and killed many of those also.

[79] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τοσοῖσδε συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων ἀνεξεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἥρος προσδοκῶν ἥξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ δεδιὼς κατηγορίαν, ἔπρασεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες ἤδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργία καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερόν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν 'οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθήκας ἐτέρας Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας', λάθρα δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἐμελλε ποιήσιν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὅμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἤτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ἤτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὃν μέρος αὐτίκα ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνέμενεν, παραγενομένου δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Λαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν διάδοχον, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχροῦς τε καὶ ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων

γενομένας, ἤρνεϊτο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἤλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπὸ τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱπάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντίνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπηίος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Λούσονας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐργασάμενος ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὅστιλιος Μαγκίνος· ἀνέξευξεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

[79] Pompeius, being cast down by so many misfortunes, marched away with his senatorial council to the towns to spend the rest of the winter, expecting a successor to come early in the spring. Fearing lest he should be called to account, he made overtures to the Numantines secretly for the purpose of bringing the war to an end. The Numantines themselves, being exhausted by the slaughter of so many of their bravest men, by the loss of their crops, by want of food, and by the length of the war, which had been protracted beyond expectation, sent legates to Pompeius. He publicly advised them to surrender at discretion, because no other kind of treaty seemed worthy of the dignity of the Roman people, but privately he told them what terms he should impose. When they had come to an agreement and the Numantines had given themselves up, he demanded and received from them hostages, together with the prisoners and deserters. He also demanded thirty talents of silver, a part of which they paid down and the rest he agreed to wait for. His successor, (Y.R. 615) Marcus Popillius Læna, had arrived when they brought the (B.C. 139) last instalment. Pompeius being no longer under any apprehension concerning the war, since his successor was present, and knowing that he had made a disgraceful peace and without authority from Rome, began to deny that he had come to any understanding with the Numantines. The latter proved the contrary by witnesses who had taken part in the transaction, senators, and his own prefects of horse and military tribunes. Popillius sent them to Rome to carry on the controversy with Pompeius there. The case was brought before the Senate, and the Numantines and Pompeius debated it there. The Senate decided to continue the war. Thereupon Popillius attacked the Lusones who were neighbors of the Numantines, but he accomplished nothing, and on the arrival of his successor in office, Hostilius Mancinus, he returned to Rome. (Y.R. 617)

[80] ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος τοῖς Νομαντίνοις συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶτό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι Νομαντίνοις ἔρχονται βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροί τε καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι, δείσας ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεῖς οὔτε κατεσκευασμένον οὔτε ὠχυρωμένον, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντων εἰ μὴ συνθοίτο εἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις

ὤμνυε τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὥς ἐπὶ αἰσχίσταις πάνυ σπονδαῖς, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγκῖνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἔσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων: ὁ δὲ Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὁδε τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ θριάμβου φιλοτιμίαν ἐξήσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, Οὐακκαίων κατεγεύδετο ὥς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἢ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς τὰ συγκεείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἔπεισεν.

[80] Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumor that the Cantabri and Vaccæi were coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and fled in the darkness of night to a desert place where Nobilior once had a (B.C. 137) camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to terms like those previously made between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. When these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Æmilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. The Numantine ambassadors followed him thither. Æmilius becoming tired of idleness while awaiting the decision from Rome (for some men sought the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honor of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccæi of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his brother-in-law, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking. (Y.R. 618)

[81] κατέλαβον δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννας τε καὶ Καικίλιος, οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶνδε πταισμάτων σφίσι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἕτερον ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορευδὸν Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν ἡγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιάν Οὐακκαῖοι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβόν, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὥς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγγυτο καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ' αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανεῖσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἐξεῖλεν

Αἰμίλιος· καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὥς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ
βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν
κινδυνεύουσιν ὧδε περιέσωζε.

[81] Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Cæcilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Æmilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccæi. But he, having actually begun the war, considered that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was coöperating with him, and that the Vaccæi had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Accordingly he made answer that it would be dangerous to abandon the war, since nearly all Spain would rebel if they should imagine that the Romans were afraid. He sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and he wrote in this sense to the Senate. After this he began, in a fortified place, to construct engines and collect provisions. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambuscade but he saved himself by a trick. He cunningly spread a rumor among his men that Æmilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this (B.C. 136) way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

[82] μακρᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντία πολιορκίας οὔσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ῥωμαῖους ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ἐφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησκον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δέ, Αἰμίλιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἡσσώμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναξευγνύναι· χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθεόντες ἐπέσπευδον ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο πρὸ ἔω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης καὶ φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἐβλαπτον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὥς τύχοιεν, ἄσιτοι τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

[82] The siege of Pallantia was long protracted, the food supply of the Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Æmilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time. Being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left behind everything, and even the sick and wounded, who clung to them and besought

them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and confused and much like a flight, the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, worn with toil and hunger, threw themselves on the ground by companies just as it happened, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Æmilius.

[83] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον. παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπέζημιούτο: Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίηντο πρὸς Μαγκῖνον, ἐπεδείκνυν: ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγόν, ὡς ἄργον καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ κάκεινον ἠσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους: ὅθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ' ἐχαλέπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ' ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τῶνδε κριθεὶς καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκῖνον δ' ἔγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνους, ἄνευ σφῶν αἰσχυρὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένον, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὅμοια χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκῖνον μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς Νομαντίνους: οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἰρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ' ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ μικρὰ δηώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[83] When these things were known at Rome, Æmilius was deprived of his command and consulship, and when he returned to Rome as a private citizen he was fined besides. The dispute before the Senate between Mancinus and the Numantine ambassadors was still going on. The latter exhibited the treaty they had made with Mancinus; he, on the other hand, put the blame on Pompeius, his predecessor in the command, who had turned over to him a worthless and ill-provided army, with which Pompeius himself had often been beaten, and so had made a similar treaty with the Numantines. He added that the war had been under bad omens, for it had been decreed by the Romans in violation of these agreements. The senators were equally incensed against both, but Pompeius escaped because he had been tried for this offence long before. They decided to deliver Mancinus to the Numantines for making a disgraceful treaty without their authorization. In this they followed the example of the fathers, who once delivered to the Samnites twenty generals who had made similar treaties without authority. Mancinus was taken to Spain by Furius, and delivered naked to the Numantines, but they (Y.R. 619) refused to receive him. Calpurnius Piso was chosen general (B.C. 135) against them, but he did not march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania.

CHAPTER XIV

Scipio Africanus the Younger sent against the Numantines — He restores Discipline in the Army — Scipio's Maxims of War — Skirmishes with the Numantines

(Y.R. 620)

[84] ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἤρουντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἐλόντα αὐθις ὑπατεύειν, ὥς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἔτι νεώτερος τῆς νενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας: ἡ οὖν βουλὴ πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὐθις θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο, στρατιὰν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθελοντάς δέ τινας, ἕκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἰδίαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὓς ἐς Ἰλιν καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων Ἰλιν. πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφιδῶ Βουτέωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσῃ πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.

[84] The Roman people being tired of this Numantine (B.C. 134) war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reënact it for the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army by levy because the city was exhausted by so many wars, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain. With the Senate's consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline.

[85] ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ μάντις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς: ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερεῖον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθῆναι. καὶ σκευὸς οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐς δαίταν ἔχειν οὐδενὶ πλὴν ὀβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματός ἐνός. τὰ τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὥριστο κρέα ζεστὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπεῖπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ὁδεύοντας ἡμίονους ἐπικαθέζεσθαι: τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾷ ἔφη παρ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἂν τοῖς ἀλείμμασι καὶ λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἡλειφον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὥς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρῆζουσιν τριβόντων. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀθρόως, εἵθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὢν καὶ δυσχερὴς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους: τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθῇ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔτοιμα.

[85] When he arrived he expelled all traders and harlots; also the soothsayers and diviners, whom the soldiers were continually consulting because they were demoralized by defeat. For the future he forbade the bringing in of anything not necessary, or any victims for purposes of divination. He ordered all wagons and their superfluous contents to be sold, and all pack animals, except such as he designated, to remain. For cooking utensils it was permitted to have only a spit, a brass kettle, and one cup. Their food was limited to plain boiled and roasted meats. They were forbidden to have beds, and Scipio was the first one to sleep on straw. He forbade them to ride on mules when on the march; "for what can you expect in a war," said he, "from a man who is not able to walk?" Those who had servants to bathe and anoint them were ridiculed by Scipio, who said that only mules, having no hands, needed others to rub them. Thus in a short time he brought them back to good order. He accustomed them also to respect and fear himself by being difficult of access and sparing of favors, especially favors contrary to regulations. He often said that those generals who were severe and strict in the observance of law were serviceable to their own men, while those who were easy-going and bountiful were useful only to the enemy. The soldiers of the latter, he said, might be joyous but insubordinate, while the others, although downcast, would be obedient and ready for all emergencies.

[86] οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἡγειρέ τε καὶ καθήρει, καὶ τάφρους ὠρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τεῖχη τε μεγάλα ὀκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐς ἐσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα μή τις ὥς πάλαι διασκιδνῶτο, ἦγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεί, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἐκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι.

περιῶν τε τὴν ὁδοιορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ σὺραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱπέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεῖοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἱπέων ἐτέραν ἵλην περιτρέχειν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διήρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

[86] He did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the neighboring plains, and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of squares, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he had come to the end of the day's march he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed the time within which these tasks must be finished, and kept an accurate account thereof.

[87] ὅτε δ' εἶκασεν ὁζὺ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφυλακὰς δέ, ὥσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διήρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ' ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι περισκοπῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὁρμήν, ἐς ὃ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἐχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἔκειρεν ἔτι χλωρόν. ὥς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων· 'οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανίασιν ὥς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερὴς τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμιος ὁ ἀγών· ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδές.' εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελεῖν τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῆλθαι τότε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τὰς τροφάς

ἐνοῦντο, κείρων ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύον τε καὶ κατακαίων.

[87] When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labor, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, because he did not wish to divide his army as yet, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who had so long despised the Romans. Nor did he proceed at once to attack the enemy because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching his opportunity, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the unripe grain. When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, and a short road to Numantia was found across the country which many advised him to take, he said: "What I am afraid of is the coming back. Our enemies are very nimble. They can dart out of the city and dart back again, while our men, like soldiers who return from foraging, will be tired out with the booty, the wagons, and the burdens they bring. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. Then he made some excursions beyond the camp and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccæi, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it.

[88] ἐν δέ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντίας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἔκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερόν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἠνώχλουν. ὁ δὲ Ρουτίλιον Ροῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἱλας λαβόντα ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ροῦφος μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἶπετο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπήδα, ἔνθα τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππείας μῆτε διώκειν μῆτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ δόρατα θεμένους ἐστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἶπετο κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ ὥς ἤρρε τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππείας, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἑκατέροις παρὰ μέρος ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προστιθέντας ὀπίσω καὶ ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἱππείας ἐς τὸ πεδίον περιέσωσεν: ἀναζευγνύοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορος τε καὶ ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἤγε καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων

διὰ τὸ δίψος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσων, ὧν τὰ πλεονα πικρὰ ἠϋρίσκετο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δέ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.

[88] In a part of Pallantia called Complanio the Pallantians had concealed a large force just below the brow of a hill while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives. When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Straightway Scipio, seeing that Rufus had exceeded his orders, and fearing for his safety, followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford by reason of its muddy banks, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer, and where there was no water supply. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst.

[89] καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρεσπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Νομαντίνην χειμάσων, ἔνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρθας ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ Μασσανάσσου υἱόνος, ἄγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομένους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας. αἰεὶ δέ τι δηῶν, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἔλαθε περὶ κόμην ἐνεδρευθεῖς, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλεονος τέλμα πηλοῦ περιεῖχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διηρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κόμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ σημεῖα ἔξω καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιίππευον οὐ πολλοί. τοῦτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κόμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἐστῶς ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους, τοῖς ἵππευσιν ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλεονος ἐκ τῆς κόμης ἐκδραμόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.

[89] While passing through the territory of the Caucæi, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine

territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighboring country, the enemy laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards outside, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who began a desperate fight. Scipio, who happened to be standing in front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. The greater part of those who were in the village rushed out and put the enemy to flight. He did not pursue the fugitives, however, but returned to the camp, a few having fallen on each side.

CHAPTER XV

Builds a Wall around the City — Stops Communication by the River Numantia Closely Invested — The Exploit of Rhetogenes — Negotiations with Scipio — Numantia surrenders — Heroism of the Numantines — Scipio razes Numantia to the Ground

(Y.R. 612)

[90] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας δύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαντίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ὑπερεώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν λιμῶ. φρούρια δ' ἐπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν ... ἐπιγράψας ἐκάστοις οὕς ἔδει πέμπειν. ὥς δὲ ἦλθον, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐπιδιέειλεν: εἴθ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστω μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τοῦτο διήρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἕκαστον. καὶ προεῖρητο, εἴ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημεῖον ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ἰψηλοῦ, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες αὐτὸς τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὥς δ' ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῶ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἑτέραν τάφρον ὥρυσσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ὥκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα χωρὶς τῶν ἐπάλλξεων. πύργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῶ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτειχίσαι, χῶμα αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἴσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, ὥς ἂν εἴη καὶ τότε ἀντὶ τείχους.

[90] Not long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one while he commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven towers around the city, he began the siege and wrote letters to each of the allied tribes, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided them into several parts and afterwards subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was carefully allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should make a sally anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he or Maximus

might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole (Y.R. 621) of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible (B.C. 133) to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

[91] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅδε πρῶτος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιτείχισε πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν: τὸν τε Δόριον ποταμόν, συμφερόμενον τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρήσιμον ἔς τε ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ' αὐτὸν κολυμβηταί τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάνθανον, ἢ ἰστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἶη τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κώπαις κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, ζευξαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάννυ ροώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεὶς ἀπήρτησε καλῶδίοις δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐξ ἑκατέρου φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγότα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκόντιοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὔτε διανηχομένους οὔτ' ἐπιπλέοντας οὔτε ὑποδύνοντας εἶων λαθεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὐ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμυγνύμενου μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὃ τι γίγνεται ἔξω: οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

[91] Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. However, the river Durus, which took its course through the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving and others concealing themselves in small boats, some making their way with sail-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built two towers in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, which were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired, namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind.

[92] ὥς δ' ἡτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλοι, ταῖς δ' ἐπάλξεσι παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτειχίσμα πᾶν, οἱ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔμελλον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι μηνύειν αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, κατὰ

δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἵρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγινώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὔσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς ἐξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, εἴ πη δεήσειε, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἔμελλον, ὅτε χρεῖα γένοιτο, καὶ τούτοις ἐφεδρεύειν ἕτεροι μύριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστοις διετέτακτο: καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξῆν. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθεῖη.

οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο:

[92] When everything was ready and the catapults, ballistæ, and other engines were placed on the towers, the stones, darts, and javelins collected on the parapets, and the archers and slingers in their places, he stationed messengers at frequent intervals along the entire wall to pass the word from one to another by day or night to let him know what was taking place. He gave orders to each tower that in any emergency the one that was first attacked should hoist a signal and that the others when they saw it should do the same, in order that he might be advised of the commotion quickly by signal, and learn the particulars afterward by messengers. The army, together with the native forces, now numbering some 60,000 men, he arranged so that one-half should guard the wall and in case of necessity go to any place where they should be wanted, 20,000 were to fight from the top of the wall when necessary, and the remaining 10,000 were kept in reserve. Each division had its place assigned, and it was not permitted to any to change without orders. Each man was to spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio.

[93] οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη κατὰ μέρη, ταχεῖα δ' αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἢ ὄψις ἦν, σημείων τε ὑψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων, καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδόντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἐξοτρυνόντων, ὥστε τὸν κύκλον ὅλον εὐθὺς ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερώτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήει.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἔτι προσιούσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας:

[93] The Numantines made several attacks here and there upon those guarding the walls. Swift and terrible was the appearance of the defenders, the signals being everywhere hoisted, the messengers running, the defenders of the walls springing to their places in crowds, and the trumpets sounding on every tower, so that the whole circuit of fifty stades presented to all beholders a most formidable aspect. This circuit Scipio traversed each day and night for the

purpose of inspection. He was convinced that the enemy thus enclosed, and unable to obtain food, arms, or succor from without, could not hold out very long.

[94] Ῥητογένης δέ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντῖνος, ὃ Καραύνιος ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, ἄριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντῖνων, πέντε πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεῖ διήλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτὴν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, δεόμενοι Νομαντῖνοις συγγενέσιν οὗσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ἦν εὐδαίμων, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντῖνων, ἧς οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντῖνους ἐσπουδάκεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνήγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὀγδόης ὥρας πυθόμενος ἐξήλανεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐζώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις, καὶ ἅμα ἔφ' τὴν Λουτίαν φρουρᾷ περιλαβὼν ἤτει τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δείσαντες προσῆγον αὐτοῦς, ἐς τετρακοσίους γενομένους· ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὐθις ἅμ' ἔφ' τῆς ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[94] In the meantime Rhetogenes, a Numantine, surnamed Carauinius, a man of the greatest valor, induced five of his friends to take an equal number of servants and horses, and cross the space between the two armies secretly, on a cloudy night, carrying a bridge made in sections. Arriving at the wall he and his friends sprang upon it, slew the guards on either side, sent back the servants, drew the horses up the bridge, and rode off to the towns of the Arevaci, bearing olive-branches and entreating them, as blood relations, to help the Numantines. The chiefs of the Arevaci, fearing the Romans, would not even listen to them, but sent them away immediately. There was a rich town named Lutia, distant 300 stades from Numantia, whose young men sympathized with the Numantines and urged their city to send them aid. The older citizens secretly communicated this fact to Scipio. Receiving this intelligence about the eighth hour, he marched thither at once with a numerous and well-equipped force. Surrounding the place about daylight, he demanded that the leaders of the young men should be delivered up to him. When the citizens replied that they had fled from the place, he sent a herald to tell them that if these men were not surrendered to him he would sack the city. Being terrified by this threat, they delivered them up, to the number of about 400. Scipio cut off their hands, withdrew his force, rode away, and was back in his own camp the next morning.

[95] Νομαντῖνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε ἄνδρας ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸν

Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἶρητο μαθεῖν εἰ μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὐτοὺς. Αὐαρος δ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε κακοῦ. 'διὸ καὶ μάλιστα,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σέ, τοσῆσδε ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, φείσασθαι γένους εὐψύχου τε καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιланθρωπότερα τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἄρτι πειρώμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὥς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί, τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρια κελεύεις, ἢ μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι.' ὁ μὲν Αὐαρος ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἥσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἔνδον ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγγχειρίσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὧν ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὀργὴν ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀηθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡγριωμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὐαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διωκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[95] The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the prestige and bravery of the Numantines, and said that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Wherefore, O Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, as a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and honorable race and to extend to us terms dictated by humanity, which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city on fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings, and perhaps thinking that they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio.

[96] μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μὲν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἔψοντες ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἔψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις τῶν νοσοῦντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστεροὺς ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἡγριωμένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθριωμένοις δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου.

οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὄπλα ἔνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἕτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ' ὑπερεβάλλοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ομολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἡμέραν ἦτουν ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.

[96] Soon after this, all their eatables being consumed, having neither grain, nor flocks, nor grass, they began, as is frequently necessary in wars, to lick boiled hides. When these also failed, they boiled and ate the bodies of human beings, first of those who had died a natural death, chopping them in small bits for cooking. Afterwards being nauseated by the flesh of the sick, the stronger laid violent hands upon the weaker. No form of misery was absent. They were rendered savage in mind by their food, and their bodies were reduced to the semblance of wild beasts by famine, plague, long hair, and neglect. In this condition they surrendered themselves to Scipio. He commanded them the same day to bring their arms to a place designated by him, and on the following day to assemble at another place. But they put off the day, declaring that many of them still clung to liberty and desired to take their own lives. Wherefore they asked for a day to arrange for death.

[97] τοσόσδε ἔρωσ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ' εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οἷα μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οἷας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἰσῇ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑποστάντων, οἷον δ' ὄντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἔξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προυκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικώτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἰὼν θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναί τε δυνατόν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἔργα πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν: οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρῶντο, ἕτερος ἐτέρως: οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξήεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χωρίον, δυσόρατοί τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὀφθῆναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπου μεστά, ὠδῶδεςαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἦδε καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε, φοβεροὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων: ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνέώρων ἕκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

[97] Such was the love of liberty and of valor which existed in this small barbarian town. With only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! How many treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by

refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured. Reflecting upon their small numbers and great sufferings, their valiant deeds and long endurance, it has occurred to me to narrate these particulars of the Numantine history. Many, directly after the surrender, killed themselves in whatever way they chose, some in one way and some in another. The remainder congregated on the third day at the appointed place, a strange and shocking spectacle. Their bodies were foul, their hair and nails long, and they were smeared with dirt. They smelt most horribly, and the clothes they wore were likewise squalid and emitted an equally foul odor. For these reasons they appeared pitiable even to their enemies. At the same time there was something fearful to the beholders in the expression of their eyes — an expression of anger, grief, toil, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh.

[98] ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἔλῶν στρατηγὸς ὄδε Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὕτω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτός, εἴτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἄκρος ὢν ὀργὴν καὶ φιλόνηκος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἴθ' ὥς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διδόνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίνεσθαι κακοῖς: καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανόν τε καὶ Νομαντίνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὑποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου.

[98] Having reserved fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities, — Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness, its power, and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed the latter either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was in a violent rage against the captives, or, as some think, in order to acquire the glory of two surnames from two great calamities. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbors and transacted certain business in the other cities, threatening or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home.

CHAPTER XVI

Later History — Infamous Behavior of Didius — Sertorius in Spain

[99] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἔπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βρούτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ἡρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Γάλβας, Κίμβρων δ' ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμουμένης τὸν δεῦτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἔπεμπον ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὅπῃ δύναιντο καταθήσεσθαι. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δεΐδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους, Τερμησὸν δέ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπειθῇ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην, ἐξ ἔρμυνοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἑαυτήν, καὶ τοὺς Κολενδέας ἅπαντας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπέδοτο.

[99] The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. (Y.R. 642) At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, (B.C. 112) Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates who endeavored to settle affairs without war as far as they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed Termesum, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from a place of security into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. (Y.R. 656) He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it nine (B.C. 98) months after he had invested it, and sold the inhabitants with their wives and children.

[100] πόλιν δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον ὥκουν μιγάδες Κελτιβήρων, οὓς Μάρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης, ὥκικει πρὸ πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐλήστευον δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι: καὶ κρίνας αὐτοὺς ὁ Δεΐδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβων ἐτι παρόντων, ἔφη τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέων χώραν αὐτοῖς προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζομένους δὲ ὀρῶν ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἥκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριουμένους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐνεδρευομένους ἔσω παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραφόμενος αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοίη

πόσῃν χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὥς δὲ παρήλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δεΐδιος ἔκτεινε πάντα. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Δεΐδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιτεμφθεὶς ἔκτεινε δισμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγῇδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὁρμῶν τὴν βουλὴν ὀκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς αἰτίους.

[100] There was another city near Colenda inhabited by mixed tribes of Celtiberians who had been the allies of Marcus Marius in a war against the Lusitanians, and whom he had settled there five years before with the approval of the Senate. They were living by robbery on account of their poverty. Didius, with the concurrence of the ten legates who were still present, resolved to destroy them. Accordingly, he told their principal men that he would allot the land of Colenda to them because they were poor. Finding them very much pleased with this offer, he told them to communicate it to their people, and to come with their wives and children to the parcelling out of the land. When they had done so he ordered his soldiers to vacate their camp, and these people, whom he wanted to ensnare, to go inside, so that he might make a list of their names, the men on one register and the women and children on another, in order to know how much land should be set apart for them. When they had gone inside the ditch and palisade, Didius surrounded them with his army and killed them all, and for this he was honored with a triumph. At a later period, the Celtiberians having revolted again, Flaccus was sent against them and slew 20,000. The people of the town of Belgida were eager for revolt, and when their senate hesitated they set fire to the senate-house and burned the senators. When Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death.

[101] τοσάδε μὲν ἥϋρον ἄξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε πρὸς Ἰβηρας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα: χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίinna, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διηρημένων, Κόιντος Σεργώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίinna στάσεως αἰρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμῃς καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ ἄλλα ὧν ἐς θρασύτητα περιώνυμος, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρατηγούς, Καικίλιόν τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μεθ' ἐτέρου στρατοῦ, ἵνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, ἐξωθοῖεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὔσης. ἀλλὰ Σεργώριον μὲν τῶν στασιωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ Σεργωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Περπέρναν δ' ἔκτεινε μάχῃ Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

[101] These are the events which I have found most worthy of mention in the

relations of the Romans with the (Y.R. 672) Spaniards until that time. At a later period, when the (B.C. 82) dissensions of Sulla and Cinna arose in Rome, and the country was torn with civil wars and hostile camps, Quintus Sertorius, one of Cinna's party, who had been chosen to the command in Spain, stirred up that country against the Romans. He raised a large army, created a senate of his own friends after the manner of the Roman Senate, and marched towards Rome full of confidence and high courage, for he had been renowned for valor elsewhere. The Senate in great alarm sent against him their most famous generals, first Cæcilius Metellus with a large army, and then Pompey with another army, in order to repel if possible this war from Italy, which was terribly distracted with (Y.R. 682) civil strife. But Sertorius was murdered by Perpenna, one (B.C. 72) of his own partisans, who proclaimed himself general of the faction in place of Sertorius. Pompey slew Perpenna in battle, and so this war, which had greatly alarmed the Romans, came to an end; but I shall speak of this more particularly in my account of the civil wars of Sulla. (Y.R. 693)

[102] μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἰρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν. καὶ τινα αὐθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούιος Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπὶ κλην, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἰσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἢ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.

[102] After the death of Sulla, Gaius Cæsar was sent as prætor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he (B.C. 61) brought under subjection by force and arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son Octavius, (Y.R. 729) surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that (B.C. 25) the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a prætor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate, and the third appointed by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

Αννιβαικη — THE HANNIBALIC WAR

ὅσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλὼν, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε πολεμῶν, ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἕως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοί τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδήλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

CHAPTER I

Hamilcar Barca — Hannibal in Spain — Hannibal marches over the Alps

WHAT Hannibal the Carthaginian did to, and suffered from, the Romans during the sixteen years that he persisted in war against them, from his first march from Spain to Italy until he was recalled by the Carthaginians (their own city being in danger), and was then driven out by the Romans, this book will show. What Hannibal's real reasons for that invasion were, as well as his public pretext, have been very clearly set forth in my Spanish history, yet I shall mention them here by way of reminder.

[2] Ἀμίλχαρ ὃ Βάρκας ἐπικλησὶς ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατήρ, ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοισ ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιὼς ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἰρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῷδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναίτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαροῦς ἔργου. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίνεταί Καρχηδονίους ὄρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν· καὶ τότε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίνεταί, ὃς ἐκίδευε τῷ Βάρκᾳ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνηρῇκει.

[2] Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before he had settled his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favor of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favor of the multitude so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory and great glory he inspired the Carthaginians with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, and persuaded them that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they

should not cross the river Iberus (Ebro), and a treaty to this effect was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death. (Y.R. 534)

[3] τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβήρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὄδε, Βάρκα μὲν υἱὸς ὦν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τὰδε συγγράφω, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηρσι: τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε καταφρονούντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἠγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιον τε Καρχηδονίοις ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι παισίας, τό γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσιν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παῖς ὀρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὐ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκευάζε τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἰβηρα διαβάς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἠβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέλυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[3] After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as (B.C. 220) the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal's wife, a very young man whose early years had been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. The enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage continued to persecute the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth. The latter, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country's fears, began to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and Carthaginians once begun would last a long time, and that the undertaking would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross (Y.R. 535) the Iberus in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext he procured (B.C. 219) certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually

forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Iberus and destroyed the city of Saguntum with its inhabitants. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken. (Y.R. 536)

[4] Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρική γραφὴ δηλοῖ: ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδοὺς Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρρηναῖα ὄρη διέβαιναν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐνακισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενος, τοὺς δὲ πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδευε τὴν χώραν. ἔλθων δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, καὶ μηδεμίαν μῆτε δίοδον μῆτε ἄνοδον εὐρῶν ἀπόκρημνα γάρ ἐστιν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπέβαινε κάκεῖνοις ὑπὸ τόλμης, κακοπαθῶν χιονος τε πολλῆς οὐσῆς καὶ κρούους, τὴν μὲν ὕλην τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν δὲ τέφραν σβεννὺς ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦδε ψαφάραν γιγνομένην σφύραις σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδὸν ποιῶν ἥ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐντριβῆς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου. τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπουσῶν ἠπείγετο μὲν, ἔτι λανθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔκτω δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἀναστάσεως μηνί, πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέβαινε.

[4] What Hannibal himself and what the other Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large (B.C. 218) army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees mountains into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road through or over them (for they were exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless marched boldly forward, but suffered great losses. The snow and ice being heaped high in front, he cut down and burned wood, quenched the ashes with water and vinegar, and thus rendering the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance until he was actually in Italy. Scarcely six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses of men, he descended from the mountains to the plain.

CHAPTER II

*Battle of Ticinus — Battle of Trebia — Battle of Lake Thrasimenus —
Hannibal destroys the Detachment of Centenius — Fabius Maximus chosen
Dictator*

[5] καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασία, πόλει Κελτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξελὼν, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαζεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἡριδανὸν τὸν νῦν Πάδον λεγόμενον ἐλθὼν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τοῖς καλουμένοις Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δ' ὑπάτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν Ἰβηρία πολέμῳ, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπύθετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὃδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρία πράγμασι καταλιπὼν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ὅθεν ὁδεύων τε καὶ συμμάχους ὅσους δύναιτο ἀγείρων ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον Ἀννίβαν. καὶ Μάλλιον μὲν καὶ Ἀτίλιον, οἱ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ὥς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἔτι στρατηγεῖ ὑπάτου παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἵππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ζεύξας ἐπέρα,

[5] After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Padus [Po], where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he left his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence with such allies as he could collect, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, as they had no right to command when a consul was on the ground, and taking their forces drew them up for battle with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. The next night they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po and then breaking down the bridge. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river.

[6] τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐθὺς τότε, πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ὁρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥς ἄμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχη λαμπρὰ χρώμενον. ὁ δέ, ὥς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ δι' ἄμφο δυναμένους ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιούνια τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτων ὁρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρόνιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος ὑπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὢν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίοις αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλὼν ἅπαντες ἐς μάχην ἤξειν. ποταμὸς δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἔω, χαμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὐσῆς καὶ ὕετοῦ καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέταυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆλθεν.

[6] These exploits, one after another, following his passage of the Alps, exalted Hannibal's fame among the Cisalpine Gauls as an invincible commander and one most highly favored by fortune. In order to increase the admiration of those barbarians, who were easily deceived, he frequently changed his clothes and his hair, using carefully prepared devices each time. When the Gauls saw him moving among their people now an old man, then a young man, and again a middle-aged man, and continually changing from one to the other, they were astonished and thought that he partook of the divine nature. Sempronius, the other consul, being then in Sicily and learning what had happened, embarked his forces, came to Scipio's aid, and encamped at a distance of forty stades from him. The following day they all made ready for battle. The river Trebia separated the hostile armies, which the Romans crossed before daylight on a raw, sleety morning of the spring equinox, wading in the water up to their breasts. Hannibal allowed his army to rest till the second hour and then marched out.

[7] παράταξις δ' ἦν ἐκατέρων ... τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζοὺς· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἕως αὐτὸς τι σημήνη. γενομένων δ' ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὁδμήν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καίπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τόλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπῆδων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλινον ἥδη. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐσκεδασμένων δ' ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἅτε πεζοὺς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν χιόνα τήξαντος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρῦν μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὄπλα ἐδύναντο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τρωθεῖς διαφθαρῆναι, μόλις δ' ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντία, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδον.

[7] The order of battle on each side was as follows. The Roman cavalry were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot-soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans,

terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes, and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy's infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to attack the Roman flank. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many foot-soldiers were cut off by the enemy's horse and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armor. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia which Hannibal laid siege to, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po.

[8] οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πταίνοντες περὶ Πάδον ἥττηντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ Ἀννιβου, στρατιάν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὡς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἑτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σαρδόνα κάκεινῃν πολεμουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δ' ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρόνιον αἰρεθέντες ὕπατοι, Σερουίλιός τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὧν ὁ μὲν Σερουίλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἰρεθείς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσέ, Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἱππεῦσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἣν καὶ μόνην ἂν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννίνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηγία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτὴν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδίωκε μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἡθῶν τῶν ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι: καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἔτι νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικὴν.

[8] When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also),

and some to Sicily. The greater part were despatched against Hannibal under Cn. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po where he received the command from Scipio. The latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, (Y.R. 537) it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains (B.C. 217) and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

[9] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλους στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὁμοῦ διήρηντο: Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τῷ ἥρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδήου τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ προύβαιεν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνυ ἔδεισαν, οὐ παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστράτευσον δὲ ὁμῶς ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήνιον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησάν τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἐς τὴν Πλειστινὴν λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ἣ συντομώτατόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαιεν ὀξέως, οὐ διαναπαύων τὴν στρατιάν. δέει τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἀπειροπόλεμος τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ δημοκοπίας ἡρημένος, ἠπείγετο Ἀννίβᾳ συμπλεκῆναι.

[9] Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced toward Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, 8000 of those who remained were brought together, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal's movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had been wafted into power on a popular breeze), he hastened to engage with Hannibal.

[10] ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὀρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὄρος μὲν τι καὶ λίμνην προυβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας

ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἅμα ἔφ' σμικρὸν μὲν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ χαρακοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτοὺς ὄντας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ' ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτὸς τε ἀνηρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δισμῦριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἔς τινα κώμην ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μάαρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἀξίων ἀπεγνώκosi μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὅπῃ θέλοιν. ὥς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μάαρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, εἶχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαινε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἤδη τῶν γιγνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδον στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου, καὶ τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἤδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

[10] The latter, well aware of his rashness and inexperience, moved forward and took a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenus] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy's camp in the early morning, delayed a little to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labor. Caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy (for the ambush suddenly appeared everywhere), he lost his own life, and 20,000 men were slain with him. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal's lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased. When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. He kept all the Romans as prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. When this news reached the consul Servilius on the Po, he marched to Etruria with 40,000 men. Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned.

[11] Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐξήταξεν εἴ τις εἴη περίοδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ' ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δι' αὐτῶν ὁμῶς ἔπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς

νύκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιέναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ' αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ' ὅτε δύναιτο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστῶτων ἑκατέρων, πάνυ προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν ὤφθη τε καὶ ἠλάλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ' εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τό τε τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὥπλιζον, ὅπλων μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καταφέροντες, ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο: δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἵλοντο Μάξιμον.

[11] When Hannibal saw the Plestine marsh and the mountain overhanging it, and Centenius between them guarding the passage, he inquired of the guides whether there was any way around. When they said there was no path but that the whole region was rugged and precipitous, he, nevertheless, sent a body of light-armed troops, under the command of Maharbal, to explore the district and pass around the mountain by night. When he judged that they had reached their destination he attacked Centenius in front. While the engagement was in progress, Maharbal was seen pushing forward strenuously on the summit above, where he raised a shout. The Romans thus surrounded took to flight, and there was a great slaughter among them, 3000 being killed and 800 taken prisoners. The remainder escaped with difficulty. When this news reached the city they feared lest Hannibal should march against them at once. They collected stones upon the walls, and the old men armed themselves. Being in want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus being selected.

CHAPTER III

The Policy of Fabius Maximus — Rashness of Minucius Rufus — Hannibal caught in a Trap — His Escape from Fabius — Carthage refuses to send Reënforcements to Hannibal — The New Consuls — Their Disagreement

[12] Ἀννίβας δέ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐθις ἐτράπη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σερουίλιος δ' ὕπατος ἀντιπαριῶν αὐτῷ κατῆρεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν: ἔνθα τὴν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἕως ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ἡρημένου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει, πολλάκις ἐκείνου προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ' οὐδένα εἶα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικείμενος. ὁ δέ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὐθις περιῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ῥούφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοίη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινούκιος ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ δόξας πλεόν ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αἰτιώμενος οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νικῆσαι. καὶ ἡ βουλή, ἐπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη τοῦ Φαβίου, ἴσον ισχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.

[12] But divine Providence turned Hannibal away toward the Adriatic, where he ravaged the sea-coast and gathered vast plunder. The consul Servilius, marching parallel with him, came to Ariminum, being distant from Hannibal by one day's march. He retained his army there in order to hearten those Gauls who were still friendly to Rome. When Fabius Maximus, the dictator, arrived, he sent to Rome Servilius, who could be no longer either consul or general after a dictator had been chosen. Fabius followed Hannibal closely, but did not come to an engagement with him, although often challenged. He kept careful watch on his enemy's movements, and lay near him and prevented him from besieging any town. After the country was exhausted Hannibal began to be short of provisions. So he traversed it again, drawing his army up each day and offering battle. Fabius would not come to an engagement, although his master of horse, Minucius Rufus, disapproved of his policy, and wrote to his friends in Rome that Fabius held back on account of cowardice. As Fabius had occasion to go to Rome to perform certain sacrifices, the command of the army fell to Minucius, and he had a sort of a fight with Hannibal, and as he thought he had the best of it he grew bolder and wrote to the Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win a victory; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him.

[13] οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἑκάτερος εἶχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχῃ διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ' Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμηνίσας τῆς διαβολῆς· ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμὲννητο, οὐκ ὦν εὐχερῆς οὐδ' οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὖτις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντί, τοῖς δ' ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδῶς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

[13] They accordingly divided the army and encamped near each other; and each held to his own opinion, Fabius seeking to exhaust Hannibal by the lapse of time and meanwhile to receive no damage from him, while Minucius was eager for a decisive fight. Shortly afterward Minucius joined battle, and Fabius looked on to see what would happen, holding his own forces well in hand. In this way he was enabled to receive Minucius when he was beaten, and to drive Hannibal's men back from the pursuit. Thus did Fabius save Minucius from a great disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognizing his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time for a skilful captain to fight is when it is necessary. This maxim, at a later time, was often brought to mind by Augustus, who was slow to fight and preferred to win by art rather than by valor. Fabius continued to watch Hannibal as before and prevented him from ravaging the country, not coming to an engagement with his whole army but merely cutting off stragglers, well knowing that Hannibal would soon be short of supplies.

[14] στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφῳ καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὥς ἦσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε μὲν ὥς οὐ ποτε πρότερον· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ' ἥλπιζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὧδε δ' ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας κατέσφαζεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτερίσειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄπολιν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν, τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δάδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δάδας ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἔσβεσε, καὶ σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ' εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἃ ἦν ἐν

μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀφειδῶς καὶ βιαίως, εἴτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὐθις ἀνεπήδων.

[14] They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was ignorant. Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, keeping the remainder of his force at the other extremity where he encamped on a strong hill. When Hannibal discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but all the country round about was rugged and precipitous. He could not hope to overcome Fabius or those defending the pass, on account of the difficulties of the ground. In this desperate situation he put to death his 5000 prisoners lest they should add a new tumult to the danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran furiously up the mountain side, and if any of them fell down they would get up and run on again.

[15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἵκαζεν εἶναι τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενος· οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὥς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὥς ἐκεῖ ληψόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὥς εἶδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἄνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνάμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ἦσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτὸς τε περιῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσῳζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειχθεὶς, ἥ σίτου πλήρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχείμαζεν.

[15] The Romans on either side when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened

away to the place where they saw the lights, in order to catch Hannibal there in difficulties. The latter, when he discovered that the pass was deserted, advanced with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately relighted the fires. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived. The remainder of Hannibal's army and those who drove the cattle now advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal succeed beyond expectation and rescue his army from danger. Thence he advanced to Geronia, a city of Apulia, which was well stored with provisions. This town he captured, and here went into winter quarters in the midst of abundance.

[16] ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἶπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχῶν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὐφιδον. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἕξ μηνῶν ἐφ' οὓς αἰροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι Σερουίλιος τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπανήσαν, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπήει, γίνονται δέ τινες ἐν τῷδε τῷ χειμῶνι Ἀννίβα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ γινόμενα Καρχηδονίοις ὑπερεπαίρων, τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν ἤτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώπτοντες τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικόντων οὐκ αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοίῃ, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβα τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ' ὅσης δύναιτο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δηῶτο πᾶσα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν.

[16] Fabius, pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. The six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans now expired, and the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their offices and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans in which the latter were generally successful, and showed to the better advantage. Hannibal was all the time writing exultingly to the Carthaginians about the events of the war, but now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, he asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who had jeered at all of his doings, replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it home to their own people. The Carthaginians followed their suggestion and sent neither soldiers nor money. Hannibal, lamenting this short-sighted policy, wrote to his brother Hasdrubal

in Spain, telling him to make an incursion into Italy at the beginning of summer with what men and money he could raise, and ravage the other extremity so that the whole country might be wasted at once and the Romans exhausted by the double encounter. Such was the situation of Hannibal's affairs.

[17] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἥττης τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὥς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἄθροα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες ἔνδον ὄντα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἰροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολέμησαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκοπίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχνούμενον. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες ἐξιόντας ἐδέοντο κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δηουμένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίους ἱππέας δ' ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κώμῃ τινὶ καλουμένῃ Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὐ ποτε φέρων ἀργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοῦσης ἐξέτασσε συνεχῶς ἐς μάχην, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθωιντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθεῖεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους.

[17] The Romans, distressed by the magnitude of the disasters to Flaminius and Centenius, and considering such a succession of surprising defeats unworthy of their dignity, and that a war within their own territory was not to be tolerated, and furious against Hannibal, levied four new (Y.R. 538) legions in the city to serve against him, and hurried the (B.C. 216) allied forces from all quarters to Apulia. As consuls they chose Lucius Æmilius, who had acquired military fame in the war against the Illyrians, and Terentius Varro, a demagogue who had won popular favor by the usual high-sounding promises. When they sent the consuls forward they begged them as they were leaving the city to end the war by battle, and not to exhaust the city by delay, by conscriptions, by taxes, and by hunger and idleness due to the devastation of the fields. The consuls on taking command of the army in Apulia had altogether 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, and they encamped near a village called Cannæ. Hannibal's camp was near by. Hannibal, who was always ready to fight and impatient of idleness, was especially so now because he was troubled lest his supplies should fail, for which reason he continually offered battle. He feared also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he challenged the enemy daily.

[18] γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν ὑπομένειν ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν

οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ, Τερεντίου δ', οἷα δημοκόπου, μνημονεύειν ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐξιούσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ὀξέως. τούτοις Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν προσετίθετο Σερουίλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ὕπατος ἔτι παρών, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὅσοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἠγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν ἐτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἢ ξυλευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύς. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἰδὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὁδεύοντι ἤδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐπανήει μὲν, αἰδούμενος οἰωνοῖς ἀπειθῆσαι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν ὄνει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφηρνημένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγανάκει.

[18] The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Æmilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general so skilled in war and an army so accustomed to victory. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, that they should bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, alone sustained the opinion of Æmilius. All the senators and the so-called knights who held offices in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and he pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Æmilius even then forbade the movement, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens alone, according to the Roman custom, and sent word to Varro, just as he was starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the whole crowd shared his anger.

CHAPTER IV

Preparations for Battle — Battle of Cannæ — Total Defeat of the Romans — Roman Losses — Hannibal's Strategy

[19] Αννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφάναντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὥς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐσδραμών, παρόντων ἐτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἡτιᾶτο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανεράν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὀκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἣ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τοῖς ἔνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερουιλίου, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασεν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος: παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ' ἥσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν 'οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέτακτο, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκεσαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαίῳ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, χιλίους ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἔχων ἱππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοίῃ. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι:

[19] Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forth-with to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of senators, centurions, and tribunes that Æmilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy toward himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent listened to him and joined in the censure of Æmilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day he himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that title. Hannibal perceived the movement but he did not come out of his camp because he was not quite ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Æmilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

[20] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μὲν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὖρον ζοφώδη τὸν χώρον

ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιπνέοντα, προύλαβεν ὅπη κατὰ νότου τὸ πνεῦμα ἔμελλεν ἔξειν: ἔπειτα ἐς ὅρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγῶδες ἰππέας προενήδρευσε καὶ ψιλοῦς, οἷς εἶρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἄνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοῖς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄλλα ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέζωσεν, οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν κάκεῖνος ἐς τρία διήρει, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσαν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναιντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἄνωνα: τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἶχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίου τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοι τε ἵππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἐτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφῆδρυνεν ὅπη τι πονούμενον ἴδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα θᾷσσον ἐπέλθοι.

[20] Hannibal had previously observed that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly about noon. So he chose the ground where he should have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. With them were placed 500 Celtiberians who had, in addition to the long swords at their belts, short daggers under their garments. These they were not to use till he himself gave the signal. He divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Æmilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse and Maharbal had 1000, who were ordered to move about and give assistance wherever they saw any part of the army in difficulties. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner.

[21] γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἑκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέθεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς προγεγεννημένης ἡττης, ὥς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὥς αἰσχροὺς ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φαλάγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλλήλων κατῆρχον, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς αἱ φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος τε καὶ πόνος ἦν πολὺς ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων ἑκατέρων. ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἵππεσιν κυκλοῦσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ὀλιγώτεροι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες ἀντιπαρῆγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναντες ἐπὶ λεπτόν ἡγωνίζοντο ὅμως ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ βαρβαρικῇ, νομίσαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους.

οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.

[21] When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to remember their parents, wives, and children, and to wipe out the disgrace of former defeats. They were admonished that this battle was the last hope of safety. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and light-armed troops advanced and began the battle. After them the legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side contending valiantly. Presently Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received the shock without flinching and without fear.

[22] Διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ σημεῖον ἐπῆρε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ φανερά ὠρεγον ὥσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες. καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα παρεῖλεν, ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὥς ᾔετο, τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἔστησεν ὀπίσω: οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδεῖν αὐτομόλους ἐν ὄψει πολεμίων, οὐδὲ ὑπώπτευν ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις ὀρῶν, οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἦν ἐν τοσῶδε πόνῳ. σπεῖραι δ' ἕτεραι Λιβύων προσεποιήσαντο φεύγειν ἄχρι τῶν ὀρῶν, συναλαλάξασαι μέγα. σύμβολον δ' ἦν ἡ βοή τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ τε ψιλοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις μετὰ κονιορτοῦ φερόμενον: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. τὰ τε βέλη Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πάντα ἀμβλύτερα διὰ τὴν ἀντιπνοίαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῇ, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ' ἀφίεμαι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἐθορυβοῦντο.

[22] When Hannibal saw that his manoeuvre had failed, he gave the signal to his 500 Celtiberians. These passing out of their own line of battle went over to the Romans, holding out their shields, spears, and swords in the manner of deserters. Servilius commended them and at once took possession of their arms and stationed them in the rear, in their tunics alone as he supposed, for he did not think it best to put deserters in chains in the sight of the enemy, nor did he have any suspicion of men whom he saw with nothing but their tunics, nor was there time to take counsel in the thick of the fray. Now some of the

African cohorts made a pretence of flight toward the mountains, uttering loud cries. This was the signal to those concealed in the ravines to fall upon the pursuers. Straightway the light-armed troops and cavalry that had been placed in ambush showed themselves, and simultaneously a strong and blinding wind rose carrying dust into the eyes of the Romans, which prevented them from seeing their enemies. The impetus of the Roman missiles was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy's was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy's weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds.

[23] τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὀρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρώτους ἀνήρουν ὧν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους, ἀρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδων ἀφειδῶς· καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλεῖστον οὗτοι μάλιστα, ἅτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τό τε κακὸν ἦδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονούμενοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμειγμένων. οὐδ' ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου· οὐδ' ἐπεγίνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς ἠνώχλει, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ' εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακοσίους εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ' ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκυκλῶσθαι, τραπέντες ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξήρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον διέδραμε· καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὅσον ἄριστον ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

[23] At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the expected opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made a greater onslaught against the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished all the greater slaughter inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. Now were the Romans in great and various trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon the latter on account of the pressure of the enemy in front and because it was not easy to distinguish these assailants, for they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, the ambuscades more dreadful, and the 500 more numerous than 500. In short, they imagined that their whole army was surrounded by hostile cavalry and

deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Æmilius. Around these the bravest of the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about 10,000.

[24] καταθορόντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεζομάχουν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὅτε μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὅτε δ' ἐπιπλήσσοντός τε καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νενικηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ', ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰμίλιος καὶ ὁ Σερουῖλιος περιῆσαν, πολλὰ δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει: ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεσον αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοί, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μὲν, ἔνθαπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγесαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα: καὶ σύμπαντες οἶδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν: οἱ δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἶδε οἱ δισχιλίοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὕλας.

[24] The generals and all the others who had horses, although surrounded by Hannibal's cavalry, dismounted and fought on foot. They charged the enemy with fury and performed many brilliant exploits, the fruit of military experience, being nerved by the energy of despair. But they fell on all sides, and Hannibal, darting hither and thither, encouraged his soldiers, now exhorting them to make their victory complete, now rebuking and reproaching them because, after they had scattered the main body of the enemy, they could not overcome the small remainder. As long as Æmilius and Servilius survived the Romans stood firm, although giving and receiving many wounds, but when their generals fell they forced their way through the midst of their enemies most bravely, and escaped in various directions. Some took refuge in the two camps where others had preceded them in flight. These were altogether about 15,000, whom Hannibal straightway besieged. Others, to the number of about 2000, took refuge in Cannæ, and these surrendered to Hannibal. A few escaped to Canusium. The remainder were dispersed in groups through the woods.

[25] τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὥραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρων, οὐσης δ' ἔτι νῦν αἰοιδίμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ: ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ὥραις πεντακισμῦριοι, καὶ ζώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελεῦτησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξίαρχοί τε ὅλγαντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατός τε καὶ

τῶν συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἤδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβα πολемоῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

[25] Such was the result of the battle between Hannibal and the Romans at Cannæ, which was begun after the second hour of the day and ended within two hours of night-fall, and which is still famous among the Romans as a disaster, for in these few hours 50,000 of their soldiers were slain and a great many taken prisoners. Many senators who were present lost their lives and with them all the military tribunes and centurions, and their two best generals. The most worthless one, who was the cause of the calamity, had made good his escape at the beginning of the rout. The Romans, in their two years' war with Hannibal in Italy, had now lost, of their own and their allied forces, about 100,000 men.

[26] Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγίμασι τέσσαρσι, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθεῖσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπῆει, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνηρημένους ᾤωξε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὐ χρήζειν ἑτέρας τοιαύδε νίκης. ὃ καὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἡλείρου βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίων κάκεῖνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐσπέρας ἐλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρόνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὕπνου καὶ κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμμένους ἐπειρᾶτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διέδραμεν.

[26] Hannibal gained this rare and splendid victory by employing four stratagems in one day: by the force of the wind, by the feigned desertion of the Celtiberians, by the pretended flight, and by the ambuscades in the ravines. Immediately after the battle he went to view the dead. When he saw the bravest of his friends lying among the slain he lifted up his voice and wept, saying that he did not want another such victory. It is said that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made the same exclamation aforetime, when he too gained a victory over the Romans in Italy, with like loss to himself. Some of those who escaped from the battle and who had taken refuge in the larger camp and in the evening had chosen Publius Sempronius as their general, forced a passage through Hannibal's guards, who were exhausted by weariness and want of sleep. These men, to the number of about 10,000, made their way to Canusium about midnight. But the 5000 in the smaller camp were captured by Hannibal the following day. Varro, having collected the remains of the army and sought to revive their fainting spirits, put them under the command of

Scipio, one of the military tribunes, and himself hastened to Rome.

CHAPTER V

Consternation in Rome — Senate refuses to ransom the Prisoners — Siege and Capture of Petilia — Dasius of Arpi

[27] ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελλθεισης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτικά ἀλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἰκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαι ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ βουλή Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπε χρῆσόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἡλευθέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἄστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὥς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαυδιόν τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἵππεας, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὃ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παρεφύλασσεν.

[27] When the disaster was announced in the city, multitudes thronged the streets uttering lamentations for their relatives, calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as soon to fall into the enemy's hands. Women went to the temples with their children and prayed that there might sometime be an end to the calamities to the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with the punishment already visited. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present posture of affairs. They freed 8000 slaves with their masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also made a conscription, as was allowed, even among certain of the allies. They also changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many others as he could collect of citizens and allies, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, and marched to Teanum in order to see what Hannibal would do next.

[28] Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν ἄστει λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖος Σεμπρόνιος, ὀρκώσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανάξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἀλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο

λύσασθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστος ἰδίους χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἠξίουσαν ἐπὶ τοσαῖσδε συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσοῦσδε βλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ᾔοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τῷδε τῷ ἐλέφ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ὥς οὐκ ὄν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἑκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἔτι κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειεν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλάνθρωπίαν, τὸ δ' ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν εἴη, πρὸς τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρώνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανήσαν. ὁ δ' ἔστι μὲν οὗς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ' οὗς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνῆρει, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεαταῖς τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἠνάγκασε, πατέρας τε υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων ὑπεροψίας ὤμῃς.

[28] Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, from whom Hannibal exacted an oath that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the Senate to allow them to do so, and the people joined them with their own prayers and tears. Some of the senators thought it was not wise, after such great calamities, to expose the city to the loss of so many more men, or to disdain free men while giving liberty to slaves. Others thought that it was not fitting to accustom men to flight by compassion, but rather to teach them to conquer or die, as would be the case if not even his relative should pity the runaway. Many precedents having been adduced on either side, the Senate finally decided that the prisoners should not be ransomed by their relatives, being of opinion that while so many dangers were still impending present clemency would tend to future harm, while severity, although painful, would be for the public advantage hereafter, and indeed at this very time would startle Hannibal by the very boldness of their action. Accordingly Sempronius and the two prisoners who accompanied him returned to Hannibal. The latter in his anger sold some of his prisoners, put others to death, and made a bridge of their bodies with which he passed over a stream. The senators and other distinguished prisoners in his hands he compelled to fight with each other, as a spectacle for the Africans, fathers against sons, and brothers against brothers. He omitted no act of disdainful cruelty.

[29] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπιὼν τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετηλίνους μηχανήματα προσῆγεν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τόλμῃς μετὰ τῶν

γυναικῶν ἐπέξεθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τὰς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἥσσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδριζομένων. ὀλιγώτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ: καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιτείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἄννων ἀπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννωνος ἐφεώρων ἀλύπως ὥς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνήσκοντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ' ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλεν ὁ Ἄννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερριμμένους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνήγον, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους κατήγαγόν τε καὶ συνώκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

[29] Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performing many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the women were in no wise inferior to the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering the dead better off than the living, for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after performing many splendid acts of bravery, being nearly starved and completely exhausted, they were unable to return and were all slain by the Africans. Thus Hanno possessed himself of the town. But yet a few escaped, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, being moved by kind feeling toward them and admiration for their exceptional fidelity. (Y.R. 539)

[30] τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἱ ἐμισθοφόρουν Ἀννίβα, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσοῦσδε ἑτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφίσιν αἰτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ τοῖς ὁμοεθνεσίν, ὅτε πλησίον Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοιεν, ἀναμινγύμενοι μετέμειθον αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβα πιστόν, ὑποπτευόμενόν τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτόν. κάκιον οὖν ἔπρασσε ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

[30] As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with (B.C. 215) Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to contend against the others. These when encamped near Hannibal mingled with their fellow-countrymen and won them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as they were under suspicion by him and he by them. Hannibal's affairs began to decline from this circumstance. (Y.R. 541)

[31] Ἀργύριππα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνία, ἣν Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καὶ τις ἔκγονος εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολός τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἄξιος, Ῥωμαίων περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἦτταν ἡττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. τότε δ' αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ῥώμην διυπεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὸς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς ἤλατο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριππα ἐτέρων ἐνδόντων εἴλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὅσους ἤνυρε Λιβύων, φρουρὰν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

[31] There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, said to have been a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such descent, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannæ drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal's power began to wane he rode secretly to (B.C. 213) Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by a portion of the inhabitants to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, he established a Roman garrison in the city.

CHAPTER VI

The Capture of Tarentum — The Citadel holds out — Hannibal captures Thurii — Also Metapontum and Heraclea — The Romans besiege Capua — Hannibal marches to Rome — Consternation in the City — Flaccus follows Hannibal

(Y.R. 542)

[32] Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κονωνεύς ὧδε προὔδωκεν. κυνηγετῆν εἵθιστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων αἰεί τι τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιουίῳ συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε ἐγεγένητο. ὥς δὲ ἐν πολεμουμένη χώρᾳ, νυκτὸς ἔφη δεῖν κυνηγετῆν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυσεν ἐν λόχημιν τινὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ δι' ὀλίγου, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι, θώρακας ἐνδοθεν ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὥς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκευασμένους. κάπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεῖς ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιζάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοιζαντας αὐτίκα διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγνυον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἔτι φρουρουμένην ἐπολιόρκει.

[32] Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, (B.C. 212) was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the prefect of the guard, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring back his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night. He made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town; others he ordered to follow himself at no great distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breastplates and swords underneath. He came by night, a wild boar being carried in front of them on poles. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind made a sudden dash upon the other guards, those from the thicket were admitted, and the gates were opened to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines he laid siege to the citadel, which was held by a Roman garrison. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus.

[33] ὧδε μὲν Κονωνεύς Τάραντα προὔδωκε: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἦλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ἠϋπόρουν, ὥς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ἠϋπόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρεπάνους ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων, καὶ πολλὰκις ἐκθέοντες ἄφνω συνετάρασσον αἰεὶ τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήεσαν. ὥς δὲ καὶ πνευμὰ ποτε λάβρον ἐθέασαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δᾶδας ἡμμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆσδε τῆς πείρας περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν, χωρὶς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσση μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἀννωνί τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.

[33] The Romans who held the citadel were about 5000 in number, and some of the Tarentines came to their aid. The prefect of the guard at Metapontum joined them with half of his force, bringing an abundance of missiles and engines with which they expected to drive Hannibal easily back from the walls. But Hannibal had a plentiful supply of these things also. Accordingly he brought up towers, catapults, and tortoises with which he shook some of the walls, pulled off the parapets with hooks attached to ropes, and laid bare the defences. The garrison hurled stones down upon the engines and broke many of them, turned aside the hooks with slip-knots, and making frequent and sudden sallies always threw the besiegers into confusion and returned after killing many. One day when they noticed that the wind was violent some of the Romans threw down firebrands, flax, and pitch upon the engines, while others darted out and put fire under them. Hannibal, despairing of his attempt, threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then turning the siege over to Hanno he advanced into Apulia.

[34] λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντινοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνους δ' ἐκώλουν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἕως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιον θαλασσαν, ὀρύζαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχόν τε ἀγορὰν, καὶ τριήρεσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμῶν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκείνοις ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῶν τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπάσας. πρεσβευομένων δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὅσους εἶχε Θουρίων

αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυνεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἄννωνι ἀνέφωξαν. καὶ Θούριοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι· ἡ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Βρεντέσιον λαθοῦσα διεπλευσεν.

[34] The port of Tarentum looked toward the north and gave entrance through a narrow passage to those sailing in from the sea. The passage was now closed by bridges which were under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they obtained provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbor to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they worried the Roman garrison who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. The Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the men that brought it. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate for the release of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavoring to help the Romans in Tarentum, unexpectedly fell into the power of the Carthaginians. The Roman garrison in Thurii escaped secretly by sea to Brundisium. (Y.R. 543)

[35] Μεταποντῖνοι δ', ἐξ οὗ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα ᾤχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἀννίβα προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δέει μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ Ἀννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οἷς Σεμπρόνιος Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἐτι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὢν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδιδούς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἔς τι χωρίον ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὥς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἶπετο μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουιος ἐξίππευσεν ἐς ἐκείνους, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεῖς τῆς προδοσίας καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ πάντων πλὴν τριῶν, οὓς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιησάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ζῶντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχυρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγάμενος ὁμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὸς Ῥωμαῖος ἔπεμψεν.

καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐσώρευε,

[35] The Metapontines, whose prefect had taken half of (B.C. 211) his force to Tarentum, slew the remainder, who were few in number, and delivered themselves up to Hannibal. Heraclea, which lay midway between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed their example, being moved by fear rather than inclination. Thus Hannibal's affairs again began to wear a flourishing aspect. In the following year some of the Lucanians revolted from Rome, and Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, marched against them. A certain Lucanian named Flavius, of the party that had remained faithful to the Romans, who had been also a friend and guest of Gracchus but was now his betrayer, persuaded him to come to a certain place to have a conference with the Lucanian generals, saying that they had repented and wished to return to the Roman allegiance. Suspecting nothing, he went to the place with thirty horsemen, where he found himself surrounded by a large force of Numidians in ambush, with whom Flavius then joined himself. When Gracchus discovered the treachery he leaped from his horse with his companions, and after performing many noble deeds of valor was slain with all the others, except three. These were the only ones captured by Hannibal, who had exerted himself to the utmost to take the Roman proconsul alive. Although he had basely entrapped him, nevertheless in admiration of his bravery in the final struggle he gave him a funeral and sent his bones to Rome. After this he passed the summer in Apulia and collected large supplies of corn.

[36] Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι Καπυαίοις ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν Ἄννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἰππέων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους λαθόν, οἱ δ' ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὥς πλέονας εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβάν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπυαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὁδυρομένοις δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔφη πολὺν ἔχειν σῖτον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὅσας κίς θέλοιεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑποζύγια μόνον οὐδ' ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδία ἔπεμπον ἀχθοφορήσοντα τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰαπύγων Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενδέων, οὓς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντος ἀπάντων κατεφρόνουν.

[36] The Romans decided to attack the Capuans, and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Apulia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often

as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Apulia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared as the latter were still in alliance with Rome. While Hannibal was there they despised all their enemies. (Y.R. 542)

[37] συνέβη δὲ Ἀννίβαν μὲν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἄννωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ' ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγούντοι ὑπάτοι, Φουλουλίου τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαδίου Ἀππίου, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἷα ἀπαρασκευοὺς διαφθεῖραι, καὶ τὸν σίτον Βενεβενδεῦσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἀρπάσαι, καὶ Καπύην ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιήσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ' ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπυαίους πολιορκουμένους αἱ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἥ τε ὄψις ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα: ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ' ὥς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτειχίῳ μονομάχια, προκαλουμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀρίστων. καὶ τις Καπυαῖος, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίῳ Κλαύδιον Ἀσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοῖς Καπυαίων τείχεσιν ὃ Ἀσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ἵππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ῥύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὀρμῇ, καὶ διυπεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἐτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους.

[37] It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by (B.C. 212) Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many who were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal's camp and plundered his baggage, and, as Hannibal was still in Lucania, drew a line of circumvallation around Capua. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of this and established their camp between the two. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside. There was the appearance of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, in which many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureus having had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape,

retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to check his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, ran out at the opposite gate and rejoined the Romans, and was thus marvellously saved. (Y.R. 543)

[38] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ' ἣν ἐς Λευκανοὺς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς, μηδ' ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ἢ σῖτον ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτειχίσιν πάντα περιλαμβάνουσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κάκείνους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτὸς τι Καπύης μείζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σραδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ποταμοῦ.

[38] Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to (B.C. 211) Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to defend a city so large, and which had been a city of importance under Roman sway. He accordingly at-tacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of the closeness of the siege, he marched to Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping to draw the Roman generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something more important than its relief. Moving with the greatest celerity through the country inhabited by many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him while others would not incur the risk of battle, he encamped at the river Anio, two and thirty stades from Rome.

[39] καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἱκανόν· ὃ γὰρ εἶχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν, πολέμιου δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπήδων, γυναῖα δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ δρόμῳ. βοῆς δὲ παμμιγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δὲ τι πολίχγιον Ῥωμαῖοί ποτε ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς Ἀλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχιλίοι δρόμῳ διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ ὠπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρου.

τοσσηδε προθυμία βραχὺ πολίχινον ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἀποικιῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνη, οἷόν τι καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις ἢ Πλαταιέων ἔδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

[39] The city was thrown into consternation as never before. They were without any suitable force (what they had being in Campania), and now this strong, hostile army came suddenly against them under a general of invincible bravery and good fortune. Nevertheless, for the present emergency those who were able to bear arms manned the gates, the old men mounted the walls, and the women and children brought stones and missiles, while those who were in the fields flocked in all haste to the city. Confused cries, lamentations, prayers, and mutual exhortations on every side filled the air. Some went out and cut down the bridge over the river Anio. The Romans had at one time fortified a small town among the Æqui, which they called Alba after the name of their mother city. Its inhabitants with the lapse of time, either because of carelessness of pronunciation or corruption of language, or to distinguish them from the Albanians, were called Albenses. Two thousand of these Albenses hastened to Rome to share the danger. As soon as they arrived they armed themselves and mounted guard at the gates. Such zeal did this one small town, out of many colonies, exhibit, just as the little city of Platæa came to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon and shared their danger.

[40] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἄππιος μὲν Καπύη παρέμενε, κάκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἐλεῖν Καπύην, Φούλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἐτέραις ὁδοῖς ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλήκτω τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν γέφυραν εὐρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρόδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας ἱππέας ὑπολιπών, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδήουν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβήσαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγελλτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ οὐ πολλή, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθὼν κατασκέπασθαι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρμῆϊαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δ' ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὥς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας, εἴτε, ὥς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο: οὐ γὰρ ὁ γε σὺν Φουλουίῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος. ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

[40] Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, believing that he could capture the place by him-self. Fulvius Flaccus, the other one, marched with untiring haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had

been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side. Here, again, as was his custom, Hannibal devised a stratagem. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with three body-guards secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of force and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valor and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius followed him as he retreated, merely preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps.

CHAPTER VII

Hannibal breaks into the Camp of Fulvius, but is driven out — Capua surrenders to the Romans — A Town of Bruttium lost and regained — The Story of Dasius and Blatius

[41] ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ Φούλουιος ἐσπερας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανεν ἐγεῖραι, τάφρον δ' ὀρυζάμενος καὶ διαστήματα ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν ἀντὶ τείχους ἡσύχαζεν, ἕξ τε λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἔπεμψε λαθὼν ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἡσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασιν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Φουλουίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διὰ τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναιτο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δε ῥωμαΐζοντας βοᾷν ὅτι Φούλουιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τότε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀνίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπῆντησεν· οἷτε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ αὐτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἀδόκητος ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε ῥωμαϊζόντων ἀκούοντες ὅτι παρήγγελται φεύγειν εἰς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ' ἐγίνοντο.

[41] Hannibal, on a certain moonless night, having observed that Fulvius, at the close of the day, had neglected to throw up a wall in front of his camp (but had merely dug a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall), quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should believe the hill unoccupied. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When they should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighboring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamor striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the darkness of the night was something fearful. Hearing orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they hurried in that direction.

[42] Φούλουιος δὲ αἰεὶ τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἴθ' ὑπ' οἰκείας τότε συνέσεως, εἴτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσών, εἴτε παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθών, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὁξέως ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐς τὸ λόφον ἀγούσαις ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐχ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ' Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μή τις ἔφοδος ἐξωθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηδρόμει μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δᾶδ' αὖτε ἦπτε καὶ πῦρ πανταχόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβαλόντες, εὐμαρῶς οἶα ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφὴν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσεύοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ πάνυ ἡγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπῆδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρα περιῆν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν αἰεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανάς:

[42] Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. Then he stationed strong guards at the ramparts to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them the more easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn around, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies. Enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders and trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems.

[43] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθὼν ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῇ ἦν οὐ συνήθους, ἐρωμένῃν τε εἶχεν ἄγριος ἀνὴρ. καὶ εὐθὺς

αὐτῷ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ' ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανήει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον ἄμφω καρτερῶς, ἐπειγόμενοι χειμῶνος ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἕως Ἀννίβας ἡρεμεῖ. Καπυαῖοι δέ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλειπουσῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων, ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρου, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς, Ἄννωνι ἐτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὅσους ἡῦρον αὐτομολοῦντας, χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον· Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφείλοντο μόνον. εὐφορος δ' ἐστὶν ἐς σῖτον ἢ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πᾶσα· πεδιάς γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπανῆκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιήρητο.

[43] When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city. From the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile, being a plain. When Capua was once more restored to the Romans the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them. (Y.R. 544)

[44] ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἐθίσας ἀεὶ τι λήζεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγονώς καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἤλγει τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβριζόντων συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβόν, ἐκάστοτέ τινας ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσήγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνέιλε, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτοῦς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισιαῖται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

[44] In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia

(which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behavior of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and overpowered the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from (B.C. 210) the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to Rhegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town.

[45] Ἰαπύγων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλαπία, Λιβύων ὑπηκόω, δύο ἦσιν ἄνδρες τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλοισιν δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρῳ. τούτοις Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ἡρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἔως μὲν οὖν ἤκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡγείρετο τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἐπειθεὶς ὁ Βλάτιος τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ συμφρονῆσαι μόνῃς, μὴ τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βία λαβόντων, ἀνῆκεστον. ὁ δ' ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε τοῦτο Ἀννίβῃ. καὶ ἐδίκασεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐχθρὰν λέγοντος· ὁ καὶ τέως ἄρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγον τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγορῶ διὰ τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἐσομένῳ. Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρῖψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ' ἐχθροῦ πιστεῦσαι ῥαδίως ἀξίων, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεπτόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν, 'οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τὴν πατρίδα;' ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνυνεν.

[45] In Salapia, subject to Carthage in Apulia, were two men preeminent by birth, wealth, and power, but for a long time enemies to each other. One of these, named Dasius, sided with the Carthaginians, the other, Blatius, with the Romans. While Hannibal's affairs were flourishing Blatius remained quiet, but when the Romans began to recover their former supremacy he endeavored to come to an understanding with his enemy, simply for the sake of their country, lest, if the Romans should take it by force, some irreparable harm should befall it. Dasius, pretending to agree with him, communicated the matter to Hannibal. Hannibal took the part of a judge between them, Dasius accusing and Blatius defending himself, and saying that he was slandered by reason of his accuser's personal enmity. He was emboldened to use such language in the presence of his enemy, because he foresaw that such a foe would be likely to be distrusted on account of his private grudge. Hannibal thought that it was not wise to reject the accusation altogether, or to put too

much faith in an accuser who was a personal enemy; so he dismissed them as though he would consider of the matter by himself. As they were going out by a very narrow passage Blatius said to Dasius in a low tone, "Are you not willing to save your country, good sir?" The latter immediately repeated the words in a loud voice, thus letting Hannibal know.

[46] καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. 'τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, 'τὸ νῦν ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ τις ἦν, ῥύσεται με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ τοιῶνδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστω καὶ κατηγορῷ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγενημένα, κινδυνεύων ἔτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, αὐθις ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ' ἐθάρρηνεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο,' ἔφη, 'χρηστὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι δυνατός ἦν; τί δ' ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ προῖδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπεῖθαι τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὐθις ὑπεκρίνετο συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἤτει μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὀκνήσας ἔφη, 'διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπὶ τι τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν 'μηνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτῳ καὶ στρατιὰν ἄζω λαβών: ἔστι γάρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ: σὺ δ' ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιτηρεῖν.'

[46] Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility, that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present scheme," he said, "will relieve me from all suspicion, if there was any, as to the former one. For who would have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters in the first place, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to say the same things a second time to one who had been his false accuser concerning these very matters, and especially in the judgment hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to renew the charge against him. Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well disposed, how would he be able to cooperate with me in saving the country after what has happened? Why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?" I think that Blatius again designedly whispered those things to Dasius because he foresaw the event, in order to discredit him still more, and thus induce Hannibal to disbelieve his former accusations. Nor did Blatius, after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly discredited. So Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blatius replied without hesitation: "I will ride to one of the Roman

camps (indicating one that was very far distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring hither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city.”

[47] ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθὼν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ’ ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁδὸν ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν υἱὸν ὄμηρον, ἱππέας ἦται χιλίους, μεθ’ ὧν ἠπειγέτο κατὰ σπουδὴν, τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι προορώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὁρῶν, εἶκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἤδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας οὖν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρω στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καταφρονῶν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθών, καὶ ‘νῦν μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ’ αὐτοφῶρ στρατιὰν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει.’ καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβὼν τινας, ἐπανήγεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὕτω τοῦ Βλατίου πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δ’ ἔνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Λιβύων ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύλασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ’ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου μόνας εἶασεν ἀνεῶχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνας μέρος ἅπαν εἶχεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ’ ἐντὸς ἐξετετάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεωγμένας, ἦσθη νομίσας προλαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὁ δ’ ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμόντας, ὠθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομῇ διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγοι δ’ αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.

[47] Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome by a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate, he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as now having confidence in him. Supposing that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. “And now,” said he to Hannibal, “I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city.” Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side he removed the guards from the wall to avoid suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did

Blatius overcome Dasius at the third encounter of their wits.

CHAPTER VIII

*Defeat and Death of the Consul Fulvius — The Romans recover Tarentum —
Death of Marcellus — Hannibal foiled at Salapia — Battle of the Metaurus —
Hannibal retires to Bruttium*

[48] καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἐσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπέιπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρήγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἔω, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐπεμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὥς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἷα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιῆει, κατασκεπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπελπίζων, ἕως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἴτε προιδόμενος εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλοῦμενος αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπιπτον ἤδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξ τι χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναθορόντες αὐτό τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[48] While Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent a body of horse to attack the Roman camp. The latter repelled them with some confusion as they hurried from their beds, but with boldness, for they believed their foe to be some few men from somewhere or other. As Hannibal was passing around to the other side of the town with a body of infantry in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder took refuge inside a fortification in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

[49] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδήουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετώκιζεν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετώκιζον· ἐς τε τὴν Ἀννίβου ἔτι ὑπήκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε εἶλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὀλίγων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἦρα γυναικός, ἧς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις

στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγουσι τὰς μηχανὰς ἧ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὐκαιρον ἐς πολέμους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

[49] After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Apulians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellæi. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Apulia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, continuing their attacks on (Y.R. 545) Hannibal's allies, they took Aulonia and overran the territory (B.C. 209) of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender that part of the wall which he commanded to the Romans, who were directing their engines against it. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

[50] Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν, ὥς ἔμαθεν εἰλημμένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κάκειθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Κλαυδιδίῳ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἐλὼν, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κρισπῖνος ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν δέ τινα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδὼν, καὶ δόξας ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο, θυμικὸς ὢν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικὸς ἀεί. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Λιβύων φανέντων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν οὐραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἦρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὥς ἐπομένων αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοντισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὥς εἶδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπῆνεσε μὲν ὥς στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὥς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιελὼν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῷ παιδί προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον:

[50] Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus took the field (B.C. 208) against him, not venturing, however, to fight a pitched battle. But Marcellus happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger. Suddenly, a large body of Africans started up and attacked him on all sides.

Those Romans who were in the rear early took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but criticised him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with distinguished honors, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp.

[51] Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωνεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγίδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύει. ἄρτι δ' εἰλήφεσαν Κρισπίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἅπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγίδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῖ δ' ὀπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὓς Ῥωμαῖκοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὥς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἔμελλον, αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθήκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι περιεστῶτας ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον τε καὶ κατετίτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆσδε πείρας ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεῖς ἀπεχῶρει.

[51] Being angry with the Salapians, Hannibal sent a Roman deserter to them with a letter stamped with the signet ring of Marcellus, before the latter's death had become generally known, saying that the army of Marcellus was on the way thither and that Marcellus gave orders that the gates should be opened to receive them. But the citizens had received letters a little before from Crispinus, who had sent word to all the surrounding towns that Hannibal had got possession of Marcellus' ring. So they sent (Y.R. 546) Hannibal's messenger back in order that he might not know by remaining there what was going on, and they promised to do as they had been ordered. Then they armed them-selves and having taken their station on the walls awaited the result of the stratagem. When Hannibal came with his Numidians, whom he had armed with Roman weapons, they drew up the portcullis as though they were gladly welcoming Marcellus. When they had admitted as many as they thought they could easily master, they dropped the portcullis and slew all those who had gained entrance. Upon those who were still standing around outside the walls they hurled missiles from above and covered them with wounds. Hannibal, having failed in his second attempt against the city, now withdrew. (Y.R. 547)

[52] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, ὡδοποιημένα πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, διώδευε δύο μηνσίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας ἐξ διήλθεν. ἐσέβαλε τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἵππεας δὲ

ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀλόντων, οἱ ὕπατοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ' οὐπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικώς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναzeugας περὶ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὐπορον ἡλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερριμμένους τε καὶ κεκηκότας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις συντασσομένους ἔτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπῆλλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβεν.

[52] In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the (B.C. 207) army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he had passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8000 horse, and fifteen elephants. He sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans so that the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learned the number of his forces. They combined their own forces in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but hastening to join his brother, moved off, marching by night among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, where he lost his way. At daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

[53] θεὸς δέ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γεγόμενον: στρατηγοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ ἐκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ' ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε κάκεινοις συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαψιλοῦς ἐκράτουν ἑκάτεροι. οὕτω παραλλάξ ἢ πόλις εὐτυχίων καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειράτο. Κελτιβήρων δ' ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ' ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.

[53] It seems to me that a god gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was about equal to it in other respects. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and the number of soldiers killed and the number of prisoners

taken were very nearly the same in each case. Each side also captured the other's camp and a vast quantity of baggage. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.

[54] ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσσηδε δι' ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυῖα δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πονοῖς ἀτρύτοις ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαῖοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπήκοον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἐτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφιζομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ' ὧν σῖτός τε ἦν καὶ στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος αὐτὰς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνας στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσὶ κατέδυσσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἐξήκοντα δ' ἔλαβεν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διέφυγον ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενός τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκώς, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιορωμένου, συνιδὼν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἤδη Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὐπω γενησομένων κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πάνυ πολλὰς, τὰς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετώκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευούσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλοὺς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος διέφθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

[54] Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labors of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he with-drew to Bruttium, whose people were the only ones that remained in alliance with him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had not a sufficient force of rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his war-ships, sunk twenty and captured sixty of them. The remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred the strongholds of their towns to the plains as though they were planning a revolt. He despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

CHAPTER IX

Scipio sails to Sicily — A Sacred Image brought to Rome — Hannibal's Troubles in Bruttium — Hannibal recalled by Carthage — Tries to take his Italian Soldiers thither — Embarks for Africa — Punishment of the Bruttians

(Y.R. 549)

[55] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ γίνονται μὲν ὕπατοι Λικίνιος τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε Ἀννίβαν περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὐ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσασθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρήσας τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὀκνοῦντας, ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. ἔνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Λοκροῖς ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημίνιω τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν. Πλημίνιος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὕβριν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐκλιπών, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τὸνδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν ἔδοσαν Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λείπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

[55] In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Crassus conducted the war against Hannibal in Apulia, but (B.C. 205) Scipio advised the people that they would never drive Hannibal and the Carthaginians out of Italy except by sending a Roman army into Africa and so bringing danger to their own doors. By persisting strenuously and persuading those who hesitated he was himself chosen general for Africa and sailed forthwith to Sicily. Having collected and drilled an army there he sailed suddenly to Locri in Italy which was garrisoned by Hannibal. Having slain the garrison and put the town under the command of Pleminius he embarked for Africa. Pleminius visited upon the Locrians every kind of outrage, licentiousness, and cruelty, and ended by robbing the temple of Proserpina. For this the Romans put him and his companions in wrongdoing to death in prison, and gave the property they left to the Locrians to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess. All the rest of the plunder that they could find they restored to the goddess, and what they could not find they made good out of their own public treasury. (Y.R. 550)

[56] τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἕξ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ

σημείων ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πessinouντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἔνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶνδε τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνεχθῆναι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν, ἥ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἥ ἔφερεν αὐτό, ἰλὺι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ σαλεύεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἔψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἐλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν, μοιχείας ἔγκλημα ἔχουσαν ἔτι ἄκριτον, καὶ δι' ἁσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὔσαν, ἐπιθειάσαι τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδήσασθαι τῇ μήτρα τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἔσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχίστης δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευε τὰ Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπὶ κλην, ἐπεπόμφεσαν, υἱὸν μὲν ὄντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίου ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρώτου κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὧδε μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.

[56] During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter had appeared in Rome, the decemviri, having consulted the Sibylline books, said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the mother of the gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome. Not long after, the news came that it had fallen and the image of the goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the mother of the gods the day that it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that crime but not yet tried (being suspected of it on account of fast living), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibylline books to send their best man to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. (B.C. 204) Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, was judged to be their best man. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.

[57] ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ' ἐγίνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν

προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἔνοπλος παρήλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίωνων ἐχόντων αὐτὴν: ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις. ἦτιᾱτο δ' ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνούμενων δ' ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. 'ἴνα δ', ἔφη, 'μῆδ' ὑπονοήσθῃ,' τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὄπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίοις μάλιστα εὖνους ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴ φρουρὰν καταλιπών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετώκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὐκαιρον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθεμενος.

[57] When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to Rome secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their good will. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by the Petelians, as he had expelled them and given the town to the Bruttians. He accused the latter of sending an embassy to Rome. When they denied it he pretended to believe them, but in order, as he said, that there might be no ground for suspicion, he delivered their principal citizens over to the Numidians, who were ordered to guard each one of them separately. He also disarmed the people, armed the slaves, and stationed them as guards over the city. He did the same to the other cities that he visited. He removed 3000 citizens of Thurii, who were particularly friendly to the Carthaginians, and 500 others from the country, but gave the goods of the remainder as spoils to his soldiers. Leaving a strong garrison in the city he settled these 3500 people at Croton, which he found to be well situated for his operations and where he established his magazines and his headquarters against the other towns. (Y.R. 551)

[58] Καρχηδονίων δ' αὐτὸν μετακαλούντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευοῦσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδόκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐγνώκει δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὅμως ἔπεσθαι, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης. τῶν δ' ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων καταφρονῶν, ἔγνω διαρπάζειν πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλουτίσας, εὖνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὀφόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναιντο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπασεν. τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἴκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς

ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουροὺς, σφαγὴ τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἐαλωκυίαις, ἐγίνοντο.

[58] When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he had apprehensions for himself touching the cause of this great war, which had been begun by himself in Spain. Nevertheless, he recognized the necessity of obeying, and accordingly he built a fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him now as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against (B.C. 203) his calumniators in Carthage. But being ashamed of such a breach of faith, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being over-come by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured, ensued.

[59] αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὖ γεγυμνασμένους, ἐπειθε πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἶποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὤκνουں. ἄθροίσας οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὥς δὴ τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψων, περιέστησε τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὥς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ἥδοῦντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνειργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας, τοῦ μὴ τοιούσδε ἀνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

[59] Hannibal himself, knowing that the Italians in his army were extremely well-drilled soldiers, sought to persuade them by lavish promises to accompany him to Africa. Those of them who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly expatriated themselves and followed him. Those who had committed no such wrong hesitated. Collecting together those who had decided to remain, as though he wished to say something to them, or to reward them for their services, or to give them some command as to the future, he surrounded them with his army unexpectedly, and directed his soldiers to choose from among them such as they would like to have for

slaves. Some made their selections accordingly. Others were ashamed to reduce their comrades in so many engagements to servitude. All the rest Hannibal put to death with darts in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men. With them he slaughtered also about 4000 horses and a large number of pack animals, which he was not able to transport to Africa.

[60] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Πετηλῖνοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἀνήγετο, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλακίς συναγαγών, τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὥς πολεμίους: ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρεῖα χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὥς πολεμίῳν.

[60] Thereupon he embarked his army and waited for a wind, having left a few garrisons on the land. These the Petalini and other Italians set upon, slew some of them, and then ran away. Hannibal passed over to Africa, having devastated Italy for sixteen successive years, and inflicted countless evils upon the inhabitants, and reduced Rome several times to the last extremity, and treated his own subjects and allies with contumely as enemies. For, just as he had made use of them for a time, not from any good will but from necessity, so now that they could be of no further service to him he scorned them and considered them enemies.

[61] Ἀννίβου δ' ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγένηντο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ ὄπλα, εἴ τινα ἦν ἔτι χωρὶς ὧν Ἀννίβας ἀφήρητο: ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὥς οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις οὓσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οἷα θεράποντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης ἐσβολῆς.

[61] When Hannibal had departed from Italy the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except as to the Bruttians, who remained most zealous for him to the end. From these they took away a considerable part of their land, also their arms, if there were any that Hannibal had not taken. They were also forbidden to be enrolled in the military forces thereafter, as being no longer free persons, and they were required to attend as servants upon the consuls and praetors who went about inspecting the affairs of government and the public works of the provinces. Such was the end of Hannibal's invasion of Italy.

Horace White The accusation against Hannibal that he put to death those of his Italian soldiers who refused to follow him to Africa is referred to by Livy (xxx. 20) in these words: "Many of Italian birth who refused to follow him to Africa and withdrew to the shrine of Juno Lacinia, hitherto inviolate, were foully slain in the temple itself." The tale is generally discredited by modern historians as an impossible crime and as inconsistent with the relations that existed between Hannibal and his soldiers as related by Livy himself (xxviii. 12), viz.: —

"No battle was fought with Hannibal that year, for neither did he take the offensive after the recent public and private wound [at the Metaurus], nor did the Romans disturb his quiet, so great a power resided in him, although everything else around him was going to ruin. And I know not whether he was not more wonderful in adversity than in prosperity, because, although he waged war in a hostile country thirteen years, far from home, with varying fortune, not with an army composed of his own citizens but of the mingled riff-raff of all nations, who had no law, custom, or language in common, but were different in character, dress, arms, religious belief and ceremony, and I had almost said in their gods, he held them together by such a bond that no disturbance ever broke out, either among themselves or against their commander, although, in the territory of enemies, he was often in want of money to pay them and of supplies to feed them, the lack of which in the former Punic war had been the cause of many dreadful scenes between the commanders and the soldiers. After the army of Hasdrubal and its chief, in whom all hope of victory had been reposed, had perished, and he had yielded the rest of Italy by retiring to the corner of Bruttium, to whom does it not seem wonderful that no commotion took place in his camp? For, to other things, this also was added, that there was no hope of feeding his soldiers except from the Bruttian territory, which, even if it were all cultivated, would be very scant for supporting so great an army, whereas the war absorbed a large part of the young men, who were drawn away from the tillage of the fields, and a custom ingrafted on a depraved people prevailed of carrying on military operations by robbery. Nor was anything sent to him from home, where they were solicitous about retaining their hold on Spain, as though all their affairs were flourishing in Italy."

The foregoing is in part copied from a passage in Polybius, viz.: "Who can fail to be struck with admiration for the generalship, the courage, the ability of this man in the field, when we think of the length of time the war lasted; when we look at it as a whole, and at the particular battles, sieges, and revolts of cities, and at the turns of fortune; when we contemplate the totality of the design and execution in the course of which Hannibal waged continuous war against the Romans in Italy for sixteen years and never once dismissed his forces from field service, but held them like a good pilot in subjection to himself, and restrained such a multitude from mutiny and from strife with

each other, although the forces he made use of were not all of one nation or even of the same race? They were composed of Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Gauls, Phoenicians, Italians, and Greeks, who had neither law, custom, speech, nor anything else naturally in common. Yet such was the skill of the general that, notwithstanding these great diversities, he made them all attentive to one command and obedient to one will, although circumstances were not always propitious but varied; although fortune did not always come in favoring but sometimes in adverse gales. In view of these facts one may well be astonished at his commanding ability in military affairs, and may confidently affirm that if he had begun with other parts of the earth and had attacked the Romans last, he would not have failed of any part of his designs. But now, as he began with those who should have been the last, he made both the beginning and the end of his exploits among them.” (Fragment xi. 19.)

Λιβυκή — THE PUNIC WARS

Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοίνικες ᾤκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἀλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρός τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὥς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζουσι, Διδῶ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἥς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἔφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδέοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ἠδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτου· μάλιστα δ' ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἂν πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθεντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμόντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἓνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Βύρσα ὀνομάζεται.

CHAPTER I

First Phœnician Settlement — First Punic War — Regulus defeated by Xanthippus — Fate of Regulus — The Mercenary War

The Phœnicians settled Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling place as they could encompass with an ox-hide. The Africans laughed at this frivolity of the Phœnicians and were ashamed to deny so small a request. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the mystery they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phœnicians, cutting the hide round and round in one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).

[2] χρόνῳ δ' ἔντεϋθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, ναυσὶ τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἤδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ἥ τε ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξίωμαχος τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικὴν. ἐπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδῶ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἐς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δευτεραί τε σπονδαὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις αἶδε διέμειναν ἐς ἑτὶ πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτὰς τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδὼνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔγνωσαν. αὐθὶς δ' ὥκισαν ἰδίους ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, ὡς εὐκαιρὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ χωρίον. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἢ Ἰβηρικὴ, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλὼν ἔπραξεν, ἢ Ἀννιβαικὴ: τὰ δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ γενόμενα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἦδε συνάγει.

[2] Proceeding from this start and getting the upper hand of their neighbors, as they were more adroit, and engaging in traffic by sea, like the Phoenicians, they built a city around Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and the greater part of the Mediterranean, carried war into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that REDUCED FACSIMILE, VATICAN MS. GR. 134. XIV CENTURY. FIRST PAGE OF THE PUNIC WARS sea, and also into Spain. They sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, assailing each the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, but the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa, crushed the Carthaginian power, took their ships and their elephants, and required them to pay tribute for a time. A second treaty was now made between the Romans and the Carthaginians which lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and forbade the rebuilding of it. But another city was built subsequently by their own people, very near the former one, for convenience in governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibalic history. This book will deal with the operations in Africa from the earliest period. (Y.R. 498)

[3] ἦρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἐλόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγγλον, ὃς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἱ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους στρατηγὸν ἦτουν, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνῃ στρατοπεδεύων ὥρα καύματος περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὁδοιπορίᾳ κακοπαθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνωθεν. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ ἐσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διεῖργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίσας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικάντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆσδε μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἦγεν, ὀλίγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἐξωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὕπατος γεγονώς, αἰχμάλωτος ἦν.

[3] About the beginning of the Sicilian war the Romans (B.C. 256) sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army

Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to bad generalship, asked the Lacedemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from dust, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighboring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted and having night in his favor, drew up his forces (Y.R. 499) and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations (B.C. 255) of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself. (Y.R. 504)

[4] τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἢ ἐπανήξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥήγλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανήλθεν ἐς λύμην ἑτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθεύξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρα κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππῳ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Λακόνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἔδωκε τήνδε εὐπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην εὐπραγήματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται.

[4] Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting (B.C. 250) sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it were not granted. Yet Regulus in private strongly urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war, and then went back to certain torture, for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. This success was the beginning of sorrows to Xanthippus, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honor him with splendid gifts, sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such (Y.R. 513) were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the (B.C. 241) Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history.

[5] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες, δ' ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ὄντες ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχίκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖους ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφῆκαν: ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιεν: οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφηροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δ', ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλήστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας: τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολὺ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αἰτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεῦειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδῶ ποινὴν ἔδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐνεγράφη.

[5] After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. Nevertheless they sent men to act as mediators between them. The Africans refused the mediation, but offered to become subjects of the Romans if they would take them. (Y.R. 514) The latter would not accept them. Then the Carthaginians (B.C. 240) blockaded the towns with a great fleet, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by the famine, but were driven to supply their own wants by piracy, even taking some Roman ships, killing the crews, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This (Y.R. 516) escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became (B.C. 238) known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

CHAPTER II

Hannibal's Invasion of Italy — Scipio's Invasion of Africa — Consternation at Carthage — Syphax and Masinissa — War between Masinissa and Carthage

(Y.R. 525)

[6] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ὑπὴγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν. καὶ τάσδε αὖ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου. διαβάντες δέ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἐτέροις τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρία καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιός τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλοις ἀδελφῶ, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένῳ θνήσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἔπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος υἱὸς ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἦκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῶτο συμβούλῳ περὶ πάντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τοῦδε πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιτεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἡξίου πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἀννίβαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

[6] Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain (B.C. 229) and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty by crossing the stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of the Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail (Y.R. 544) thither, and making all believe that he was come by a (B.C. 210) divine mission and had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country.

[7] τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἄρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις καὶ πορθουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Λίγυάς τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν χειροῦσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων· οἱ δὲ ὥντο Καρχηδονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὄντας ἐφεδρεῦειν τῇ

Ἰταλία, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλουμένους οἶκοι, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου· ἐθελοντὰς δέ, εἴ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔτι οὖσι χρῆσθαι. τριῆρεις τε ἔδωσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελία. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἤπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.

[7] Some of the leading men opposed this plan, saying (Y.R. 549) that it was not best to send an army into Africa while Italy (B.C. 205) was wasted by such long wars and was subject to the ravages of Hannibal, and while Mago was enlisting Ligurian and Celtic mercenaries for a flank attack upon her. They ought not to attack another land, they said, until they had delivered their own country from its present perils. Others thought that the Carthaginians were emboldened to attack Italy because they were not molested at home, and that if war were brought to their own doors they would recall Hannibal. So it was decided to send Scipio into Africa, but they would not allow him to levy an army in Italy while Hannibal was ravaging it. If he could procure volunteers he might take them, and he might use the forces which were then in Sicily. They authorized him to fit out ten galleys and allowed him to take crews for them, and also to refit those in Sicily. They did not give him any money except what he could raise among his friends. So indifferently at first did they undertake this war, which soon came to be the most great and glorious for them.

[8] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθους ὢν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τινὰς ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα. ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενεῖους ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἴρητο χωρὶς ὅπλων ἔπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ' αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράνας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἡκεῖν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιντο καλλίστοις. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοῦς τριακοσίους τοῦς ὅπλων ἐρήμους, καὶ ἐς τοῦσδε ἐκείνοις προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιῆν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἰδότας· οἷς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.

[8] Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected scarcely 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily, taking as a body-guard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to report on a certain day, provided with the

best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of the Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people's expense, who at once thanked him for this favor and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

[9] Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγωνι δ' ἄμφι τὴν Λιγυστινὴν ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἰππέας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτῷ μεθ' ὅσων δύναιτο ἄλλων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβα τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον αἰεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἰππέας ἑξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἡγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχιλίους ἰππέας, καὶ ξένους ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντας ἐγύμναζε, διακοσίους σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνας.

[9] When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired mercenaries and exercised them all in camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

[10] Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανή. Μασσυλίων δ' αὖ, γένους ἀλκίμου, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῶ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστῳ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἡγγύησε τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὢν. ὥς δ' ἡλλύησεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ μεираκίον. Σύφαξ δὲ κνιζόμενος ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ παιδί τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνι διαπλεύσαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους ἰόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέγα ποιούμενοι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἀσδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγὼν συνετίθετο καὶ ὅδε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λανθάνων, ὥς ᾤετο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ

δ' αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὑβρισμένοιιν ἀμφοῖν, ἠγεῖτο δ' ὁμῶς τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδὸν Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποὺς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναιτο.

[10] There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in greater honor than the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage. He was a man of fine presence and good manners. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also in love with the girl, was indignant at this and began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and he proposed to Scipio (who made a journey from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint at-tack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. Hasdrubal, although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to the country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.

[11] ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πάτῳαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἱππέας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργον ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὐθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἶδε, καὶ πόα χρησθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου: καὶ τὸ πᾶμπαν ὑδροποτοῦσιν. ὃ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γεύεται, ποηφαγῶν αἰεὶ, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιοῦτους ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ θήρας ἢ λεηλασίας ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν: ἅπερ ὦετο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου 'οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν, ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τῷδε πολεμεῖν ἔστε καθέλῳσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντᾶν.

[11] Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power strong by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained to hurl the javelin advancing and retreating and advancing again, either by day or by night; for their only method of fighting was flight and pursuit. The Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in

place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Masinissa collected about 20,000 such and led them in the chase and in pillaging expeditions against other tribes, thinking to keel) them exercised in this way. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

[12] Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολὺ, μετὰ δὲ ἀμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύοντο: Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆρχε, καὶ ἱππικὸν μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. ὅθεν ῥαδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄχυρὰ ἀνεπήδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδνη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπη δυνηθεῖεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύπτετό ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δὲ ποτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐστρατῆγαι λανθάνειν ὅποι ποτε εἶη. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλ' ἡμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὃ τι περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν, ληζομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ' ὠφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

[12] Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous. They marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in all doing and enduring and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able the more easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Often, when surrounded, he divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place. His generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better.

CHAPTER III

Scipio arrives in Africa — First Skirmishes — Capture of Locha — Siege of Utica — Negotiations of Syphax

(Y.R. 550)

[13] καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονίοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῇ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων· κέλητές τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατιὰν ἤγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ἰππέας δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἄλอรὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαι τε Μασσανάσσην καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαιεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἑξαπατῶμενος, ἀντενεδρεύων δέ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἰππέων. καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Σκιπίων καταχθεις ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτήν. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀπεῖχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἰππέας ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

[13] In this way Masinissa made war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, (B.C. 204) set sail for Africa with fifty-two war-ships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. And thus Scipio accomplished his voyage. When the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should over-come Scipio. Masinissa was not deceived by this scheme. In order to deceive them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was camped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

[14] Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἴτε δείσας εἴτε ἄπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήσατό τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· Σκιπίων δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους ἐπεμπεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ

Μασσανάσσης ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἕξ τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεῦσαι. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπειθε τὸν ἵππαρχον Ἄνωνα πέμψαι τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μὴ τι πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ἔψεσθαι. Ἄνων μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἦγεν ἐπιλέκτους ἱππείας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λιβύων τι πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ: ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἄνων ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὥς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος εἶπετο ὥς ἐπιβοηθήσων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Λιβύων γενομένων, ἣ τε πλείων ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἱ ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπῆντα τῷ Ἄνωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὥς φίλος ἐπανιόντι, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβα τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

[14] Now Syphax, either being moved by fear, or being faithless to all parties in turn, pretended that his country was harassed by the neighboring barbarians, and set out for home. Scipio sent out some detachments to feel the enemy, and at the same time several towns surrendered themselves to him. Then Masinissa came to Scipio's camp secretly by night, and, after mutual greeting, advised him to place not more than 5000 men in ambush on the following day, about thirty stades from Utica, near a tower built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. At daybreak he persuaded Hasdrubal to send Hanno, his master of horse, to reconnoitre the enemy and throw himself into Utica, lest the inhabitants, taking advantage of the proximity of the enemy, should start a revolution. He promised to follow if ordered to do so. Hanno set out accordingly with 1000 picked Carthaginian horse and a lot of Africans. Masinissa followed with his Numidians. Thus they came to the tower and Hanno passed on with a small force to Utica. Hereupon a part of the men in ambush showed themselves, and Masinissa advised the officer who was left in command of the cavalry to attack them as being a small force. He followed at a short distance, as if to support the movement. Then the rest of the men in ambush showed themselves and surrounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa together assailed them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened after Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio's camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who was in Hasdrubal's hands.

[15] Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυνον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἔσκαπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς

Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου. πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείπειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπεπόνθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς τεῖχεσι καὶ γυναῖα καὶ παιδία κατέσφαττον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράζας αὐθὶς ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνῆδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπιστραφεὶς πεντακισχιλίου τῶν Λιβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραζαν.

[15] Scipio and Masinissa ravaged the country and released the Roman prisoners who were digging in the fields, who had been sent thither by Hannibal from Spain, from Sicily, and from Italy itself. They also besieged a large town called Locha, where they met great difficulties. As they were putting up the scaling ladders, the Lochaians asked a parley and offered to leave the city under a truce. Thereupon Scipio sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, angry at what they had suffered in the siege, refused to obey. They scaled the walls and slaughtered indiscriminately, not sparing women and children. Scipio dismissed the survivors in safety; he then deprived the army of its booty and compelled the officers who had disobeyed orders to cast lots publicly, and punished three of them, upon whom the lot had fallen, with death. Having done these things he began ravaging the country again. Hasdrubal sought to draw him into ambush by sending Mago, his master of horse, to attack him in front, while he fell upon his rear. Scipio and Masinissa being surrounded in this way divided their forces into two parts, turning in opposite directions against the enemy, by which means they slew 5000 of the Africans, took 1800 prisoners, and drove the remainder over a precipice.

[16] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκη κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐξευγμέναις πύργον ἐπιθείς, ὅθεν τριπλήρη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤφειε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχε θραυομένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δ' ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριοῖς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων, δρεπάνοις τε περισπῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα ὑπετάφρευον, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρήγον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τῆς ὀρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκοῦς· ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπῆδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάζειαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπιφορον. ὅθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνοὺς οὕτως αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίστατο.

[16] Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits

long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, and the ships were badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, and battered the wall with rams, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slipknots, and deadened the force of the rams by interposing transverse wooden beams. They made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it.

[17] Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἀσδρούβου. ἔτι δ' ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἑκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκῶς μέχρι νῆές τε ἕτεραι ναυπηγούμεναι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιτο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διαιτᾶν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐδικαίου μήτε Ῥωμαίους Λιβύης μήτε Καρχηδονίους Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νήσους ἔχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἔφη συμμαχήσειν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπεῖρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, τὴν τε Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιώσκειν ὑπισχνούμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν ἂν ἐθέλῃ. ἔφερε δ' ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοίῃ τῶν θεραπευτῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχνουμένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἔδωκε τι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἔδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσση, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἤλεγξεν.

[17] Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians were ready, and the Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he proposed an arbitration. He thought that it would be fair for the Romans to discontinue the war in Africa and the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the other. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians and to give him in marriage whichever of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver. (Y.R. 551)

[18] Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ῥωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σῖτον πολλὴν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἔκτεινεν οὐκ

ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἄλλην πολλήν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρήσαν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, καὶ νῆες εὐτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε ἔγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὀρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοῦς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

[18] Then Syphax, finding that he could not deceive any-body, (B.C. 203) joined the Carthaginians openly. He captured, by means of treachery, an inland town named Tholon, where the Romans had a large store of war materials and food, and slew all of the garrison who would not depart on parole. He also called up another large reënforcement of Numidians. And now, as the mercenaries had arrived and the ships were in readiness, they decided to fight, Syphax attacking those besieging Utica, and Hasdrubal the camp of Scipio, while the ships should bear down upon the ships; all these things to be done the next day and at the same time in order to overwhelm the Romans with numbers.

CHAPTER IV

*Scipio's Night Attack on Hasdrubal — Speech to his Officers before the Attack
— Complete Victory of Scipio Retreat of Syphax — Scipio advances against
Carthage — Indecisive Naval Engagement*

[19] Ὡνήδῃ νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε, καὶ ἠπόρει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιρούμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύννους γενόμενος εἶπε:

τόλμης καὶ ταχυτήτος ἡμῖν, ὧ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσωμεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα δ' ἐν τῷδε πλεονεκτήσομεν, μάθετε ἥδη. ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκπλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων: ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διηρημένη τῇ στρατιᾷ χρῆσόμεθα ἀλλ' ἀθρόα, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύουσι δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμέν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ισόμαχοι, τόλμη δὲ καὶ εὐτυχία προύχομεν. καὶ ἦν ὁ θεὸς δῶ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἷς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἢ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἦν ἀρέσκη, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ.

[19] Masinissa learned of these plans at nightfall from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should be too weak to sustain the whole strength of the enemy. He forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself, he said: "Courage and swiftness, friends, and desperate fighting are our only salvation. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing, — that those who are so few in number should be the aggressors, will terrify them. We shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together. We shall not be engaged with all of our enemies at once, but with those we choose to attack first, since their camps are separate from each other. We are their equals in strength when we take them separately, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you."

[20] συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, 'ὁ μὲν καιρὸς,' εἶπεν, 'εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβερώτερον καὶ ἀνέτομα τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν

σκότω. φθάσομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλευματα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆες εἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτοις Ἀσδρούβας μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολήσειε τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ παντὸς ἴωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἣν ἄρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐξίη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θραυστάτῃ: τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ' ἱππείας 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὐσης' προπέμψω πορρωτέρω κυκλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθῆιμεν, ὑποδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φίλους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ' ἐπικρατοίημεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῶντο.'

[20] As they all agreed, he continued: "The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, since the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none will be able to give aid to their allies in the darkness. Thus we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not easy to attack ships by night. Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Hasdrubal is the head of the hostile force. Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, effeminate and timid. Come now, let us attack Hasdrubal with all our force. We will place Masinissa in ambush for Syphax, if, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are not of much use in a night attack, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

[21] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὀπλίσαι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμῃ καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικόν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατόν αὐτῷ θραυστάτον μάλιστα ὀφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἡρέμα τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμεαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ὥς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγγιν ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπων. οἱ δ' εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ οἱ Λίβυες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὕπνου, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουον, οὐδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γιγνομένων εἰδότος.

ἀναπιδῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηναὺς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνήρουν. τοῖς δ' ἦν ἡ τε βοή τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερῶτατα ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοί τε εἰληφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπερησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἐκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦντο: ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἱππέας, οἱ κύκλῳ περιεστήκεσαν, ἐμπίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον.

[21] Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and he offered sacrifice to Courage and also to Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and the army moved, observing the most profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with shouts mingled with the discordant blast of trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, fumbled around for their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them, as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The noise of the invaders, their appearance, and the fearful work they were doing in the midst of darkness and uncertainty made the catastrophe complete. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they ran helter-skelter, just as it happened, and the Roman horse, who had completely surrounded them, fell upon them and slaughtered them.

[22] Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβα, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω πολλὴν ἐργὰ ζεταὶ φόνον. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μαθὼν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἤδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δ' εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῇ παρασκευῇ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεξεύγνυε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπών, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανίοντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.

[22] Syphax, hearing the noise and seeing the fire in the night, did not leave his quarters, but sent a detachment of horse to the assistance of Hasdrubal. Masinissa fell upon these unawares and made a great slaughter. At daybreak,

learning that Hasdrubal had fled and that his forces were destroyed, or taken prisoners, or dispersed, and that his camp and war material had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he fled precipitately to the interior, leaving every-thing behind, fearing lest Scipio should return from the pursuit of the Carthaginians and fall upon him. Masinissa took possession of his camp and belongings.

[23] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺν μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἅμφοι τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμῦριοι· καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχιλίοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ ἵππῶν ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανιόντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὅπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μιᾶς τῆσδε νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλὼν ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Λιγυστίνων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

[23] Thus by one act of daring and in a little part of a night, did the Romans demolish two camps and two armies much greater than their own. The Romans lost about 100 men killed, the enemy a little less than 30,000, besides 2400 prisoners. Moreover, 600 horse surrendered them-selves to Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the Carthaginians by one splendid victory, distributed prizes to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria.

[24] καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἀσδρούβας δέ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ' ἵππῶν πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδάν κατέφυγεν, ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει· πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὥς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἄννωνα τὸν Βουμίλχαρος εἵλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλήζετο ἐς τὰς τροφάς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὓς εἶχεν, ἅμφοι τρισχιλίους ἵππεας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὥς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποίων Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπῆγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὥπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξιόντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναῦσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτόν τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα, καὶ τὰς οὐσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριῆρεις ῥαδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἰρήσειν.

[24] While Scipio was thus engaged, Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who

had been wounded in the night engagement, fled with 500 horse to the town of Anda, where he collected some mercenaries and Numidians who had escaped from the battle, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would enlist. Learning that the Carthaginians had decreed the penalty of death against him for his bad generalship, and had chosen Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, as commander, he made this an army of his own, recruited a lot of malefactors, robbed the country for provisions, and drilled his men to the number of 3000 horse and 8000 foot, resting his hopes solely on fighting. His doings were for a long time unknown to both the Romans and the Carthaginians. And now Scipio, having his army in readiness, led it to Carthage itself and haughtily offered battle, but nobody responded. Meanwhile Hamilcar, the admiral, hastened with 100 ships to attack Scipio's naval station, hoping to outstrip him in reaching the place, and thinking that he could easily destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his hundred.

[25] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προὔπεμπέ τινας τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράζει στρογγύλοις πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαι τε καὶ ἀρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἤπτετο τοῦ πόνου. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύοντο, καὶ καμοῦσαι περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀπιούσαις δ' αὐταῖς αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαι τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ὅτε βιάζοντο, ὑποχωροῦσαι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰ δαυιλῆς, Ἴτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λιμώττοντες ἐλίσστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι, πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφόρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς ληστρικὰς ἐκόλυνον. οἱ δ' ἔκαμνον ἥδη σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

[25] Scipio, seeing him sail away, sent orders ahead to block up the entrance to the harbor with ships of burthen anchored at intervals so that the galleys could dart out, as through gates, when they should see an opportunity. These ships were bound together by their yard arms and fastened to each other so as to form a wall. This work done he entered into the action. When the Carthaginians made their attack their ships were battered by missiles from the Roman ships, from the shore, and from the walls, and they with-drew at evening discomfited. As they were retreating, the Romans pressed upon them, darting out through the open spaces, and when they were overpowered withdrawing again. They took one ship in tow without any men and brought it to Scipio. After this both combatants went into winter quarters. The Romans received plentiful supplies by sea, but the Uticans and Carthaginians, being pinched with hunger, robbed the merchant ships until new galleys, sent to Scipio from Rome, blockaded the enemy and put an end to their plundering, after which they were severely oppressed by hunger.

CHAPTER V

Masinissa defeats and captures Syphax — Syphax and Sophonisba — Death of Sophonisba — Plot to burn Scipio's Camp — Siege of Utica raised

[26] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης ἤτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορώμενος περὶ τινι ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἐκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἄθρόα ἠφίεσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπήεσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδὼν, ἔτετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς· ὁ δ' ἀντεπῆλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἄμφω γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἔνθα τις αὐτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν· ὁ δ' ἀπεσεῖσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτόν τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τῷδε ἤτησε παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

[26] This same winter, Syphax being near them, Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman army as a reënforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Lælius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he came to a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. The latter encountered him eagerly. The battle between them continued until the forces of Syphax turned in flight and began to cross the river. Syphax's horse received a wound and threw his rider. Masinissa ran up and caught him and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax's men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa's 300. Four thousand of Syphax's men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These Masinissa asked Lælius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

[27] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσυλίους καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπήεσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιοῦμενοί τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασιλεία τοῦ Σύφακος παραδιδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἕτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικός, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγούμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ

Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτήν, ἐπανιών πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτός, ἐν Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἄρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἤρετο Σύφακα: ‘τίς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον ὄντα μοι καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὕς ὤμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;’ ὁ δ’ εἶπε, ‘Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἧς ἐγὼ ἦρων ἐπ’ ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρις δ’ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἱκανὴ ἅπαντά τινα πείσαι πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. αὕτη με καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τὸδε συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆσδε εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ ἤχρη γάρ, ὑμέτερον γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον: φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἃ βούλεται μεταγάγῃ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὴ τὸ γυναικίον ποτε ἔλῃται τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίζειν ἄξιον: οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς φιλόπολις.’

[27] After this they entered the country of the Massylians and of Syphax, and settled them under the government of Masinissa, persuading some and coercing others. Ambassadors came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: “What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to forfeit your oath to the gods and your faith to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?” Syphax replied: “Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for, being now on your side and relieved of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she attached to her own country.”

[28] ταῦθ’ ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἴτ’ ἀληθεύων εἶτε ζηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων: ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μὲν, συνετόν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπήγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷόν τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κῦρος ἐχρήτο, Λαιλίου δ’ ἀφικομένου, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι. παραιτούμενον δ’ ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὥς ἐγένετο διηγουμένου, τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. ὥχετο οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν

Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προύθηκεν, ἥ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκοῦσαν. οὐδέν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον. ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῇ δεῖξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν ὁδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἔπινε τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἥκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρὰς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἡξίουں περισώζειν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

[28] So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and was acquainted with the country, and advised with him as Cyrus did with Cræsus, king of Lydia. Lælius having returned and told him the same things about Sophonisba that he had learned from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter tried to beg off and related the facts concerning her as above, Scipio ordered him more sharply not to possess himself by force of the Roman spoils of victory, but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and gave her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he mounted his horse. She showed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa showed her dead body to the Romans who had now come up, then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, and to console him for the loss of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died.

[29] Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἔπεμπε τινα πρὸς Ἄννωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄνωνα κοινωνῆσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίωνι σύνεισιν Ἰβηρες ἄκοντες, οὓς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ἐς μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργει, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπῆλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς πιθανὸς ὢν ἐντυχεῖν ἐκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλοὺς, ἡμέραν τε συνθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανήλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Ἄννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβα

μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ κίνδυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἔμπρησμοῦ: καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἴ ποῦ τι λάβρον ἠΰρισκε πῦρ, κατέπανεν. καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ἱερὰ τὸν ἔμπρησμον ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἐβαρυνθῆμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι διεγνώκει,

[29] When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he would lend a hand if he were duly notified. Hanno, although he in-tended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp, who, winning the confidence of those he fell in with, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. To Scipio, while sacrificing, the victims revealed that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any glowing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

[30] ἰππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίου θεράπων Ἴβηρ, ὑπονοήσας τι περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγγχετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρριψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. αἰσθησὶς δ' ἦν Ἄννωνι μὲν ὀξεῖα πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκεκριμένον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀφίκετο. ὥς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἶκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν, ὥς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους: ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Ἀμίλχαρ μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἕξ, Ἄννων δ' ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολιορκουσὶν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δέ, χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης, ταύτην μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἰπῶνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακάυσας ὥς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ ληζόμενος.

[30] At this juncture a Spanish servant of one of the Roman knights, suspecting something of the conspiracy, pretended to be one of the accomplices and in this way learned all about it, and told his master. The latter brought him to Scipio, and he convicted the whole crowd. Scipio put them all to death and cast their bodies out of the camp. Knowledge of this coming quickly to Hanno, who was not far off, he did not come to the rendezvous, but Hasdrubal, who remained in ignorance, did. When he saw the multitude of corpses he guessed what had happened and withdrew. But Hanno slandered

him and told every-body that he had come to surrender himself to Scipio, but that the latter would not receive him. Thus Hasdrubal was made more hateful to the Carthaginians than ever. About this time Hamilcar made a sudden dash on the Roman fleet and took one galley and six ships of burthen, and Hanno made an attack upon those who were besieging Utica, but was beaten off. As the siege had lasted a long time without result, Scipio raised it and moved his engines against the town of Hippo. As he accomplished nothing there, he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others.

CHAPTER VI

Hannibal recalled — Negotiations for Peace — Hannibal lands at Hadrumetum — The Armistice violated — Hannibal sent for — He proposes a Renewal of the Armistice

[31] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγαίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεῦοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοις πάντως ἂν ἐνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔξαι, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψαι ἕως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχὰς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην: οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τειχῶν ἐκτὸς ἐστάθμευον ὥς ἔτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθόντες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμησκον, ὅσας συνθοῖντο καὶ παραβαῖεν, ὅσα τε Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἔν τε Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ: οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσις ὑπεδείκνυν ἔσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις ἐκτετραχωμένης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδεῆς ἐπεξήεσαν, ἐπιπλευσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄννωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης.

[31] The Carthaginians, depressed by their ill success, chose Hannibal as their commanding general and sent an admiral with ships to hasten his coming. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Scipio to negotiate for peace, thinking to gain one of two things, either peace or a delay until Hannibal should arrive. Scipio consented to an armistice, and having thus gained sufficient supplies for his army allowed them to send their ambassadors to Rome. They did so, but they were received there as enemies and required to lodge outside the walls. When the Senate gave them audience they asked pardon. Some of the senators adverted to the faithlessness of the Carthaginians, and told how often they had made treaties and broken them, and what injuries Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans and their allies in Spain and Italy. Others represented that the Carthaginians were not more in need of peace than themselves, Italy being exhausted by so many wars; and they showed how much danger was to be feared from the great armies moving together against Scipio, that of Hannibal from Italy, that of Mago from Liguria, and that of Hanno at Carthage.

[32] ἐφ' οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλὴ συμβούλους ἔπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὧν ἔμελλε κρινεῖν τε καὶ πράξειν ὃ τι δοκιμάσειε συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβη, Μάγονα μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Λιγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν

λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναται. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὀρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὤμνουν. Μασσανάσση δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγίδα χρυστὴν ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

[32] The Senate was not able to agree, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he should advise, and then do whatever he should deem best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty long galleys; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called Phœnician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 6000 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans gave to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armor.

[33] γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυεργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιτο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λιβύης κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπὶ τε ὄνῃν ἵππων περιέπεμπε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἱ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγίνοντο Μασσανάσσου, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτεύσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους διέδωκε τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δε καὶ Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνάστης ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ' ἐβιάζετο. νάρκην δ' ἐνήδρευεν ὧδε. ἀγορᾷ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὥς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ' ἔδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἔπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εἶρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

[33] In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, knowing the untrustworthy character of the people of Carthage, their bad faith toward their magistrates, and their general recklessness. He did not believe that a treaty

would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not last long. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses. He made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the Areacidæ. He slew with arrows 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters. These had formerly been Syphax's men and afterward Masinissa's, and he suspected them. He gave their horses to his own army. Mesotulus, another chieftain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Verminia, another son of Syphax, who ruled the greater part of his father's dominions. He gained some of Masinissa's towns by surrender and some by force. He took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way. Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends, and when he thought the time had come to spring the trap he sent in a large number of men carrying concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound, and then to set upon all they met, and hold the gates for him. In this way was Narce taken.

[34] οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δε ὁ δῆμος ἄρτι τὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένοι, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος, οὕτω τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνεστροφότων, ἀγορὰν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παραινούσης μὴ λύειν συνθήκας ἄρτι γεγενημένας: οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἤξιον πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἦται δίκας ὡς φίλους ἀμαρτόντας: οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἕως ἀφίκοντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μὲν Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προύπεμπον δύο τριήρεσιν: ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπεισαν, ὁρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξήλαντο τῆς νεῶς ἤδη λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

[34] The common people of Carthage, although the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio was still there, and their own ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio's stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of the threats of their own council and of their admonitions not to violate the treaty so recently made. The people found fault with the treaty, and said that hunger was more dangerous to them than treaty-breaking. Scipio did not deem it best to renew the war after the treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends who were in the wrong. The people attempted to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid] rescued them from the mob and sent them away in two galleys. Some others, however, sent word to Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the promontory of Apollo, that

when the escort should leave them he should set upon Scipio's galleys. This he did, and some of the messengers were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, and the rowers darted into the harbor of their own camp and sprang from the ship which was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners.

[35] ὧν οἱ ἐν ἅσται Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδονίων, οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτι παρήσαν, ἐκέλευον ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο: Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναυάρχῳ, πυθόμενῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, 'οὐδὲν ὅμοιον,' ἔφη, 'ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς.' μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὠνείδιζε τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς οὐκ εὖ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένη, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοι τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας ἐπαίρομενοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν νεθ' ἧς ἔχει στρατιᾶς.

[35] When the Romans at home learned these things they ordered the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were still there treating for peace, to depart immediately as enemies. They accordingly set sail, and were driven by a tempest to Scipio's camp. To his admiral, who asked what he should do with them, Scipio said: "We shall not imitate Carthaginian bad faith; send them away unharmed." When the Carthaginian Senate learned this they chided the people for the contrast between their behavior and Scipio's, and advised them to beg Scipio to adhere to the agreement and to accept reparation for the Carthaginian wrong-doing. But the people had been finding fault with the Senate a long time for their ill success, because they had not sufficiently foreseen what was for their advantage, and being pushed on by demagogues and excited by vain hopes, they summoned Hannibal and his army. (Y.R. 552)

[36] ὁ δὲ ὄρων τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου τὸν στρατὸν Ἀννίβα, καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει: Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἵργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐποροῦντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀσπόρου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἵππομαχία γίγνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν ᾗ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτει: καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἕως αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν ἰσχυρῶς τε ἀπορούμενον καὶ περιμένοντα ἀγορὰν φερομένην, νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμιον χιλιάρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας αὐτήν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμιος ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβὼν, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐξώγησεν ἐτέρους τοσοῦσδε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

[36] Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, (B.C. 202) asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal was accordingly

forgiven for his offence, and he delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he did not dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Now Scipio blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while from the land they were poorly supplied by reason of the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

[37] ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναίτο διαθέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομνήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβῆς καὶ παιδείσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔτι οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα: τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀνοητοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἁμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδοῦμένος τε καὶ φίλος ὢν ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς αὖθις ἐς τοιάσδε συνθήκας ὥστε Καρχηδονίους τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίοις ἀγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἥρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν ἢ ἂν ὀρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποινὴν τε τοῦ ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τὰδε μὲν ἦν τὰ συγκεείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισώζετο,

[37] Hannibal, being reduced to extremity for want of provisions and considering how he might arrange for the present, sent messengers to Masinissa reminding him of his early life and education at Carthage, and asking that he would persuade Scipio to renew the treaty, saying that the former infractions of it were the work of the common people, and of fools who had stirred them up. Masinissa, who had in fact been brought up and educated at Carthage, and who had a high respect for the dignity of the city, and was the friend of many of the inhabitants, besought Scipio to comply, and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the Carthaginians should surrender the men and ships bringing provisions to the Romans, which they had taken, also all plunder, or the value of it, which Scipio would estimate, and pay 1000 talents as a penalty for the wrong done. These things were agreed upon. An armistice was concluded until the Carthaginians should be made acquainted with the details; and thus Hannibal was saved in an unexpected way.

CHAPTER VII

Riots in Carthage — Second Armistice broken — Preparations for Battle — Speeches of Hannibal and Scipio — Battle of Zama — Personal Encounter of Hannibal and Scipio — Hannibal's Defeat and Flight

[38] Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τὴν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγουμένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγούς σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος: ὃ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐθελῆσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῷδε προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαι τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. βοῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἐξήτουν Ἀσδρούβαν περιόντες. ὃ δ' ἔφθασε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὐτόν: οἱ δὲ κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν ἐξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἀννωνος, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἀνήρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.

[38] The Carthaginian council warmly welcomed the agreement and exhorted the people to adhere to its terms, explaining all their misfortunes and their immediate want of soldiers, money, and provisions. But the people, like a mere mob, behaved like fools. They thought that their generals had made this arrangement for their own private ends, so that, relying upon the Romans, they might hold the power in their own country. They said that Hannibal was doing now what had been done before by Hasdrubal, who had betrayed his camp to the enemy by night, and a little later wanted to surrender to Scipio, having approached him for that purpose, and was now concealed in the city. Thereupon there was a great clamor and tumult, and some of them left the assembly and went in search of Hasdrubal. He had anticipated them by taking refuge in his father's tomb, where he destroyed himself with poison. But they pulled his corpse out, cut off his head, put it on a pike, and carried it about the city. Thus was Hasdrubal first banished unjustly, next falsely slandered by Hanno, and then driven to his death by the Carthaginians, and loaded with indignities after his death.

[39] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβα λῦσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρῖναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἔλυσε τὰς ἀνοχὰς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσὼν εἴλε, καὶ πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεξεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκοποὺς ἐπιπέμψας, οὓς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβέ τε καὶ οὐκ

ἔκτεινεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὀπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιάν γυμναζομένην ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἀννίβα περὶ ἐκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἠξίωσεν ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθεῖη, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῖεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νήσων ὧσων ἄρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίους. ὁ δὲ 'πολύ,' ἔφη, 'κέρδος Ἀννίβα τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπιωνος.' καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπειλησάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀνεξεύγνυνον ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

[39] Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to fight as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio marched immediately, and took the great city of Partha and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, but he sent three spies into the Roman camp who were captured by Scipio. The latter did not put them to death, however, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army under review. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter deemed it advisable to have a parley with Scipio, and when it was granted he said that the Carthaginians had rejected the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. "Hannibal's escape from Italy would be a great gain to him," said Scipio, "if he could obtain these terms in addition." He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp.

[40] πόλις δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυῆς ἐς στρατοπεδεῖαν, ὃν ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἔπεμπε τινὰς διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνδρῶν διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσω φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὀλίγον καὶ θολερὸν ἔπινον ἐπιμόχθως. ἀθεράπευτοί τε καὶ ἄσιτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἅμα ἕξ κεκμηκόσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ' ἦρχετο μὲν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιο συνιών ἐς μάχην, ἐώρα δὲ ὡς εἶτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἶτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. ἴσθη δὲ πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερῶτατα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες:

τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντα καὶ σφενδονῆται Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τούτων δ' ὀπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοι τε καὶ Λίβυες. τρίτοι δ' ὅσοι ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἶποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὥς πλέον δεδιόσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἡ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

[40] The town of Cilla was in the neighborhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, perceiving this, sent a detachment forward to seize it and lay out a camp. Then he started and moved forward as though he were already in possession of it. Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, Hannibal was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without removing their arms. Scipio, mindful of these things, moved against them at day-light while they were exhausted with marching, with want of sleep, and want of water. Hannibal was troubled, since he did not wish to join battle in that plight. Yet he saw that if he should remain there his army would suffer severely from want of water, while if he should retreat the enemy would take fresh courage and fall upon his rear. For these reasons it was necessary for him to fight. He speedily put in battle array about 50,000 men and eighty elephants. He placed the elephants in the front line at intervals, in order to strike terror into the enemy's ranks. Next to them he placed the third part of his army, composed of Celts and Ligurians, and mixed with them everywhere Moorish and Balearic archers and slingers. Behind these was his second line, composed of Carthaginians and Africans. The third line consisted of Italians who had followed him from their own country, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, since they had the most to apprehend from defeat. The cavalry were placed on the wings. In this way Hannibal arranged his forces.

[41] οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἕτερος δυνάστης ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ ὁδε τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβα, λόχους δ' ὀρθίους ἐποιεῖτο πάντα, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχερῶς διαθείοιν. ἐρίστη δ' ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ προμάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ ξύλα παχέα διπλήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρωμένα, ἔμελλον ὥς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγελλτο δ' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιτο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετετάχατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι: τοὺς δ' ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κερασιν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὁδμὴν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἐτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείναιαν οἱ πεζοί. παρ' ἑκάστον δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπηρέτης ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν

αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαίλιῳ, τὸ δὲ λαῖον Ὀκταουίῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἦσθην αὐτός τε καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοῦμενον ἴδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἴταλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ὥπλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

[41] Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 1600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines. He placed all his cohorts in straight lines with open spaces so that the cavalry might readily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, for the purpose of assailing the oncoming elephants by hand, as with catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts by turning aside and continually hurling javelins at them, and by darting around them to hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry. He stationed his Numidian horse on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. As the Italian horse were not so, he placed them all in the rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed. Lælius commanded the right wing and Octavius the left. In the middle both Hannibal and himself took their stations, out of respect for each other, each having a body of horse in order to send reënforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had armed in Sicily.

[42] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισπέρχων ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὧσι τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονθήκεσαν ὡσάκις ἔλυνον τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἥ καὶ πρότερον τῶνδε τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλειόνων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, πόσῳ ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζε τε καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς ὀλιγότητος· ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμύνησκεν αὐτοῦς, ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτόθεν ἐστὼς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρους ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκάτερος τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερεπῆρην, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ὧν ἐπεκράτου, Σκιπίων δ' ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ' ἀναχώρησις ἔστιν ἀσφαλῆς, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία

[42] When everything was ready each one rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the presence of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended by their frequent violation of treaties. He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valor, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over those who were all Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, in plain sight, the smallness of the enemy's force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would have universal supremacy hereafter. Scipio said that there was no safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labors, a speedy return home, and glory forever after.

[43] οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνήεσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ' ἀντηγεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατήρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων: περιθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἱππεῖς ἐσηκόντιζον ἄθρόως, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας: οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιαύσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὀπλίσεως, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἕως ὃ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱππείας τοὺς Ἰταλικούς, ὀπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους, ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτός τε αὐτὸς ἀποβάς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιρωσκότων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἶδε ὑπεχώρουν.

[43] Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal ordered the trumpet to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. The Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them. Being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their drivers took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings. Those in the centre trampled down the Roman

infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armor, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run around and stab the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the front-tramping elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and they inflicted so many wounds upon the elephants that these also withdrew.

[44] καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρᾷς θηριῶν, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίνετο μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάται, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην· ὁξέως δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαίον, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ἐπεστάται, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερῶς ἑκατέροις. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων· Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ λαίον συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἅμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρῆγε μεθ' ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγῶνα συνιόντων, ἕρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ ὁξέος ὄντος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

[44] The field being cleared of these beasts the battle was now waged by men and horses only. The Roman right wing, where Lælius commanded, put the opposing Numidians to flight, and Masinissa struck down their prince, Massathes, with a dart, but Hannibal quickly came to their rescue and restored the line of battle. On the left wing, where Octavius commanded and where the hostile Celts and Ligurians were stationed, a doubtful battle was going on. Scipio sent the tribune Thermus thither with a reinforcement of picked men, but Hannibal, after rallying his left wing, flew to the assistance of the Ligurians and Celts, bringing up at the same time his second line of Carthaginians and Africans. Scipio, perceiving this, brought his second line in opposition. When the two greatest generals of the world thus met, in hand to hand fight, there was, on the part of the soldiers of each, a brilliant emulation and reverence for their commanders, and no lack of zeal on either side in the way of sharp and vehement fighting and cheering.

[45] μακρᾷς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὥρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοῦ, Σκιπίων μὲν Ἀννίβου τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὀπίσω τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβάς ἕτερον ἵππον αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἱππέα τὸν ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἦκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὀρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον· οὐδὲ παριππεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου

στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐθις ἐς πείραν ἔλθειν ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔτι καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίσας Ῥωμαίοις ἄτε διώκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθούμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο αὐθις ἐς μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφίσι παρόντων οὔτε ἀκοντίων ἔτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιρούντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ καὶ φεύγουσιν εἶποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

[45] As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers, and rushed upon each other in order to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time. Scipio pierced Hannibal's shield. Hannibal hit Scipio's horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, threw Scipio over backwards. He quickly mounted another and again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him and struck another horseman near him. At this juncture, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general not only serving as a commander but fighting also as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and not demoralized. These he led into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans in disorderly pursuit. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. Great slaughter ensued and innumerable wounds, mingled with the shouts of the combatants and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Romans routed these also and put them to flight. Such was the brilliant issue of this engagement.

[46] καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἱππέων Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστῶς, προσδραμὼν ἡξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πείσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκουσιν, ἐλπίσας ἐργάσεσθαι τινα παλινδιώξιν. πρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἔτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν Μασσανάσσου καὶ Ἀννίβου συνεστῶτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠκόντισε βαλὼν, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥρμα, τὸν τε ἐπελαύνοντά οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱπέα βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐθις οὐδ' ὥς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱπέα καὶ ὁδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἕτερον δ' ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἔδεισε περὶ τοῦ

Μασσανάσση, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο· καὶ ἤρρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὐθις ἐπὶ ἵππου φερόμενον ἐτέρου, τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὃ τε ἀγὼν ἦν ἴσος αὐθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρτερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐκατέρων, ἕως ὃ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κἀκείνους ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἐκόντες καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ἥπερ ἐώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπη τύχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτούς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.

[46] Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal took place. Rushing fiercely upon each other, Masinissa drove his spear into Hannibal's shield, and Hannibal wounded his antagonist's horse. Masinissa, being thrown, sprang towards Hannibal on foot, and struck and killed a horseman who was advancing towards him in front of the others. At the same time he received in his shield — made of elephant's hide — several darts, one of which he pulled out and hurled at Hannibal; but, as it happened, it struck another horseman who was near and killed him. While he was pulling out another, he was wounded in the arm, and withdrew from the fight for a brief space. When Scipio learned this, he feared for Masinissa and hastened to his relief, but he found that the latter had bound up his wound and returned to the fight on a fresh horse. Thus the battle continued doubtful and very severe, the soldiers on either side having the utmost reverence for their commanders, until Hannibal, discovering a body of Spanish and Celtic troops on a hill near by, dashed over to them to bring them into the fight. Those who were still engaged, not knowing the cause of his going, thought that he had fled. Accordingly, they abandoned the fight of their own accord and broke into disorderly rout, not following after Hannibal, but helter skelter. This band having been dispersed, the Romans thought that the fight was over and pursued them in a disorderly way, not perceiving Hannibal's purpose.

[47] ὁ δ' ἐπανάηι πεφραγμένος Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καταβεβηκότων· ὅθεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερῶς περιεγίγνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχόν, ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, αἰεὶ τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νῦν ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ' εἴκοσιν ἱππέων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ἥ ὄνομα

Θῶν, ἔνθα Βρεττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἥτης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὦν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱππέως, ὃ μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν. σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἤκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητόν, ἔνθα τι μέρος ἦν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπων δ' ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

[47] Presently Hannibal returned accompanied by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle much stronger than those who were coming against him, by which means he overcame them without difficulty. When this last effort had failed, Hannibal despaired utterly, and fled in plain sight. Many horsemen pursued him, and among others Masinissa, although suffering from his wound, pressed him hard, striving eagerly to take him prisoner and deliver him to Scipio. But night came to his rescue and under cover of darkness, with twenty horsemen who had alone been able to keep pace with him, he took refuge in a town named Thon. Here he found many Bruttian and Spanish horsemen who had fled after the defeat. Fearing the Spaniards because they were fickle barbarians, and apprehending that the Bruttians, as they were Scipio's countrymen, might deliver him up in order to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy, he fled secretly with one horseman in whom he had full confidence. Having accomplished about 3000 stades in two nights and days, he arrived at the seaport of Hadrumetum, where a part of his army had been left to guard his supplies. Here he began to collect forces from the adjacent country and from those who had escaped from the recent engagement, and to prepare arms and engines of war.

CHAPTER VIII

*Spoils of the Victory — An Embassy to Scipio — Speech of Hasdrubal Eriphus
— Scipio's Reply — Scipio's Conditions of Peace*

[48] Σκιπίων δε νίκην ἀρίστην νενικηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπιμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοί, χρυσίου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀργυρίου δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐλέφαντα εἰργασμένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιέειλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἐδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐχειροῦτο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Λιβύῃ μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τοῦτ' ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δ' ἔτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολέμιων δισμῦριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἴβηρες ἡττομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

[48] Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself as for a sacrifice and burned the less valuable spoils of the enemy, as is the custom of the Roman generals. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory, and many distinguished captives in ships, and Lælius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valor, and crowned Masinissa again. He also sent out expeditions and gathered in more cities. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa rather more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa.

[49] οὐπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ξενολογοῦντι ἔτι Κελτοῦς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναίτο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δέ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κοιμισθέντων, στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἵππους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἔπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουιον, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἦσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὃν ἡγοῦντο Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος· οἱ τὸ κηρύκειον ὑψηλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πύραρας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὠρεγον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἱκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ προκαθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν

ὕπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελεύοντων ὃ τι θέλοιεν, Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν:

[49] Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his forces for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. The latter had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal's defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the principal ones were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore a herald's staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their business in high state. They threw themselves on the ground weeping, and when the attendants had lifted them up and bade them say what they wished, Hasdrubal Eriphus spoke as follows:

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ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἄννωνι τῷδε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἔμφορες, καθαρεῦναι ἀμαρτημάτων ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε: τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὓς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρίς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρή δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγινώσκειν ἀπάντων, οἳ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἤτησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὤμνουν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν αἰ παρὰ τοῖς πληθέσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πείσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφηρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπειθείας ἢ εὐβουλίας, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοι ᾧ ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἣ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐκούσιον ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶνδε ὁμνῦναι τε καὶ ὀρκοῦν πέμπαντας ἐς Ῥωμὴν, ἔτι δ' ὄντων τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκόντας ἀμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἔβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑμῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ λιμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φρονήσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλῆθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

[50] "For myself, Romans, and for Hanno here, and for all sensible Carthaginians, let me say that we are guiltless of the wrongs which you lay at our door. For when the same men, driven by hunger, did violence to your legates, we rescued them and sent them back to you. You ought not to condemn all the people of Carthage who so recently sought peace, and when it

was granted eagerly took the oath to support it. But cities are easily swayed to their hurt, because the masses are always controlled by what is pleasing to their ears. We have had experience of these things, having been unable either to persuade or to restrain the multitude by reason of those who slandered us at home and who have prevented us from making ourselves understood by you. Romans, do not judge us by the standard of your own discipline and good counsel. If any one esteems it a crime to have yielded to the persuasions of these rabble-rousers, consider the hunger and the necessity that was upon us by reason of suffering. For it could not have been a deliberate intention on the part of our people, first to ask for peace, and give such a large sum of money to obtain it, and deliver up all their galleys except a few, and surrender the bulk of their territory, swear to these things, and send an embassy to Rome with the ratifications, and then wantonly to violate the agreement before our embassy had returned. Surely some god misled them and the tempest that drove your supplies into Carthage; and besides the tempest, hunger carried us away, for people who are in want of everything do not form the best judgments respecting other people's property. It would not be reasonable to punish with severity a multitude of men so disorganized and unfortunate.

[51] εἰ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις. ἐφ' ἣ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἔλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν αἰσθωνταὶ διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς ἐχθρὸς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πόλις, ἡ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασσι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἵππικῷ, καὶ ὑπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης τοσσηδε ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφήριστον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασσι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὧν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προπεπονητόσι κακῶς. ἂν χρή θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρως αὐτῶν, ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ τύχης ἄξια πράσσειν, τὰς τε τοῦ δαιμονίου μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα ἦ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξίεπαινα πάντας.

[51] "But if you consider us more guilty than unfortunate, we confess our fault and ask pardon for it. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. And much more readily will the fortunate extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were carrying things with a high hand. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa, in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa

and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for the greater part of this time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her horses, her subjects (all of which have passed over to you), but in you, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which has come upon them and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may be blameless before the gods and win the praises of all mankind.

[52] οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἱ τοσήνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἢ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἁμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγῶναι. βεβαιότερους τε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς νενουθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδονίοις ὑμᾶς ὁμότητες καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐστιν. οὐδ' εὐκλέες, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσήνδε καθαιρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ περισώζειν. ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἀξίωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑμᾶς ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἂν ἄρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρῆσόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσὸν λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους.

[52] “There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their wisdom, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. The misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from poverty. To the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. Still, you are the better judges of your own interests. For our safety we rely on these two things: the ancient dignity of the city of Carthage and your well-known moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. We must accept peace on whatever terms you grant. It is needless to say that we place everything in your hands.”

[53] τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μεταστησάμενος αὐτοῦς

ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὥς δ' ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὧδε:

ἐστὲ μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερώς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὥς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μὴδ' ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἄν, εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρεσπονδηκότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἀμαρτόντων, ἢ τε πόλις ἀπέλυσε, κἀγὼ καταθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέπεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρηὶ δ' ὑμᾶς καταγιγνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἃ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

[53] At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: "You do not deserve pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and only lately abused our envoys in such a public and heaven-defying manner that you can neither excuse yourselves nor deny that you are worthy of the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? And now you take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. We did not imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. Now that you have condemned yourselves, you may consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

[54] δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὧ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἣν τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδώτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἡρπάσατε πρόφην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ: ἐν δ' ἐξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγωνα χρηὶ Λιγύων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φρουράς ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὄμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ μήτε ξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἔτι, μήτε Μασσανάσση μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπὸ γε τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἴχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Λιβύην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι φίλους καὶ συμμάχους

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἣν ἀρέσκη ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δέ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Λιβύης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἦν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ῥώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὄμηρα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παιῖδας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὄμηρα.

[54] “We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions to be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Mago to depart from Liguria within sixty days, and your garrisons to be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phœnician trenches and their hostages to be surrendered. You to pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboïc talents per annum for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You to retain your city and as much territory inside the Phœnician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You to remain friends of Rome and be her allies on land and sea; all this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages whom I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages.”

CHAPTER IX

Hannibal advises their Acceptance — Another Embassy to Rome — Debate in the Senate — Views of Scipio's Friends — The Counsels of Clemency and of Prudence — Views of Scipio's Rivals — The Crimes of Carthage — Call for Vengeance — The Senate ratifies Scipio's Treaty — Scipio's Return — Form of a Roman Triumph

[55] ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ πάντων, τὸ δ' ἄγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἔχουσι, τοσήνδε οὔσαν, ἡπείθουν, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τὸν σῖτον οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἑκαστόν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἡπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ' ἔγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἤδη πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιότων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ τόνδε ὑπ' ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἡπεῖλει, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογόντας.

[55] When Scipio had finished speaking the envoys bore his conditions to Carthage, where the people debated them in the Assembly for several days. The chief men thought that it was best to accept the offer and not, by refusing a part, to run the risk of losing all; but the vulgar crowd, not considering the instant peril rather than the draft, great as it was, upon their resources, and being the majority, refused compliance. They were angry that their rulers, in time of famine, should send provisions away to the Romans instead of supplying their own citizens during the armistice, and they banded together, threatening to plunder and burn the houses of every one of them. Finally, they decided to take counsel with Hannibal, who now had 60000 infantry and 500 cavalry stationed at the town of Marthama. He came and, although moderate citizens feared lest a man so fond of war should excite the people to renewed exertions, he very gravely advised them to accept peace. But the people, mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves.

[56] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σῖτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου σεσωρεῦσθαι, ὁκνάδας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ,

μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεμὸς τε καὶ χειμὼν τὰς ναῦς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογνόντες ἀπάντων ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὥς ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔπεμπε τοὺς συμβουλευσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκείμενα. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβών, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ὑπατον ἐφεδρεῦειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.

[56] The remaining Carthaginians, hearing that a large quantity of provisions had been stored by Hannibal at a certain place, sent a number of transports and war-ships thither, being resolved, if they could obtain food, to continue the war and to endure everything rather than accept (Y.R. 553) servitude to the Romans. But after a storm had shattered (B.C. 201) their ships, despairing of everything, they accused the gods of conspiring against them, assented to the agreement with Scipio, and sent an embassy to Rome. Scipio also sent counsellors to confirm the agreement. It was said that Scipio was moved by two considerations. He thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city. He knew also that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, would grasp at his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself.

[57] οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἡδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἢ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν: οἱ σύμβουλοι δ' ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἔτι σὺν ὀργῇ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἡδῃ, καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὑπαναστὰς δέ τις τῶν Σκιπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν:

οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἕς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὁμότερα πράξωμεν, οἱ Καρχηδονίοις ὁμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζουσιν: ἃ μὴδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον, ἣν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἣ καὶ νήσων ἥρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἐν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχίμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δέ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερώτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκᾳ δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περὶ τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς

ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπονώτατον, ὃ πάντα ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμούς.

[57] There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But there were differences of opinion as to what should be done. Some were exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians. Others had pity on them, thinking that this was a more becoming attitude to take respecting other people's misfortunes. One of Scipio's friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as it is of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men — lest it be said that we, who have so often charged the carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and that we, who always exercise moderation in small matters, neglect it wholly in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, and which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were in arms it was necessary to fight them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as many wild beasts spare the enemies they have thrown down. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, that is itself a most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were contending on even terms with us for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But, for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a torture that may easily dethrone the reasoning powers of men.

[58] ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιόν, οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τῶνδε παραβῆναι: ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιῶντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προήλθον, εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ἡμῖν τῶνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τοὺς τε αὖ μετ' ἐκείνους περιοικοῦντας ἡμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐλολούςκους καὶ Καμπανοὺς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς σπονδὰς ὕβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαννιτῶν γένος τρίς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρονῆσαν, ἔτεσι δ' ὀγδοήκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἑναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβα

προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οἱ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνη ζημιώσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νουθετεῖν.

[58] “I do not speak for the Carthaginians; that would not be fitting. Nor do I forget that they violated other treaties before those which are now under review. What our fathers did in like circumstances (and by which means they arrived at the summit of fortune) I will recall to your minds for you know them already. Although the neighboring peoples round about us often revolted and were continually breaking treaties, our ancestors did not disdain them — the Latins, the Etruscans, the Sabines, for example. Afterward, the Æqui, the Volsci, the Campanians, also our neighbors, and various other peoples of Italy, committed a breach of their treaties, and our fathers met it magnanimously. Moreover, the Samnite race, after betraying friendship and agreements three times and waging the most desperate war against us for eighty years, were not destroyed, nor were those others who called Pyrrhus into Italy. Nor did we destroy those Italians who lately joined forces with Hannibal, not even the Bruttians, who remained with him to the last. We took from them a part of their lands and allowed them to keep the remainder. Thus it was esteemed both generous to them and useful to us not to exterminate a whole race, but to bring them into a better state of mind.

[59] τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλάζωμεν τὴν φύσιν, ἣ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἢ πόλις αὕτη; δι’ αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔτι φειδοῦς ἀξία. ἀλλ’ ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀλλ’ ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὧν νῆές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οἷς ἰσχύουσι, παραδιδόασι, καὶ τάλαντα Εὐβοικὰ μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ πόλεων ἀπασῶν ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἥρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν ἔτι λιμώττοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Σκιπίων ὁ πολεμήσας κριτής. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶνδε καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαινῶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεταβολήν, οἷς εἰσὶν ἔτι νῆες, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ ἤδη στρατιὰν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐτέρους ἄγει πολλούς, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλούς. καὶ ἦν ἀπογνῶσι τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, ἀφειδῶς ἅπασι χρήσονται. χαλεπώτερον δ’ οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονόν ἐστιν.

[59] “Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the exercise of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it

because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations, almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment? They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phœnician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I praise Scipio the rather for the magnitude and multitude of these things. I think you ought to spare them considering the invidiousness and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants, and Hannibal, that most skilful captain, who still has an army; also Mago, who is leading another considerable force of Celts and Ligurians; also Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes. They have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these things with a lavish hand. Nothing is more dangerous than desperation in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and vengeful.

[60] ἃ καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ βραδυνόντων συνθήσεται. εἰκὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τάδε ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαιρετόν, ὃς οὐδ' ἐς Λιβύην ἡμᾶς ὀρμωμένους παρώξυνέ τε, καὶ στρατιὰν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἡλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ῥαθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα μὲν ἡγείται καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιδε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἦδη σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας; οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δ' αὖθις ὡς ἀποστῆναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερόν ἐστι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὕστερον δ' αἰεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἅλις δὲ κακῶν ἔξουσι καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἱ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν αἰεὶ.

[60] "It seems that Scipio was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, saying that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose, too, that he can form a better judgment than ourselves, since the one who presides over the whole business can have the best view of it. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that renowned general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favor of it; and when he could not obtain an

army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved for us a success far beyond our expectations. It is astonishing that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of religion all the more since their impiety has led only to their ruin. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. They will fight with desperation now, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbors, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there lying in wait for them.

[61] εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδέξεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσιν, τί καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἣν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ ναῦς ἥρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσιν τε θεῶν φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσση δ' ἔχειν δώσομεν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρή στεροποιεῖν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀμέτρως, ἡγείσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔριν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίων κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ' ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ' ἡ φυλάξουσα στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει: πολλῆς γάρ, ὥς ἐν πολλοῖς περιοίκις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις, δεησόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσοῦδε Νομάδας; οἱ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἰσχυόντων ἀεὶ δεινὰ πείσονται, ἣν δ' ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἔσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ ἐπίφθονοι, χώραν τοσὴνδε καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχοντες. ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις. πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ.

[61] "If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio's command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that the favors of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it — supposing we do take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him too strong. It should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Is it said that we might collect rent from their land? The expense of military

protection would eat up the rent, for we should need a strong force to ward off so many surrounding tribes, all of them uncivilized. Can we plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? They would always be exposed to the depredations of these powerful barbarians, and if they should conquer them they might hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so much more fruitful than ours. All of which things, it seems to me, Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general.”

[62] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου Λέντλου συγγενῆς τοῦ τότε ὄντος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαδέξασθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως:

τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὃ ἄνδρες, χρήσιμον: καὶ ὅσα δυνατὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ' ἡμῖν καιρὸς ἐς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ Κάρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστι τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ' ἄμετρίας μοι δοκῶ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνουβρίζουσιν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχωσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς αἰδῶς οὔτε λόγος ὄρκων: οὗς οὗτος ἀξιοῖ περισώζειν διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν, ἵνα δῶσί ποτε δίκην τῆς ἀσεβείας οἱ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἀεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ παρῶρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἔδρων. ὧν τὰ ἀλλότρια ὑμῖν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἵνα εἰδῇτε πάντας ἐφησησομένους Καρχηδονίους, εἰ δίκην δοῖεν.

[62] When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio's successor, replied thus: "In war, gentlemen, the only thing to be considered is, what is advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and stripped of everything, and before they grow again to their former proportions. Not that I would deny the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity were unjust and insolent to everybody, but have become suppliants in adversity, and will immediately break away from the new treaty if they have a chance. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths — these people whom the

gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the gods and the censures of men. I think that the gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking their oaths, and committing outrage and savagery. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment.

[63] οὔτοι Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἔνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἥβηδὸν ἔκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὔτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπήκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ λαβόντες, καὶ ὁμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλήν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεῖα συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεῖα ἀπέπνιξαν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπλέοντα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀχερραίων δὲ τὴν βουλήν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχρυσαν. Μάρκον τε Κορνήλιον ὕπατον ἡμέτερον ὄρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὥς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Λιβύην ἐκ Σικελίας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ Ῥήγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοῦς. ὅσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεῦων ἢ παρορκῶν ἔς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰς τε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶ συστρατευσαμένους κατακαίνων, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὅτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἄστη. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὥς γεφύραις ἐπέβαινον, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις μονομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ὦμνον, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ τὰς ναῦς ἡμῶν διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδεον. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὁμότητα περίεστιν.

[63] The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in (Y.R. 552) league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and buried them alive. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick. They seized him and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa with twenty-two of our ships. They put our other general, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, stratagem and perjury, against our cities and armies,

and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. He cast our men, whom he had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. He had them trodden under foot by elephants. He made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and calling the gods to witness, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty.

[64] τούτοις οὖν τίς ἐστὶν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ' ἐτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ' ἡμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφη Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἢ δεξιά. ποία; τίς σπονδή, τίς ὄρκος ὃν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν; μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησὶν, αὐτούς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα, φησὶν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμαχούς ποιησώμεθα τοὺς ὁμοτάτους; οὐδέτερά τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ' ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νενικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, σκεψώμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δῶμεν, εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι. διαφέρει δὲ τούτοις ἑκάτερον ὧδε. μέχρι μὲν συντίθενται, παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι, πρόφασιν αἰεὶ τίνα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι: τὰ δ' ἀμφίλογα εὐπροφάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβήσεται, ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὅ τι ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἐτέρως δοκεῖ, τὰς γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν: εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται Καρχηδονίους χωρὶς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίους οὔσι περὶ τῶνδε κρῖναι, τὴν γνώμην εἶπον, ἣν νομίζω συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει.

[64] “What pity, therefore, or what moderation is due from others to these Carthaginians, who have never exercised moderation or clemency in anything, and who, as Scipio says, would have expunged the very name of Rome if they had vanquished us? But good faith, you say, and the right hand are reliable. How so? What treaty, what oath, have they not trampled under foot? We should not imitate them, the gentleman says. What treaty can we violate when we have not yet made any? But we should not imitate their cruelty, he says. Ought we to make the most cruel people in the world our friends and allies? (Y.R. 553) Neither of these things is desirable. Let them surrender at discretion, as is the custom of the vanquished, as many others have surrendered to us. Then we shall see what we will do, and whatever we accord to them they shall take in the light of a favor and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that

they were overreached. They will always find plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gratuity bestowed by others. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, what is the need of his sending any word to you? For my part, I have given you the opinion which I hold to be for the advantage of the city, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand.”

[65] τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἶπεν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατ’ ἄνδρα παρ’ ἐκάστου ψήφον ἦται, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον. ἐγίνοντο οὖν αἱ συνθήκαι, τρίται αἶδε, Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐναγαγέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὐνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε ὥς ἄρκοῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφελέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονισμόν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς φόβον ἐς αἰὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ποτε ἐξυβρίσειαν ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνία. καὶ τόδε οὕτω φρονῆσαι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐξεῖπε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξυμμένοις κατὰ Ῥόδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε θριαμβεύων, ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

[65] After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio deemed it best to urge this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbor and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly declared to the Romans when he reproached them for undue severity toward the Rhodians. When Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a triumphal entry into Rome more glorious than that of any of his predecessors.

[66] καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἅπαντες, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταὶ τε καὶ λαφύρων ἄμαζαι, πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἴτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα. βόες δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε λευκοί, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν

καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥάβδουχοι φοινικοὺς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένοι τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσοῦν ἐπικείμενοι: ἴσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ὥδης καὶ μετ' ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι οἶμαι Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δέ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδῆρη περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ θυμιατηρίων πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασιν, ἐφ' ἄρματος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἔστεπται μὲν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ' ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων, καὶ σκιῆτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουνσι δ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηόρων ἐκατέρωθεν ἦθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιὰ κατὰ τε ἴλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα: οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπικείνται. καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν: ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκυπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἰστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

[66] The form of the triumph (which the Romans continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind; then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of musicians and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march evenly with song and dance. They call themselves Lydi because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were insulting the enemy. Next came a lot of incense bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga embroidered with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armor-bearers. After these came the army arranged in companies and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes.

They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple. **SCIPIO AFRICANUS** In the Capitoline Museum, Rome

CHAPTER X

Masinissa's Depredations — Factions in Carthage — The Visit of Cato — War with Masinissa — A Battle with Masinissa — Carthaginian Army surrounded and captured

(Y.R. 559)

[67] καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεῦτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνας σπονδάς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπέβαινε γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένη ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο συμπράσσειν ὅσα δύναιντο Μασσανάσση. οὕτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονίων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συνῆται Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἱ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδὼν εἰρηνεύουσα ὁμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμειος καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἔκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

[67] Thus the second war between the Romans and the (B.C. 195) Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent arbitrators, but told them to favor Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the Carthaginian territory and made a treaty with them which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with peace, advanced greatly in population and wealth by reason of the fertility of her soil and the profits of her commerce. (Y.R. 561)

[68] καὶ εὐθύς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωζμαῖον, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ' ἐκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξη καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸνχοντες, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἄννων, τῶν δ' αἰρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσης Ἀννίβας ὁ ψὰρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ὃ Σαννίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων: οἱ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα νιῶ πρὸς ἐτέρων Ἰβήρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιιόντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσης σκηνοῦμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινε

τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγοαῖς Λίβυας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἡγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπῆλθον ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὁμοίως εἰρητο Μασσανάσση βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἷδε τῷ Μασσανάσση ὅσα προειλήφει, μετὰ τέχνης, ὧδε. εἶπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἤκουσαν, ἵνα μὴ τι ὥς ἐν δίκη Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας διέστησαν: καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐς διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἡμισιβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἣν Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ' οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψειν ἐς δίαίταν, διέτριψαν δὲ ἕως εἴκασαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρθαι.

[68] By and by (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) (B.C. 193) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favored Masinissa as king. Each had leaders of eminence in position and in bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction; Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favored Masinissa; and Hamilcar, surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country) to attack the subjects of Masinissa, whose tents were on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty, and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians. Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully (Y.R. 572) confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken (B.C. 182) before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they passed between the two litigants with outstretched hands, and this was their way of (Y.R. 580) commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward (B.C. 174) Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate the matter, but they delayed until it seemed probable that the Carthaginian interests would be utterly ruined. (Y.R. 597)

[69] καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἱ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἡξίουσαν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπόπτειον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἥδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρήζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὅσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ' οὐκ

ἀνασχομένοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανήεσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ἠϋξήτο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔφραζον οὐ ζήλου μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσῆσδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὐ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσεσθαι πρὶν ἐξελεῖν Καρχηδόνα. ὧν ἡ βουλὴ πυνθανομένη ἔκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔχρηξε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ γνώμη λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιοῦν, Καρχηδόνα ἔαν, ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε: Ῥωμαίων ἐκδιαιτωμένων ἥδη.

[69] At length they sent the envoys, and among others (B.C. 157) Cato. These went to the disputed territory and they asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was grabbing more than his share and who had confidence in the Romans, consented. The Carthaginians hesitated, because their former experience had led them to fear that they should not receive justice. They said therefore that it was of no use to have a new dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, they only complained about transgressions of the treaty. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what great estates it possessed. They entered the city and saw how greatly it had increased in wealth and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before. When they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, the city being so ill affected, so near them, and growing so rapidly. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed. When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war but waited for a pretext, and meanwhile concealed the intention. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must be destroyed. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her. (Y.R. 602)

[70] Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήνεγκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαι ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικίαν, ἀξίων καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιούσι τὰς πύλας ὁ βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν δῆμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύσειαν. Γολόσση δὲ καὶ ἐπανίοντι Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸν δὲ

ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσδε ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὀρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοὶς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχίλιοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις, Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευσεν. καὶ πλησιάσασιν αὐτοῖς Ἄσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τι τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτομολίαν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγων, ἕως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδῖον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπορία. τότε δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς· ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὥς ὄχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

[70] The democratic faction in Carthage sent the leaders of the party favoring Masinissa into banishment, to the (B.C. 152) number of about forty, and confirmed it by a vote and an oath that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent his two sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the boëtharch warned them off, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. When Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscoipa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city (Y.R. 604) horse under Hasdrubal, their boëtharch, marched against (B.C. 150) Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa's lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa by stratagem retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his camp in the open plain. Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position.

[71] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ἦξιν, Σκιπίων δ' ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἐλὼν, ὑποστρατεύόμενος τότε Λευκόλλω Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παίδων τισὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἐφ' τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγωνῶς ἔτη, ἱππεύων δ' ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνὸν τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος, εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες

εὐρωστώτατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντων μακροβιώτατοι. αἴτιον δ' ἴσως ὁ τε χειμῶν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὕψ' οὗ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαῖον ὥσπερ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἦδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν αἰεὶ. ὀλίγος τε ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφή πᾶσιν ἀπλή τε καὶ εὐτελής. ὁ μὲν δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβάς ἵππου διεκόσμηε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξήγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλῆθος: ἥδη γάρ καὶ τῷδε πολλοὶ προσελήλυθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις ὕστερον, ἀγῶσι συνενεχθεῖς ποικίλοις, οὐποτε ὧδε ἡσθῆναι: μόνον γὰρ ἔφη τόνδε τὸν πόνον ἄφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἑνδεκα. ἔλεγέ τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θεᾶν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδῆς καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθράκης.

[71] They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, was on his way to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and of the long-lived they live the longest. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and of India; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always performing labor in the open air. They use very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition. It was very large, since many recruits had flocked in from the country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had witnessed various contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two had had such a spectacle before him: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war.

[72] γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ' ἡοῦς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἐκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρείσσονων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὤφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἶα φίλον ἐκ πάππου περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτούς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσση τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς

Ἰβηρίαν ἔχων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανήει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυνθανόμενος ἅμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ' ἦλθον μὲν, εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσοῖτο, λῦσαι τὴν διαφορὰν, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων εἴη, καὶ παροξῦναι.

[72] The battle continued from morning till night, many falling on both sides, and it seemed that Masinissa had the advantage. As he was returning from the field Scipio presented himself, and Masinissa greeted him with the greatest attention, having been a friend of his grandfather. When the Carthaginians learned of Scipio's arrival they besought him to make terms for them with Masinissa. He brought them to a conference, and the Carthaginians made proposals that they would surrender to Masinissa the territory belonging to the town of Emporium and give him 200 talents of silver now and 800 talents later. When he asked for the deserters they would not give them up. So they separated without coming to an agreement. Then Scipio returned to Spain with his elephants. Masinissa drew a line of circumvallation around the hill where the enemy were encamped and prevented them from bringing in any food. Nor could any be found in the neighborhood, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure a scant supply for himself from a long distance. Now Hasdrubal thought that he should be able to break through the enemy's line with his army, which was still strong and unharmed. Having more supplies than Masinissa, he thought it would be a good plan to provoke him to battle and he delayed because he had just learned that envoys were on their way from Rome to settle the difficulty. By and by they came. They had been instructed if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

[73] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ὑποζυγία πρῶτον, εἴτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθουον, καὶ ἰμάντας ἐψοῦντες ἦσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἔκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινήσιας ἔργων καὶ ὥρας ἔτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἓν χωρίον καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους. τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὔτ' ἐξεκαίετο ξύλων ἀπορία. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολὺς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνοῦσιν ὁδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις σώμασιν. τό τε πλεῖστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὀρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσει, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίου τάλαντα

πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐσενεγκεῖν, τοὺς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μιᾶς πύλης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθ' ἓνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιούσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε συνειδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας ἐπέπεμψεν, οἳ οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, οὔτε ὄπλον ἔχοντας ἐς ἀμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἔκτειναν. ἐκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρουβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

[73] In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and they boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of various diseases due to lack of food, want of exercise, and the season, for they were enclosed in one place and in a contracted camp — a great multitude of men exposed to the heat of an African summer. When the supply of wood for cooking failed they burned their shields. They could not carry out the bodies of the dead because Masinissa kept strict guard; nor could they burn them for want of fuel. So there was a terrible pestilence among them in consequence of living in the stench of putrefying corpses. The greater part of the army was already wasted away. The rest, seeing no hope of escape, agreed to give up the deserters to Masinissa and to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and to take back those who had been banished, although this was contrary to their oath. They were to pass out through their enemies, one by one, through a single gate, and with nothing but a short tunic for each. Gulussa, full of wrath at the assault made upon him not long before, either with the connivance of his father or upon his own motion, made a charge upon them with a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. As they had neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, many were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility.

CHAPTER XI

Third Punic War — No Excuse for It — Utica joins the Romans — Hostages demanded of Carthage — Pitiful Scenes when the Hostages were sent — Roman Army lands at Utica — Embassy from Carthage

(Y.R. 605)

[74] τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι συμπεσόντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτόν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἔτι ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ὧν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν: αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπήγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρεῖαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὥς δ' ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβα τε τῷ στρατηγῇσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐφῆπτο τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες. ἔς τε Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἱ κατηγοροῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγοροῦν δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυναμένων αὐτὸν ὀξέως τε καὶ προπετιῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὥς δὲ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἥσσαν ἐξεκέρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύεσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἠπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνωνκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ᾧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, 'εἰ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσετε Ῥωμαίοις.' ζητούντων δ' ἐκείνων ὃ τι εἴη τὸ ἱκανόν, οἱ μὲν ᾠοντο Ῥωμαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὠρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσση τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γ ἥς μεταστῆναι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γνῶναι σαφῶς ὃ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὐθις ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

[74] Such was the war between Masinissa and the carthaginians. (B.C. 149) The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harboring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not telling what it was intended for, but in order,

they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the boëtharch, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse their own citizens of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: "You must make it right with the Roman people." When they inquired among themselves what would make it right, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what they should do to make it right. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well what was necessary, and having given this answer dismissed them.

[75] οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαυσιλεῖς, ἐξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης ἀφεςτῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλοι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἱ τὴν Ἰτύκην Πωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀρμῶσα τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως ὀχυρὰς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνέ τε τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗπερ εἰώθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθούσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγούς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξέπεμπον, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Λεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρίνον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὥς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ' ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἡμιολίαις, ἀφράκτοις δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, ἀρίστους ἅπαντας· ὥς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατείαν καὶ προὔπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὄρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

[75] While they were stricken with fear and perplexity on this account, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having a harbor with

good anchorage and well adapted for landing an army, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it), observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them, sent an embassy to Rome at this critical moment offering to give themselves up to the Romans. The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they were accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manlius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemiolii, besides many open boats and transports. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many were eager to have their names on the enrolment.

[76] Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἡ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι' ἐνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφερε τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἀπορία τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλεία προσφάτῳ τοσῆσδε νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἐτοίμους, οὐ σῆτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνενηνεγμένον, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὥς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσῃ. πρέσβεις οὖν ἑτέρους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον αὐτοκράτορας, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, τὰ παρόντα διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶνδε, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὀμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τᾶλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἔξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσῃν ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἐνηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα· ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

[76] The declaration of war and the war itself reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger. He brought the vote of the Senate, and told them that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair for want of ships and by the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war. They knew that they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any terms they could. The Senate was convened and it told them that if, within thirty days, the Carthaginians would give to the consuls, who were still in Sicily, three hundred children of their noblest families as hostages, and would obey their

orders in other respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage should be preserved and that they should retain their lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to the consuls that they should carry out their secret instructions.

[77] οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευν, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ βεβαία τὰ ὄμηρα παρέχοντες· οἷα δ' ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσῶδε, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδῇ προλαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἦγον ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἱ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιώδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτοντο καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατιγγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῶδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐκώλυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένεον, δεδακρυμένα τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορῶσαι. αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἔκοπτον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὀμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ συνθήκῃ τῶνδε τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατεμαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὀνήσειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους· ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὀμήρων ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τοιαύδε τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὕπατοι διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ.

[77] The Carthaginians had some suspicion of this Senate resolution, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages. Nevertheless, the danger was so great that they could omit nothing in which hope could be placed. So, anticipating the appointed time, they sent their children into Sicily, amid the tears of the parents, the kindred, and especially the mothers, who clung to their little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away, even holding the anchors and tearing the ropes, and throwing their arms around the sailors in order to prevent the ships from moving; some of them even swam out far into the sea beside the ships, shedding tears and gazing at their children. Some of them tore out their hair on the shore and smote their breasts in the extremity of their grief. It seemed to them that they were giving hostages only nominally, but were really giving up the city, when they surrendered their children without any fixed conditions. Many of them predicted, with lamentations, that it would profit the city nothing to have delivered up their children. Such were the scenes that took place in Carthage when the hostages were sent away. When the consuls received them in Sicily they sent them to Rome, and said to the Carthaginians that they would give them further information at Utica in reference to the ending of the war.

[78] διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων.

ἀφικομένων δὲ κάκει πρέσβειων ἐκ Καρχηδόνης, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων, ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὄπλοις τε ἐπισήμοις ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἔφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημῆναι σιωπὴν, ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἀλλὰ περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρήζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἐλεεινὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν τε περὶ τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνης αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογίᾳ δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας,

ἀλλ' ἐς σωφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς ὀξύτης ἔστω. κράτιστοι δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἐλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὖελπι ποιοῦνται τῷ μηδὲν ἐς ἄλλας τύχας ἀμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων:

[78] Crossing to the latter place they pitched the camp for their infantry at the same place where that of Scipio had formerly been. The fleet remained in the harbor of Utica. When the ambassadors came there from Carthage the consuls placed themselves on a high seat, with the chief officers and military tribunes standing near, and the whole army drawn up on either side with arms glistening and standards erect, in order that the ambassadors might be impressed in this way with the strength of the expedition. When the consuls had proclaimed silence by the trumpet, a herald told the Carthaginian envoys to come forward, and they advanced through the long camp, but did not draw near to the place where the consuls sat, because they were fenced off by a rope. The consuls then ordered them to tell what they wanted. The envoys then told a various and pitiful tale about the former agreements between the Romans and themselves, about the antiquity of Carthage, its size and power, and its wide dominion on land and sea. They said that they did not mention these things in a boasting way, this was no fit occasion for boasting, “but that you, Romans (they said), may be moved to moderation and clemency by the example of our sudden change of fortune. The bravest are those who pity the fallen, and they may cherish confidence in their own continued prosperity in proportion as they do nothing to the injury of others. Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that reverent spirit which you, of all men, most profess.

[79] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχέκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν ἀτυχημάτων ὅσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφηρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὄμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν

παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ' ἐτέρων ἀει λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν: καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὄρκος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κάκεινοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο: ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθομεν, τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβῆσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐλεεινοὶ τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθὲς ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσση πεπολεμήκαμεν: πολλὰ γε πλεονεκτοῦντι: καὶ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ' ἔχων καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέσπα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον: καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἐτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχεεν: εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δέ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἱ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἐτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπῃ θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν ἔδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν ζημιῶτε, ταῦτα προυτείνομεν, ἐπιδέδεικται σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐς ὀμηρείαν αἰτοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ δόγματός ἐστιν, ἢν παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὀμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἔαν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κекτημένην ἂ ἔχομεν.

[79] "But even if we had met ruthless enemies we have suffered enough. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and we have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and we have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into an agreement with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe the agreement. And they, with whom we had been at war, observed the agreement faithfully afterward. But you, with whom we have never come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any hateful elephants? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. He was always grabbing our property, and we endured all things on your account. While holding, all the time and contrary to right, the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking that he invaded still others, until the peace which we made with you was broken. If this is an excuse for the war, we

condemned those who resisted him, and we sent our ambassadors to you to make the necessary explanations, and afterwards others empowered to make a settlement on any terms you pleased. What need is there of a fleet, an expedition, an army against men who do not acknowledge that they have done wrong, but who, nevertheless, put themselves entirely in your hands? That we are not deceiving you, and that we will submit ungrudgingly to whatever penalty you impose, we demonstrated plainly when we sent, as hostages, the children of our noblest families, demanded by you, as soon as the decree of your Senate ordered us to do so, not even waiting the expiration of the thirty days. It was a part of this decree that if we would deliver the hostages Carthage should remain free under her own laws and in the enjoyment of her possessions.”

CHAPTER XII

Reply of Censorinus—“Perfidia plusquam Punica”—Terrible Plight of Carthage—Pathetic Speech of Banno—Reply of Censorinus

[80] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρῖνος δ' ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε: ‘τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι, πρεσβεύσασιν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὃ δὲ ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προείπομεν τὰ ὅμηρα παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τῆς τε ταχυτήτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς; τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε: πάντα ὅσα δημόσιά τε καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἡμῖν παράδοτε.’ ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν μὲν καὶ τοῖσδε ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. καὶ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιός τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν παρελάμβανον εἴκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἄπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξύβελεις τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχιλίους; καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄνις ἦν λαμπρὰ καὶ παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολέμιων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἶποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἄριστοι ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξειν. ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἰκανώτερος τοῦ συνάρχου ἀναστὰς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

[80] So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: “Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? What you have stated falsely, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. If you are sincerely desirous of peace why do you need any arms? Bring all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private, and deliver them to us.” When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who was now leading 20,000 men against them, and was already encamped near Carthage. When the consul said that he would take care of Hasdrubal they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon

Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnæus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and they received complete armor for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with numerous senators and other leading men of the city, priests and distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and with a stern countenance spoke as follows: —

[81] ‘τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔς τε τὰ ὅμηρα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρὴ δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόσῃτε γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συγκλήτου κέλευσμα: ἔκστῃτε τῆς Καρχηδόνοιο ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας, ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι.’ οἱ δ’ ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἔς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῆς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλὰ τε καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ ἔκφρονες ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μῦσος πρέσβων διερεθίζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κεφαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπερρήγνυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατῆφεια ἦν οἷα νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελύσματι, μέχρι παύσαιντο ἀγανακτοῦντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ ἀνάγκη. ὁ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι: παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἀκούουσιν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλὰ. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κάκεινους προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε παμμιγῆς καὶ ἑλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζόντων ὁμοῦ τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρῦσαι.

[81] “Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. In cases of necessity we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining commands of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground.” While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. They heaped reproaches on the Romans, as if willing to die, or insane, or determined to provoke the Romans

to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses. After the first frenzy was past there was great silence and prostration as of men lying dead. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians, for when the sense of their calamity came over them, during the interval of silence, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also their country, as though she could hear their cries like a human being. The priests invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.

[82] τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσήει μὲν οἶκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δ' ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔληξαν, αὐθις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὥς ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἑναγχοῦς διεφθαρμένων, ξενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περὶ κἀκείνηναι τὸ ἄστυ ἑνοπλοὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἵπποις, Μασσανάσσης δ' ἐχθρὸς ἕτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβου μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀγανακτικῆς ἐπέσχον ὥς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὐθις ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ὃν Τιγίλλας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν:

[82] The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, awaited with stern countenances the end of their lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence, in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. They had neither mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, their other enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of lamentation and reproaches they desisted from them, and again began to talk. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said: —

εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογία, ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Λιβύης ἄρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὅτι πλείστης, περὶ ἡγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἶχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὁμωμοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὄρκων, ὁμόσαντος ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐς ταυθ' ὃ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγινώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρόην εἵπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ἡτεῖτε· αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἅμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατότερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἅπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτής· τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὃ ὕπατοι, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρές ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὄμηρα ἡτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἡγάγομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ἡτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὧν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἐκόντες μεθιένται. ἐπιστεῦσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἡθελαι καὶ τρόπῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὄμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι ἢ προαγορεῦσαι, ἐν δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιῆσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτῆς κατασκαφὴν, ἣν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;

[83] "If it is permitted to repeat what we have already said to you, Romans, we would speak once more, not as though we were contending for rights (since disputation is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and we contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we mentioned it before when you demanded our arms. Our calamities make us verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio was our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the doers and the

witnesses. You asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in your habits and your character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

[84] τὰδε μὲν εἵχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίεμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἔστι λοιπόν, ὁδυρόμεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἰκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν: ὑπὲρ τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησιμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνφικισμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὀνόματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπὲρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, οὓς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἑορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἔλεος ἑφ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἱ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι, φείσασθε πολιτικῆς ἐστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι Καρχηδόνος, οἱ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν προτίθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμύχανον, ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἡπείρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλασσοβιώτοις, ὧν ἅπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἰρετωτέραν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔατε τὴν οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ.

[84] “This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you do not care to hear it we will omit it altogether and have recourse to prayers and tears, the one refuge of the unfortunate, for which there is ample occasion in the greatness of our calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name pervading the whole world, of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their festivals, solemnities, and sacrifices. Deprive not the dead who have never harmed you, of the offerings which their children bring to their tombs. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare our shrines, spare our forum, respect the deity who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our

ships and our arms and our hateful elephants? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city.

[85] δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐρίεσθε, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἀεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε: μὴ δὴ, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνα ἔτι ἔχουσιν τε καὶ μὴ ποτε μνησικακήσαιεν ὑμῖν μηδὲ παισὶν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τὴν εὐκλειαν ὑμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρὰ τε πρώτοις ὑμῖν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάροις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἑτέρους: καὶ οὐδεὶς πῶ κατέσκαψε πόλιν χεῖράς τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ' ὑμῖν ὀρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἔς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι. βραχὺ δ' ὁρᾶτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν: ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ' εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ἐπιγίγεται.

[85] "Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you announce and claim moderation in all your successes and acquisitions. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of your other gods, as well as of those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never remember ill against you or your children), do not tarnish your good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever destroyed a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and the avenging Nemesis that ever lies in wait for the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to push our calamities to the last extremity. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time to send another embassy to your Senate to present our petition. Although the intervening time is short, it will bring long agony to us through

the uncertainty of the event. It will be all the same to you whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act.”

[86] τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δῆλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε:

περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι: οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἤδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ, τάχα μὲν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ὑμῶν, ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι, γίνεται, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἤδε, μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελία τε γὰρ δι’ αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπωλέσατε: ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφήρησθε. ἐν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλῆξεςθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μάλιστα, ἵνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἀλόντες ποινὴν ἡμῖν ἔδοτε Σαρδώ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφηρέθητε διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τοῦ πλεονος ὀρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυεργίαν.

[86] So spake Banno, but the consuls showed by their stern looks that they would yield nothing. When he had ceased, Censorinus replied: “What is the use of repeating what the Senate has ordered? It has issued its decrees and they must be carried out. We have no power to alter the commands already laid upon us. If we were addressing you as enemies, Carthaginians, it would be necessary only to speak and then to use force, but since this is a matter of the common good (somewhat of our own and still more of yours), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrong-doing and brings you to grief. By this means you invaded Sicily and lost it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were caught at it, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also by means of this sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain.

[87] ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ἠϋξήσε τε καὶ καθεῖλεν: ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἴστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδούναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη

σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡπειρῶται τότε κάκεινοι γενέσθαι. ὁ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτούς. εὐσταθέστερος γάρ, ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ ἐν ἡπείρῳ βίος, γεωργία καὶ ἡρεμία προσπονῶν· καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν ἴσως τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τέ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις ἢ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ γῆ, πολλὸν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκινδυνον ὥς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ πάλοι βασιλεία ὥς ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μέγιστα ἐγένοντο τὰ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἐτέρων.

[87] “In like manner the Athenians, when they became a maritime people, grew mightily, but they fell as suddenly. Naval prowess is like merchants’ gains — a good profit to-day and a total loss to-morrow. You know that those very people whom I have mentioned, when they had extended their sway over the Ionian Sea to Sicily could not restrain their greed until they had lost everything, and were compelled to surrender their harbor and their ships to their enemies, to receive a garrison in their city, to demolish their own long walls, and to become almost exclusively an inland people. And this very thing kept them going a long time. Believe me, Carthaginians, country life, with the joys of agriculture and freedom from danger, is much more wholesome. Although the gains of agriculture are smaller than those of mercantile life, they are surer and a great deal safer. In fact, a maritime city seems to me to be more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of terra firma. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful.

[88] ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι διαφερόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἥς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμυμνήσκησθε τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἵχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἴους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρικοδομημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ὑμῖν ἐστίν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύνασθε; πάθος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἥς οὐκ ἔνι μετασχεῖν ὑμῖν, ἦν μὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος ἔλεγχος, ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὥς ἀφηρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακεῖτε, δεῖ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶνδε καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον εἰργασμένων. καὶ τί ἔτι φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημμένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς

ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, μόνα δ' ἐξήρησθε Λιβύης ἃ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, φέρετε, καὶ ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Λιβύην, ἣν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάντες, ἥς ἀπέστητε.

[88] “But I will omit kingly examples, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose one that you would like to have for neighbors, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the sea empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and proudly brought into your harbor, and gorged your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, all empty, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbor and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. Why should we spare our captured enemies? If you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but in fact, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you honestly desire peace with us, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us.

[89] μὴ δ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἐστίας καὶ ἀγοράς καὶ τάφους: ὧν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίους θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. ἐστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγοράς ἐνὶ καὶ μετελθόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κάκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἔσται πάτρια, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες ἠλλάξασθε Λιβύην, τά τε ἐπίκτητα ὑμῖν τότε γεγόμενα νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ μάθοιτε ἂν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθεῖητε ὅτι καὶ Ἄλβην ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποικοι προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετῴκισαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔτι χειρόνακτες πολλοὶ θαλασσοβίῳτοι. καὶ τούτου πεφροντικάμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως ἐπιμυγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠραίων διάθεσιν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρῇ: οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δ' ταῦτα προστάσσοντες

ὕμῖν ἑκατὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὃ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἑάσειν Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν: Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγούμεθα.

[89] “Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your shrines, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, as often as you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other shrines and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently this will be your country; just as you left your old ones in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the newly acquired land your country. Understand then, in brief, that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting peace and of the common security. If you will remember, we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but receiving them as settlers with due honor, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many work-people who gain their living by the sea. We have thought of this. In order that you might easily have traffic by sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We consider you to be Carthage, not the ground and buildings where you live.”

CHAPTER XIII

Return of the Ambassadors — Terrible Scenes in the City — Carthage resolves to fight — Slow Movements of the Consuls

[90] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἡσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων ἐπέειπεν: 'ἅ μὲν ἔδειπείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν, εἴρηται: τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἅπιτε οὖν: ἐστὲ γὰρ ἔτι πρέσβεις.' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔσεσθαι προορῶντες, ἤτησαν αὐθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν 'τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὀρῶμεν: οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔτι λέγοντες ἀπολεισθαι: δεόμεθα δ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν 'ἐσμὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἔτοιμοι ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι Καρχηδόνοιο, εἰ δύναιτο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναῦς ἕως ὁδεύοντες ἅπιμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὧν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἂν ἄρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφίκεται καὶ τύχης ὥς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.' οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆσαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν: τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.

[90] Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. Nor can we hope to return to you again, since we shall be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. We pray you, therefore, not on our account (for we are ready to suffer everything), but on account of Carthage itself, that you will, if possible, strike terror into them so that they may be able to endure this calamity. Advance your fleet to the city while we are returning by the road, so that, seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may learn to bear it if they can. To this state has dire necessity brought us that we ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland." Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus set sail with twenty quinqueres and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors wandered away from the road, but the greater part moved on in silence.

[91] Καρχηδόνιοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὅποτε ἤξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχοντο, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο: οἱ δ' ὑπὴντων ἔτι προσιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὀρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἕκαστον, ὡς εἶχε τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνῶμωζον ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανῶμωζον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιτίπτοντες ἄθροοι, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσόνδε ἔφασαν, ὅτι χρὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν δίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὠδοποιοῦν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ θάσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσηλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνήδρευον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἕξω περιεστῆκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων: καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοή τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἕξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι παραιτούμενοι, αὐτῆς ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώπα. ὡς δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεῦειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠλάλαξαν ἐξαίσιον ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

[91] Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now all together, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them. When those on the walls heard them they joined in the lamentations, not knowing why, but as though some great evil were impending. At the gates the crowd almost crushed the envoys, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn in pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd turned aside, and others opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. When they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. When they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, they raised a loud and mournful outcry, and the people rushed in among them.

[92] καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἦν οἷστρος ἄλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις

πάθεσί φασι τὰς μαινάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ἠκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλευσάντας περὶ τῶν ὄπλων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς, οἳ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκρῦκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς τε ἅμα παῖ ὀργῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἡ πόλις ἐνεπέπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἄσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὠνείδιζον ὡς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι δυναμένους. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀπλοθήκας ἰόντες ἔκλαιον, ὀρῶντες κενάς· οἱ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ὠδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἀπίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοδομένας. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἔτι παρόντων, τοὺς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς δέον μῆτε ναῦς μῆτε ἐλέφαντας μῆτε φόρους μῆτε τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανεῖν σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὠπλισμένη. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀργὴν ἀνέκαλον αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὁμήρων, οἳαί τινες ἐκ τραγωδίας ἐρινύες ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ' ὀλοολυγῆς ἐκάστω, καὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν· ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνομένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὀλίγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

[92] Then followed a scene of indescribable fury and madness such as the Mænads are said to enact in the Bacchic mysteries. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favored giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, saying that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships that had been surrendered to perfidious men. Some called their elephants by name, as though they had been present, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, instead of paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks and accused them of giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. A few kept their wits about them, closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of

catapults.

[93] ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐψηφισατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγούς δὲ εἵλοντο τῶν μὲν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχοντα δισμυρίων ἤδη σύνοδον ἀνδρῶν· καὶ τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος μὴ μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνὲς χάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδέ, ὣν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἡδίκηθη Ῥωμαίων δέει, νῦν ἀναφέρειν. ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἕτερος Ἀσδρούβας, θυγατρίδους Μασσανάσσου. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους, αἰτοῦντες αὐτῆς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἵνα πρεσβεύσειαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐπὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης ὅτιοι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εὐρύχωρον ἦν, ἐγένετο· εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαυόμενοι καὶ σίτον αἰρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὄρφι τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικά βέλη χίλια, στανία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πενκακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὅσους δυνηθεῖεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἐτέρων ἀπορία.

[93] The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other unoccupied space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked together day and night without pause, taking their food by turns on a fixed schedule. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and javelins, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

[94] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τάχα μέν τι καὶ ὀκνῶ, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὖσαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι, διέμελλον ἔτι καὶ ἐνδῶσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθούντων. ἃ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἄπτεσθαι, ἐτόλμησεν ὥς ἐπὶ δὴ τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ

μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρή τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα, ὄντας ἀνόπλους, οὕτω σαφῶς εἰπὼν τὰ τῆς γνώμης. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἑώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὁμως δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἔφη τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, ὅταν αἰσθηται δεομένων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἴ τινος ἤδη δέονται. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμεναίνοντι, ἀπεκριναντο προσπέμψειν ὅτε δεηθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνυ ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Λιβύης ἦν ἔτι πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβα, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορὰν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. ὀλίγων δ' ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεισῶν ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προσήεσαν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

[94] While the Carthaginians were preparing for war with such haste and zeal, the consuls, who perhaps hesitated about performing such an atrocious act on the instant, or because they thought that they could easily capture an unarmed city whenever they liked, kept delaying. They thought also that the Carthaginians would give in for want of means, as it usually happens that those who are in desperate straits are very eager to resist at first, but as time brings opportunity for reflection, fear of the consequences of disobedience takes possession of them. Something of this kind happened in Carthage, where a certain citizen, conjecturing that fear had already come upon them, walked into the assembly as if on other business and dared to say that among evils they ought to choose the least, since they were unarmed, thus speaking his mind plainly. Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthaginians to their knees others should carry off the glory, not even communicating with him beforehand as they had done in the former wars. Nevertheless, when the consuls, by way of testing him, asked his assistance, he said that he would send it whenever he should see that they needed it. Not long after he sent to inquire if they wanted anything at present. They, not tolerating his haughtiness and already suspicious of him as a disaffected person, answered that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumetum, Leptis, Saxo, Utica, and Acholla only, all the rest of Africa being in the power of Hasdrubal, from which he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it.

CHAPTER XIV

Topography of Carthage — The Two Harbors — The Romans repulsed — Roman Rams destroyed — Scipio the Younger — Fleet burned — Exploits of Phameas

[95] ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χειρρονήσῳ τι μάλιστα προσεικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διεῖργεν, εὖρος ὢν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἐχώρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ... ἀπλῶ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἡπειρον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῶ τείχει. τούτων δ' ἕκαστον ἦν ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετρώροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ' ἦν ἐκάστου τείχους τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν τροφῶν, ἵπποστάσια δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἦν τετρακισχιλίους ἵπποις, καὶ ταμιεῖα χιλοῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ πεζοῖς μὲν ἐς δισμυρίους, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. τοσὴδε παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἡ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνῃ καὶ ταπεινῇ, καὶ ἡμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

[95] The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended toward the west between a lake and the sea. On the sea side the city was protected by a single wall. Toward the south and the mainland, where the citadel of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet without counting parapets and towers, which were separated from each other by a space of 200 feet, and each was divided into four stories. The depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided vertically by two vaults, one above the other. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for war was arranged and provided for in their walls alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbor along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning.

[96] οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἀλύσειν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ'

ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νήσου ἦν, καὶ κρηπῖσι μεγάλαις ἢ τε νήσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἱ κρηπῖδες αἶδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεπονημένων, καὶ ταμειῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηρετικά σκευή. κίονες δ' ἐκάστου νεωσοῖκου προὔχον Ἰωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποιήτο τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ' ἡ νήσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα ὁ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλεύουσιν ἀφανῆς ἡ τῶν ἔνδον ἢ ὄψις ἢ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα: τεῖχος τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι, αἱ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

[96] The harbors had communication with each other, and a common entrance from the sea seventy feet wide, which could be closed with iron chains. The first port was for merchant vessels, and here were collected all kinds of ships' tackle. Within the second port was an island which, together with the port itself, was enclosed by high embankments. These embankments were full of shipyards which had capacity for 220 vessels. Above them were magazines for their tackle and furniture. Two Ionic columns stood in front of each dock, giving the appearance of a continuous portico to both the harbor and the island. On the island was built the admiral's house, from which the trumpeter gave signals, the herald delivered orders, and the admiral himself overlooked everything. The island lay near the entrance to the harbor and rose to a considerable height, so that the admiral could observe what was going on at sea, while those who were approaching by water could not get any clear view of what took place within. Not even the incoming merchants could see the docks, for a double wall enclosed them, and there were gates by which merchant ships could pass from the first port to the city without traversing the dockyards. Such was the appearance of Carthage at that time.

[97] οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἡ τότε, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγγώσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τεῖχη: Κησωρίνος δὲ κλίμακας ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελεῆ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ' ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν, ἕως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καινοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἀμαχί λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὖθις ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὀπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένον, ὠχύρουν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κησωρίνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ Κησωρίνος ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης: καὶ

ἀπέβαλεν ὑλοτόμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ὅπλα τε πολλά, Ἱμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἱπάρχου, προσπεσόντος, ᾧ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὁμως τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγγανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμίων καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλὼν, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι ταύτῃ:

[97] Now the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to fill up the ditch, surmount the low parapet overlooking it, and from that to scale the high wall. Censorinus raised ladders both from the ground and from the decks of ships against the neglected angle of the wall. Both of them despised the enemy, thinking that they were unarmed, but when they found that they were provided with new arms and were full of courage they were astounded and took to their heels. Thus they met a rebuff at the very beginning, in expecting to take the city without fighting. When they made a second PLAN OF HARBORS AT CARTHAGE. From “Carthage and the Carthaginians,” by R. Bosworth Smith. By kind permission of Longmans, Green & Co. attempt and were again repulsed, the spirits of the Carthaginians were very much raised. The consuls, fearing Hasdrubal, who had pitched his camp behind them on the other side of the lake, not far distant, fortified two camps, Censorinus on the lake under the walls of the enemy, and Manilius on the isthmus leading to the mainland. When the camps were finished Censorinus crossed the lake to get timber for building engines and lost about 500 men, who were cutting wood, and also many tools, the Carthaginian cavalry general, Himilco, surnamed Phameas, having suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless, he secured a certain amount of timber with which he made engines and ladders. Again they made an attempt upon the city in concert, and again they failed. Manilius, after some feeble efforts, having with difficulty beaten down a little of the outworks, gave up in despair of taking the city from that side.

[98] Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπήγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθυομένην ἐξακισχιλίαις πεζοῖς, ἡγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρετῶν, ἡγουμένων καὶ τοῖσδε ναύαρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὥς ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἤδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτοὺς ἀπώσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ὠκοδόμουν. οὐκ ἄρκουσης δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ ἤδη γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότευκτον καὶ ὕγρον ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα 'οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων', ἀρχεῖα δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὁρμὴ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὐπω τελέως ἐγηγεμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν: καὶ γὰρ τι πεδίον ἐντὸς

ἐφαίνετο εὐφυνὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἑτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικειμένων οἰκῶν ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ θρασέως ἐπεπῆδων. Σκιπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον εἴλε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιάρχων τότε ὤκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελὼν, καὶ στήσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἶα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

[98] Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have more room, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. Moved by a spirit of emulation among officers and men in the performance of their similar tasks, they beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, drove them back and strove to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman arms should readily destroy by daylight their moist and newly made wall, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches, to set fire to the machines. They did not succeed in destroying these entirely (the Romans rallying and not giving them sufficient time), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighboring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribune, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go into the city. When those who entered were driven back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succor and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the consul.

[99] κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέος ὕδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρίνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γίγνοιτο πνεῦμα ἐς

τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου εἵλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τεῖχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων· εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἔμελλον γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλησαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνησῳρῖνος μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὤχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανίλιῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο· καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέσπων. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμὼν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.

[99] Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the camp of Censorinus, who was conducting his operations on a lake of stagnant water with high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea, for which reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, observing that the wind blew toward the Romans, attached ropes to some small boats and hauled them behind the walls, so that they should not be observed by the enemy, and filled them with dry twigs and tow. Then they pushed them back, and as they turned the corner and came in sight of the enemy, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterward Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others, unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal melfee.

[100] ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠχύρου, τεῖχος τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεῖς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσιν ἀγοράν· τραπεῖς δ' ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μυριοὶς πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, ξυλευόμενός τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων. ἡγᾶτο δ' αἰὲ τῶν προνομευόντων χιλίαρχος ἕτερος παρ' ἑτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἵππαρχος ὁ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος τε ὢν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος μικροῖς καὶ ταχέσι, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἴη, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχμῃς ἢ

φάραγξιν, ὅπη τι ἀμελούμενον ἴδοι, ἐφίπτατο ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὥς τις ἀετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα: ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπεφαίνετο. ὁ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ἤγε τοὺς πεζοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας τῶν ἵππων ἐπιβεβηκότας: ἔν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδῖον, ὃ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἰππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις περιλάβοι: καὶ τότε κύκλω αὐτὸς ἐτέραις ἵλαις ἰππέων ἀεὶ περιήει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀποσκιδνάμενον ἢ ἐξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

[100] Manilius thereupon fortified his camp more carefully. He threw around it a wall in place of the palisade and built a fort on the sea-shore at the place where his supply-ships came in. Then, turning to the mainland, he ravaged the country with 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, collecting wood and forage and provisions. These foraging parties were in charge of the military tribunes by turns. Now Phameas, the chief of the African horse, — a young man eager for fighting, having small but swift horses that lived on grass when they could find nothing else, and could bear both hunger and thirst when necessary, — hiding in thickets and ravines, when he saw that the enemy were not on their guard swooped down upon them from his hiding-place like an eagle, inflicted as much damage on them as he could, and took refuge in flight. But when Scipio's turn came he never made his appearance, because Scipio always kept his foot-soldiers in line and his horsemen on horseback, and in foraging he never broke ranks until he had encircled the field where his harvesters were to work, with cavalry and infantry. Moreover, he was always reconnoitring with other troops of horse around the circle, and if any of the harvesters straggled away or passed outside of the circle he punished them severely. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack.

CHAPTER XV

*A Sally from the City — Manilius marches against Hasdrubal and is repulsed
— Flight of Manilius — A Detachment rescued*

[101] ὁθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρει μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου τοῦδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ἠϋξέτο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι χιλίαρχοι κατὰ φθόνον ἐλογοποιοῦν ξενίαν ἐκ πατερων εἶναι Φαμέα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε πάππον. Λιβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρουρία, ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλίαρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἶκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ πρὶν ἢ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδεῖς. τοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις δι' ὀλίγου ἐγγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινεΐῳ: καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούντων ἐς ἐκπληξιν τῶν ἐν ἄστει Καρχηδονίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἔνδον συνεῖχεν ὥς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ: ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἰπέων ἵλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπῆγε μετὰ δάδων ἡμμένων, προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἐμπεσουμένων παρέχειν ἀεὶ, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τότε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι προσεγίγνετο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὥς μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἐλόντος καὶ τῶν Σκιπιόνων, ἐς οὗς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

[101] As these things were happening all the time, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a report that there was an understanding between Phameas and Scipio, arising from the former friendship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken refuge in towers and castles, with which the country abounded, in pursuance of agreements made with the other tribunes, and the latter, after giving them this permission, had set upon them when they were going out; but Scipio always conducted them safely home. For this reason none of them would make any agreement unless Scipio were present. In this way his reputation for courage and good faith spread gradually among both friends and enemies. After the Romans had returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined by making noises to add to the alarm. While Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse, led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course around them with the firebrands and make a show of numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of attacking here and there. This was done until the Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on all sides, became panicstricken and

took refuge in the city. This also was added to the famous exploits of Scipio. Thus in the mouths of all he was proclaimed as the only worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family he had been received by adoption.

[102] Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐδυσχεραίνεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκριμνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὥς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγέννητο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἔς τι ρεῦμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὥς ἄλλου καιροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρουβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ζῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικεῖσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἡξίου στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐγεῖραι, ἵν' εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπειλήσεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαιναν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τᾶλλα ὧν ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ρεῦμα ἐν τάξει· δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διηροῦντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἔκτεινεν οὐδ' ἄμυνομένων ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἱ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

[102] Manilius undertook an expedition to Nepheris against Hasdrubal, which Scipio disapproved of, because the road was flanked by mountain crags, gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him to turn back, saying that another time and other means would be more propitious for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savored of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio gave another piece of advice, that they ought to fortify a camp on the hither side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place where they could take refuge. The others laughed at this, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal took refuge in his strong-hold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already

repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the fewness and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a most brilliant attack, and slew a vast number of them who were more intent upon flight than upon defending themselves. Among the killed were three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.

[103] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἰππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἄμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπῆγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἴτ' αὐθις ἐπιόντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιούοντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἥσσον τοῖς περὶ σὶν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἔφθασαν διελθεῖν τὸ ρέϋμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπεῖραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ρεύματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἕς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων, ἕως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον, ἠπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἅπασι δι' ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλία χρῆσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε καὶ σημείων τόλμη παραβόλῳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἰππέων ἴλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἔφη ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολείσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὤδευε, δεδιότος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπανεέλθοι. ὥς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἀντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοὺς δύο χαράδρα διεῖργεν, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὥς οὐπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὥς εἶδε τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἤδη κυκλουμένοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας.

[103] Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, discharging darts at them and retreating by turns, then straightway coming back at them and again retreating, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter hurried across the stream and after them came Scipio with his men under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream

by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them until they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in a quandary. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not to endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying out your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then, selecting some companies of horse, he said that he would either rescue them or willingly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated from the former by a narrow ravine. The Africans pressed the siege vigorously, making signals to each other and thinking that Scipio would not be able to relieve his friends on account of the excessive fatigue of his march. But Scipio, seeing that the bases of the two hills curved around the ravine, lost no time but dashed around them and secured a position above the enemy. They, finding themselves surrounded, fled in disorder. Scipio did not pursue them, as they were much superior in numbers.

[104] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισώσαντα τοὺς ἑτέρους, μέγα ἠγάλαξαν ἠδόμενοι. καὶ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὃ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος ἀνεζεύγνυνεν ἕς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι· ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφία, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχois, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρήγειν θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. ὁ δ' ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος εὐρών ἡρυσσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλιάρχois, τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφορούντων, ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἤδη δεδιώς τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀναζεγγύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα ἐπέκειτο Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ παῖσμα θορυβουμένοις· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπὸ τῶν, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

[104] Thus Scipio saved these men also, who had been given up for lost. When the army at a distance saw him returning safe, and that he had saved the others contrary to expectation, they shouted for joy and conceived the idea that he was aided by the same deity that was supposed to have enabled his grandfather Scipio to foresee the future. Manilius then returned to his camp in front of the city, having suffered severely from not following the advice of Scipio, who had tried to dissuade him from the expedition. When all were grieved that those who had fallen in battle, and especially the tribunes, remained unburied, Scipio released one of the captives and sent him to Hasdrubal, asking that he would give burial to the tribunes. The latter

searched among the corpses, and, recognizing them by their signet rings (for the military tribunes wore gold rings while common soldiers had only iron ones), he buried them, thus thinking to do an act of humanity not uncommon in war, or perhaps because he was in awe of the reputation of Scipio and thought to do him a service. As the Romans were returning from the expedition against Hasdrubal, Phameas made an attack upon them while demoralized by that disaster, and as they came into camp the Carthaginians made a sally from the city and killed some of the camp followers.

CHAPTER XVI

*Rising Fame of Scipio — Death of Masinissa — A Talk with Phameas —
Treason of Phameas — Arrival of the New Consul Piso — Piso repulsed —
The Carthaginians in High Spirits*

(Y.R. 606)

[105] εν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδύσκοντας αὐτῇ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ὥστ' ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτεξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρμὴν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τούτοις μὲν ἔχαιρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά, γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἦει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα.

[105] Now the Senate sent commissioners to the army to (B.C. 148) get particulars, before whom Manilius and the council and the remaining tribunes bore testimony in favor of Scipio; for all jealousy had been stifled by his glorious actions. The whole army did the same, and his deeds spoke for themselves, so that the messengers, on their return, reported to everybody the military skill and success of Scipio and the attachment of the soldiers to him. These things greatly pleased the Senate. On account of the many mishaps that had taken place they sent to Masinissa to secure his utmost aid against Carthage. The envoys found that he was no longer living, having succumbed to old age and disease. Having several illegitimate sons, to whom he had made large gifts, and three legitimate ones, who differed from each other in their qualities, he had asked Scipio, on the ground of his (Masinissa's) friendship with him and with his grandfather, to come and consult with him concerning his children and the government. Scipio went immediately, but shortly before he arrived Masinissa breathed his last, having charged his sons to obey Scipio in the matter of the division of the estate.

[106] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, ὃ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρώαν θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ'

ὠκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποηφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυροὺς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιὰν πολλήν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ' αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῇ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιπόντα. ἔφθ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὖρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινε. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷδ' ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὖρωστίαν αὐτοῦ: πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παίδων γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, οὐποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετὲς δὲ παιδίον ἐνενηκοντούτης ὧν ἀπέλιπε. ὁ μὲν δὲ Μασσανάσσης ὧδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐτεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἐτέρας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἀρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος, Μικίπῃ μὲν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὧν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κίρτην ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσσην δέ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ' ἡλικίαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβῃ δέ, ὃς νεώτατος ὧν ἦσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφύλογα.

[106] Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine favor he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it from Mauritania on the ocean through the continent as far as the government of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a large sum of money in his treasury and a well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and he was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa, but he died at last. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To each of the legitimate sons he gave treasures and revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there. Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made the director of matters relating to peace and war. Mastanabal, the youngest, who was learned in the law, was appointed judge to decide causes between their subjects.

[107] οὕτῳ μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ περιουσίαν Μασσανάσσου διεῖλε τοῖς παισὶ, καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο: ὁ δὲ τὰς Φαμέου μάλιστα

ἐνέδρας, αἱ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστελλεν. ἐν δὲ τινι χειμασίᾳ Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρώδευον ἀλλήλοις, μέσσην ἔχοντες ἄβατον χαράδραν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιὼς δ' ὁ Σκιπίων μὴ τις ἐνέδρα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἴη, προῖων κατεσκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας ἰδὼν ἀντιπροΐει μεθ' ἐνὸς φίλου. ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ' ἐνὸς καὶ ὅδε φίλου. καὶ ὥς ἤδη κατακοῦειν ἐδύναντο ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προελήλυθεν. 'τί δὴ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς δύνασαι;' ὁ δέ, 'τίς ἐστιν,' ἔφη, 'μοι σωτηρία, Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, Ῥωμαίων δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;' καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, 'ἐγγυῶμαί σοί,' φησιν, 'εἰ πιστὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἔσσεσθαι.' ὁ δ' ἐπῆνεσε μὲν ὥς ἀξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, 'κρινῶ' δ', ἔφη: 'κἂν δυνατόν ἡγῶμαι, φανερόν ἔσται σοι.'

[107] In this way Scipio divided the government and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and speedily put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable stream, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambushade farther on, advanced with three companies to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced with only one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, advanced further with only one. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said, "Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country?" The other replied, "What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?" "If you have any confidence in my word and influence," said Scipio, "I will promise you safety and pardon from the Romans and their favor besides." Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, "I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know." Then they separated.

[108] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διεκρίθησαν, ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος αἰδούμενος τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ γενομένην, αὐθις ἐς Νέφεριν ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τροφὰς ἐπαγόμενος. πλησιάσας δ' ἔθετο χάρακα καὶ ὠχύρου καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ στρατείᾳ παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοῖ μελίζονι ἐγίνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ', ὥς εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ λύσαντες ἡῦρον: 'ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι: σὺ δ' ἐλθὲ μεθ' ὅσων βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον.' ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνῆκε δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ

Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μὴ τις ἀπάτη παρ' ἀνδρὸς γένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας· εὐελπιν δ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας δοῦναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῇ τῷ Φαμέα, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὀρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὰ πρέποντα ποιήσειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν οὐδ' ἐπαγγελίας· ὁ γάρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔφη πιστεύειν δεξιουμένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἱλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ μεταίχιμιον ὡς ἐπὶ τινα σκέψιν ἐτέραν, εἶπεν· 'εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἔτι τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν· εἰ δ' ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὅσους πείσαιμι ὑμῶν, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, τῶν δ' ἱλαρχῶν οἱ μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡτομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας· τοὺς δ' Ἄννων κατεκώλυσεν, ᾧ Λεῦκος ἦν ἐπὶ κλησις.

[108] Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nephesis, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa's army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: "On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night." Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio knew that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambushade by this very versatile man; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to make any definite promise of reward, but to tell him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of promises, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favors he would leave all that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward in conference with his officers as though about some other matters, he said, "If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. You have now the opportunity to consider what is for your advantage." When he had said this, some of the officers went over to the enemy with their forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were held together by Hanno, surnamed the White.

[109] ἐπανιόντι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἡυφόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε, καὶ

οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχροῦ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' Ἀσδρούβαν ἔψεσθαι προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένον, ἀνεξέγνων αὐτίκα δι' ἑνδεῖαν, ἑπτακαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔχων. τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις ἐχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων τὸν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβὼν δέ τινας καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδῖον ἡπεύχθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἤκε φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, προέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ἠυφῆμον τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἠύχοντο ὕπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς μόνον αἰρήσοντα Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἦδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε, Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἰρήσειν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπῆνει, Φαμέαν δ' ἐτίμησαν ἀλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἵππῳ χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς μυρίας, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἐντελῇ. καὶ ἐπῆλπισαν περὶ πλειόνων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ὑποσχόμενος ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον.

[109] When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and welcomed him as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away for want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They must have three days more of suffering in their return; therefore Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called Great Barathrum and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul, because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage. Many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armor, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would coöperate with them to the end of the war. He promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa.

[110] ἦκε δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὕπατος ἅμα ἤρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκίνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν· οἱ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἑτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς εἶλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαζεν αἰτιωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἰππάργετα

μετῆλθεν, ἥ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχῃσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιωτῶν τυράννου κατεσκευάστο καλῶς, μέση δ' οὔσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσιν: ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπλούτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τό γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεῦον οὐκ ἦνυε, δις δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἰππαγρέτιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχοῦντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

[110] In the early spring Calpurnius Piso, the new consul, arrived, and with him Lucius Mancinus as admiral of the fleet, but they did not attack either the Carthaginians or Hasdrubal. Marching against the neighboring towns they made an attempt on Aspis by land and sea, and were repulsed. Piso took another town near by and destroyed it, the inhabitants accusing him of attacking them in violation of a treaty. He then moved against Hippagreta, a large city, with walls, citadel, harbor, and dockyards handsomely built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily. Being situated between Carthage and Utica it intercepted the Roman supply-ships and was growing rich thereby. Calpurnius thought to punish them and deprive them of their gains at the same time, but he besieged them the whole summer and accomplished nothing. Twice the inhabitants made sallies, with the aid of the Carthaginians, and burned the Roman engines. The consul, being foiled, returned to Utica and went into winter quarters.

[111] οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδον ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἰππάγρετα, Βιθύας τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομάς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ Γολόσσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἑώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπήρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπήεσαν, κρατυνόμενοι τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ὕβριστικά ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἐς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προῦφερον τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δις γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος ἐς Ἰππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὔσης καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτονόμους Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῦ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίσι μεθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον υἱὸν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἔχσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερῶς ὥς οὐκ ἐλλειψόντων αὐτῶν χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐφρόνουν ὀπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠϋζοντο. ἐπῆρτο δ' ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δις κρατῆσαι Μανιλίου: τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπείγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσση προδιδόναί. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς

μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἤπορεῖτο ὥς ἐπ' ἀδοκίῳ, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθοις κατέβαλον.

[111] The Carthaginians, finding themselves and the army of Hasdrubal unharmed, and that they had worsted Piso in the fighting around Hippagreta, and their forces being augmented by 800 horse, who had deserted from Gulussa, under Bithya, a Numidian chief; seeing also that Micipsa and Mastanabal, the sons of Masinissa, were always promising arms and money to the Romans, but always delaying and waiting to see what would happen, plucked up their spirits and roamed through Africa without fear, fortifying the country, and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed to the two victories at Nopheris and the more recent one at Hippagreta, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that they, as well as Carthage, were in danger of subjection to the Romans. They sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigor and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed they considered nothing too small to be worth attention, and they gained in confidence, courage, and preparation from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and who had twice got the better of Manilius, was in high spirits also. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches.

CHAPTER XVII

Scipio elected Consul — Saves Mancinus from Destruction — Demoralization of the Army — Scipio's Speech to the Soldiers

[112] ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομένης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δῆμος ἤχθετο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἅπιστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρό πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύῃ χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμητο ὑπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ' ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων 'οὐ γάρ πω δι' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι ἀγορανομίαν μετῇει, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἥρειτο. παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθωιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπέειπετο λύσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἐν αὐθις ἀναγράψαι, οἷόν τι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λύοντες ἐν χρεῖα τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἀλόντων περὶ Πύλον, ἔφασαν· 'κοιμᾶσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον.' οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀγορανομίαν μετιῶν ἥρητο ὑπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τις τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῆσδε τῆς στρατηγίας τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἐθελοντὰς δ' ἄγειν ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκιμάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὗς ἔλαβεν οὕτω παρὰ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

[112] When the ill success of Piso and the preparation of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious, as the war was growing larger and more irreconcilable, and coming nearer every day. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the exploits of Scipio while he was a military tribune not long before, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was presently an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The election was drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the ædileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and urged all the more, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus

the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law, and after one year they reënacted it. In like manner the Lacedemonians, when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus, said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the ædileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, proposed to him to cast lots to see which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes put the question of the command of that army to the people, and they chose Scipio. They also allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost in the war, and as many volunteers as he could enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion. In this way he obtained assistance from them. (Y.R. 607)

[113] ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει· Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκίνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τεύχους ἀμελούμενον ἰδὼν, οὗ κρημνοὶ προύκειντο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποιήσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μὲν, καὶ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνῆλθον εὐτόλμους· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέφξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοί τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης, ὃ τε Μαγκίνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὢν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμιλος ἅμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐβοηδρόμουν ἀνοπλοὶ τε καὶ γυμνοί. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκίνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμμελλεν ἅμ' ἔφ' πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

[113] Having made these arrangements, Scipio sailed first to Sicily and thence to Utica. Piso, in the meantime, had laid siege to a town in the interior. Mancinus, observing a neglected part of the wall of Carthage, which was protected by continuous and almost impassable cliffs and had been neglected for that reason, made an attack there, thinking to scale the wall secretly by means of ladders. These being fixed, certain soldiers mounted boldly. The Carthaginians, despising their small numbers, opened a gate adjacent to these rocks and made a sally against the enemy. The Romans repulsed and pursued them, and rushed into the (B.C. 147) city through the open gate. They raised a shout of victory, and Mancinus, transported with joy (for he was giddy and rash by nature), and the whole crowd with him, rushed from the ships,

unarmed or half-armed, to aid their companions. As it was now about sunset they occupied a strong position adjacent to the wall and spent the night there. Being without food, Mancinus called upon Piso and the magistrates of Utica to assist him in his perilous position and to send him provisions in all haste, for he was in danger of being thrust out by the Carthaginians at daylight and dashed to pieces on the rocks.

[114] Σκιπίων δ' ἑσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκίνος ἔγραφε, τὸν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἡγεῖν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνελήλυθσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας Ἰτυκαίων: ὅσοι δ' ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τριῆρεις καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἔς τε τὸν Πίσωνα ἱππέας ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστροφμάτων ἐστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰδ' ἔπρασεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκίνος, ἅμ' ἔφ' τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μὲν, οὓς μόνους εἶχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὓσι, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι' ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὤφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ῥοθίῳ τε φοβερῶ καταπλέουσαι καὶ μεστὰι πανταχόθεν ὀπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ἡσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι: μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκίνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἔπεμψε 'καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος', αὐτὸς δ' οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἄγοντες καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.

[114] Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet to sound for fighting immediately, and the heralds to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older ones to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of vast numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed ones, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being

pushed over the precipice when Scipio's fleet came in sight, driven at a tremendous rate of speed, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief. Gradually the Carthaginians drew back and Scipio received those who had been in peril into his ships. Straightway he sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and he pitched his camp not far from Carthage. The Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry general, who had 6000 foot-soldiers and 1000 horse well trained and seasoned.

[115] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὐκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὄρων οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἄλλο τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οἱ τῆς λείας χάριν ἐπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεζέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἰοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορρωτέρω σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὗτοι, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἐτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχάς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὦν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζων οὐποτε κρατήσῃ τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσῃ, συνήγαγεν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς ἐπέπληξεν ὧδε.

[115] Scipio, finding the discipline of the army relaxed and the soldiers under Piso given up to idleness, avarice, and rapine, and a multitude of hucksters mingled with them, who followed the camp for the sake of booty, and accompanied the bolder ones when they made expeditions for plunder without permission (although in contemplation of law everybody was a deserter who went beyond the sound of the trumpet in time of war); seeing also that the commander was held to blame for all their failures and that the plunder they took was the cause of fresh quarrels and demoralization among them, for many of them fell out with their comrades on account of it and proceeded to blows, wounds, and even manslaughter — in view of all these things and believing that he should never master the enemy unless he first mastered his own men, he called them together and, mounting a high platform, he lashed them with these words: —

[116]

ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὠφέλιμον δ' ἡγούμενος προαγορεῦσαι. ἴστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε· καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι;

ληστεύετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε: καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε: καὶ τρυφᾶν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἔτι, οὐ νενικηκότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὗ κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται δυνάμειος, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ῥαστώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν οὔσας ἐώρων, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐκόλαζον: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθημι ἐτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφίημι τῶν μέχρι νῦν γεγονότων. ἤκω δὲ οὐ ληστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὐδὲ χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον ἐξεργασόμενος. ἅπιτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὅσοι μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' ἐξιούσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτην στρατιωτικὴν τε καὶ ψιλὴν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ὠρισμένος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὄντα διαθήσονται, καὶ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ταμίης ἐπιμελησόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἐν ἔστω παράγγελμα κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος: πρὸς γὰρ τότε κατευθύνοντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε προθυμίας ἀμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρόποντα καιρὸν ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οἷσι πολλὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν.

[116] “Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have ample powers to punish the disobedient, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. You are more like hucksters than conquerors. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labor has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you now, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to exact money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be for the army, and plain food at that. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quæstor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be postponed to their proper time. This I command and this the law commands. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it.”

CHAPTER XVIII

Restores Discipline and captures Megara — Cruelties of Hasdrubal — Scipio's Intrenched Camp — Cuts off the Supplies of Carthage — Attempts to close the Harbor but fails — Indecisive Naval Engagement — Desperate Fight for Possession of a Quay — Scipio captures Nepheris

[117] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπήλανε τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν. καθαροῦ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μιᾶς διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρά, τῷ τείχει παρευγμένον: ἐς ὃ τῇ μὲν ἑτέροισι περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξιν καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀποφεύγων, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἄνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτὸς τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὥς τῷδε πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλάγῃναι, τοσοῦτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἦνυεν, ἐς δὲ τινος ιδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρά, καὶ πυλίδι κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσηλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τετρακισχίλοις, καὶ φυγὴν ταχεῖαν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀλούσης. βοή τε ἐγένετο ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρά, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὡραίων ἔγεμνεν, αἵμασιαις τε καὶ θριγκοῖς βάρους καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετοῖς βαθέος ὕδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατάπλεων ἣν ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερὲς ἢ στρ. αὐτῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καὶ τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο. ἀνεξέγυννε δὴ.

[117] Having spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, idle, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When their approach was perceived and a shout was raised from the walls, they shouted back — first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side — as loudly as possible. The Carthaginians were at first struck with terror at finding

such a large force of the enemy attacking them on both sides in the night-time, but Scipio with his utmost efforts was not able to scale the walls. There was a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. He sent some of his bravest young men to the top of this tower, who with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, as though the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls, hedges, and brambles, besides deep ditches full of water running in every direction, Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads that they were unacquainted with, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew.

[118] καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγόν, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα Ῥωμαῖοις ἔμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλῶττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοῖα σιδηρίοις ἐξεῖλκε καμπύλοις, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα, καὶ πάντας ἔμπνους ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἀφρημένον ἐμίσουν· καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκειαῖς τοσαῖσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὧν ἤδη περιδεῆς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιήλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔξων, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.

[118] When daylight came Hasdrubal, enraged at the attack upon Megara, took the Roman prisoners whom he held, brought them upon the walls, in full sight of their comrades, and tore out their eyes, tongues, and tendons with iron hooks; of some he lacerated the soles of the feet, he cut off the fingers of others, and some he flayed alive. All who survived these tortures he hurled from the top of the walls. He thus gave the Carthaginians to understand that there was no possibility of peace with the Romans, and sought to fire them with the conviction that their only safety was in fighting. But the result was contrary to his intention, for the Carthaginians, conscience-stricken by these nefarious deeds, became timid instead of courageous, and hated Hasdrubal for depriving them of all hope of pardon. Their senate especially denounced him

for committing these savage and unusual cruelties in the midst of so great domestic calamities. So he arrested some of the complaining senators and put them to death. Making himself feared in every way he came to be more like a tyrant than a general, for he considered himself secure only if he were an object of terror to them, and he trusted that he should be protected from danger in this way.

[119] ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὃν τῇ προτέρᾳ κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευεν αὐτὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὀρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ σταδίου τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐργαζομένῳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἑτέραν ὥρυσσε τάφρον ἴσην, οὐ πολλὴ τῆς προτέρας διασχών, ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἑτέρας περιθείς ὥς γενέσθαι τὸ ὅλον ὄρυγμα τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ξύλοις ὀξέσιν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδὸνα ὁρώσῃ καὶ τείχος παρικοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν δωδέκα ποδῶν χωρὶς ἐπάλξεων τε καὶ πύργων, οἱ ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπέκειντο τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἡμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ ὕψους. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πύργος ὑψηλότητός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύλινος ἐπέκειτο τετράροφος, ὅθεν καθεώρα τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶν ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰξ ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον αἰρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τότε τὸ χαράκωμα.

[119] Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across it from sea to sea not more than a stone's throw from the enemy. The latter were not idle. . Along the whole distance of five and twenty stades he had to work and fight at the same time. When he had finished this one he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others running transversely, giving the interior space the form of a quadrangle, and threw around the whole a palisade of chevaux-de-frise. In addition to the palisade he fortified the ditches also, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, without counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was at the middle, and upon this another of wood, four stories high, was built, from which to observe what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within the fortification.

[120] καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπίμηκες, ὅθεν ὁρμώνενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφηρεῖτο Καρχηδόνιους, ὅση κατὰ γῆν

αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῷδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδὼν περικλυστός ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγίγνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον: ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ξένων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπιόντων, μόνη τῇ τῆς Λιβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μὲν ποτε καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὥραϊον εἴη, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφηρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομιδὴν, ἐπιπόνως ἥσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δέ, ὅσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεῖν μὲν ἢ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἐτόλμα, περιφέρων δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσὶν ἐσέπεμπε, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδὼνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος: ἀλλ' οὔτε διηνεκῶς οὔτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὥς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμῳ θαλάσσει, παρά τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεῖν, τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἐκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὅθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐθελοκινδύνως ἠπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπετασμένοις τοῖς ιστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν ἔτι τῶν τριήρων ὀλκάδας φερομένας ιστίῳ καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου: καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέροιεν αἱ νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὓς ἐς μάχην ἐπέειλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεφρόνει: ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

[120] This was at the same time a camp for himself and a rather long fort commanding the enemy's country. From this base he could intercept all the supplies sent to the Carthaginians from the interior, since Carthage was everywhere washed by the sea except on this neck. Hence this fort was the first and principal cause of famine and other troubles to them, for, while the great multitude betook themselves from the fields to the city, and none could go out on account of the siege, foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war. Thus they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favorable, much the greater part being forwarded by the land route. Deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt by attacking and breaking through Scipio's fortification, but he sent supplies a long way around by water, although Scipio's ships were blockading Carthage. The latter did not keel) their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as they had no shelter and the sea was full of reefs. Nor could they anchor near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong and favorable wind, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances were rare and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. These supplies Hasdrubal distributed to his 30,000

soldiers exclusively, for he despised the multitude; for which reason they suffered greatly from hunger.

[121] καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἔσπλουν αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορῶντα καὶ οὐ πᾶν πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλείσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχου μακρόν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας ἢ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὕσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊὼν δ' ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν. ἔχου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τὸ μὲν ἄνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου: προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπεῖξει τοσοῦδε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἔδεισαν, καὶ στόμα ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὥρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἳ μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσσον δ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, ἔνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πᾶν λανθάνοντες: ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐψυχίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἅπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἐτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα ἀνέφξαν περὶ ἔω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριηρετικαῖς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβερῶς.

[121] When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbor on the west side, not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning on the tongue of land which lay between the lake and sea, advancing straight toward the harbor's mouth. He filled it with heavy stones so that it might not be washed away by the waves. The embankment was twenty-four feet wide on the top and four times as much on the bottom. The Carthaginians at first despised this work as likely to take a long time, and perhaps impossible of execution altogether. But when they saw the whole army proceeding eagerly, and not intermitting the work by day or by night, they became alarmed, and began to excavate another entrance at another part of the harbor in midsea, where it was impossible to carry an embankment on account of the depth of the water and the fury of the wind. Even the women and children helped to dig. They began the work inside, and carefully concealed what they were doing. At the same time they built triremes and quinqueremes from old material, and they left nothing to be desired in the way of courage and high spirit. Moreover, they concealed everything so perfectly that not even the prisoners could tell Scipio with certainty what was going on, but merely that there was a great racket in the harbor day and night; what it was about they did not know. Finally, everything being finished, the Carthaginians opened the new entrance about the dawn of day and passed out with fifty triremes, besides pinnaces, brigantines, and

other small craft decked out in a way to cause terror.

[122] Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ἄφνω γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν ὥς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἡμελημέναις τε ὥς ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ' ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι. νῦν οὖν ἄλῶναι γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδονὰ τότε μὲν ἐς μόνην ἐπίδειξιν ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τᾶλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὥς ἐν τῷδε λοιπῷ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦς, πληγαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίνετο παρ' ἀμφοῖν μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τὰ σκάφη τῶν Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ναυσὶ μεγάλαις οὔσαις ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτρη πρύμνας καὶ ἐξέκοπτε πηδάλια καὶ κόπας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἐλύπει, εὐμαρῶς τε ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιπλέοντα. ἀκρίτου δ' ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὔσης, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς δειλὴν τρεπομένης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν, οὗ τι κατὰ ἦτταν ἄλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπερτιθεμένοις.

[122] The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and of the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which were in disorder by reason of beleaguerment of the walls, neither sailors nor rowers being present, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But now (since it was fated that Carthage should perish) they only sailed out to make a show, and, having flouted the enemy in a pompous way, they returned inside the harbor. Three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and other apparatus in good order. They came together with loud shouts on both sides and cheers from the rowers, steersmen, and marines, the Carthaginians resting their last hope of safety on this engagement and the Romans hoping to make it their final victory. The fight raged till midday. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats, running under the sides of the Roman ships, which were taller, stove holes in their sterns and broke off their oars and rudders, and damaged them in various other ways, advancing and retreating nimbly. As the day verged toward evening the battle was still undecided, and the Carthaginians thought best to withdraw, not that they were beaten, but to renew the engagement the next day.

[123] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν προλαβόντα ἐς ἄλληλα ὠθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείζους ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἔσπλουν ἀφήρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐμπόροις ἐς διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ: καὶ παρατείχισμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο, ἵνα μὴ ὥς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν

δὴ τότε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορία λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὠρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους ἦν ῥάδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἐστώσαις εὐμαρές, αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαι τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίνοντο· ὅθεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷδε τὰ ὅμοια ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιεν, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων, μέχρι νῆες Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἱ φιλία Σκιπίωνος εἶποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀψάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσίᾳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμψαιεν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπῶμεναι κατὰ πρύμναν, αὐτῆς τε ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρύμναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τὸν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὁρῶντές τε καὶ μιμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.

[123] Their small boats retired first, and arriving at the entrance, and becoming entangled on account of their number, they blocked up the mouth so that when the larger ones arrived they were prevented from entering. They took refuge at a wide quay, which had been built against the city wall for unloading merchant ships some time before, and on which a small parapet had been erected during this war lest the space might sometime be occupied by the enemy. When the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbor, they ranged themselves with their bows outward and received the attack of the enemy, some of them standing on the ships, some on the quay, and still others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for while they were executing the movement they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetæ, which were in alliance with Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetæ, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginians withdrew to the city — as many of them as survived the engagement.

[124] Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχειρεῖ τῷ χώματι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐκαιρον ἐπτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοῖς οὖν το παρατειχίσμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι, νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ γῆν ὅν γὰρ ἦν δίοδος· οὐδὲ ναυσὶν ἄλιτενῆς γὰρ ἦν ἡ

θάλασσά, ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δῆδας ἔφερον, οὐχ ἡμένας ἵνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ἢ μὴ τις ἂν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένεον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἅτε γυμνοὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης· οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, ὥσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβουμένους. ἐκπληξίς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐ πρὶν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δέσας ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἔξω περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιεν τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ οὗς ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἕως οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδιότες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξένεον αὐθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.

[124] At daylight Scipio attacked this quay because it was well situated to command the harbor. Assailing the parapet with rams and other engines he beat down a part of it. The Carthaginians, although oppressed by hunger and distress of various kinds, made a sally by night against the Roman engines, not by land, for there was no passage-way, nor by ships, for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being naked they suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Although the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as was never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. He killed some of them himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing some desperate deed of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home.

[125] ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν σφᾶς ἔτι μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος ὠκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἐποίουν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανὰς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοῖς πύργοις, δῆδά τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῖον ἐν κώθωσι καὶ πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἔστιν οὗς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ δρόμος ὑφ' αἵματος πεπηγὸς ὑπογύου τε καὶ πολλοῦ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν

ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὥς δ' ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχίλιους ἐς αὐτὸ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἰσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

[125] When daylight returned the Carthaginians, no longer molested by the engines, rebuilt that part of the outwork which had been battered down and added to it a number of towers at intervals. The Romans constructed new engines and built mounds in front of these towers, from which they threw upon them lighted torches and vessels filled with burning brimstone and pitch, and burned some of them, and drove away the Carthaginians. The footway was so slippery with coagulated blood, lately shed in great quantity, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge darts and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with comparative safety. As the walls were of equal height the darts were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

[126] χειμῶνος δ' ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἐτέρωσε ἐτέρους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδρούβαν φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἠπείγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπεν. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνης ἠπείγετο: ὅθεν ἐς Νέφεριν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρώχασεν, αἰεὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ χίλιους ἐπιλέκτους ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἐτέροις ἐκ μετώπου τρισχίλοις, ἀριστίνδην καὶ τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις, ἐπέβαιnen ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτακότα τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκνοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ βοῆς οὔσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προεῖρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἔνδον γενομένων αἴσθησις ἐγίγνετο ταχεῖα, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ Λίβυες, οὐχ ὅσους ἑώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέονας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχων σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὥς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἐπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἀλῶναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισχίλους. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφερις ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πολιορκηθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάννυ κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τότε μάλιστα συνη ἔνεγκεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἄλωσιν. ἦδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν

ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Λίβυες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρουν. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Λιβύης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος προσεχώρει ἢ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἢ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας ἤδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διὰ τε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν χειμῆριον οὔσαν.

[126] At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nephesis against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal's successor, going by the lake while sending Gaius Laelius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to keep Diogenes unceasingly employed, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes' towers were demolished Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy's rear, and 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, in his front, to attack the demolished rampart. They did not make the attack en masse, but by divisions in close order, following each other, so that if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was made with loud shouts, and the Africans were drawn thither. The 1000 in ambush, unperceived and unsuspected, fell boldly upon the rear of the camp, as they had been ordered, and tore down and scaled the palisade. When the first ones entered the Africans were panic-stricken and fled, thinking that the numbers of the new assailants were much greater than they were. Gulussa pursued them with his Numidian cavalry and elephants and made a great slaughter, some 70,000, including non-combatants, being killed. Ten thousand were captured and about 4000 escaped. In addition to the camp the city of Nephesis was taken also, after a siege of twenty-two days, prosecuted by Scipio with great labor and suffering on account of the severity of the weather. This success contributed much to the taking of Carthage, for provisions were conveyed to it by this army, and the people of Africa were in good courage as long as they saw this force in the field. As soon as it was captured the remainder of Africa surrendered to Scipio's lieutenants or was taken without much difficulty. The supplies of Carthage now fell short, since none came from Africa or from foreign parts, navigation being cut off in every direction by the war and the storms of winter.

CHAPTER XIX

Scipio takes the Inner Harbor — Fighting in the Streets — Scenes of Horror — Fighting in Byrsa — Hasdrubal and his Wife — Destruction of Carthage — Scipio sheds Tears

(Y.R. 608)

[127] ἀρχομένου δ' ἤρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δ' ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τόδε τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεστραμμένων, ἔλαθε Λαίλιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθών. βοῆς δ' ὥς ἐπὶ νίκη γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἤδη καταφρονούντες ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Κώθωνα τείχους, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὔσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδέν τε ὥς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ πλεόν ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διενυκτέρευσε μεθ' ἀπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτέρους ἀκμῆτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχίλους, οἱ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ τό τε ἄγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δῶμα αὐτῷ χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἕως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐτράποντο.

[127] When spring returned, Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbor of Cothon. Hasdrubal one night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Lælius, still expecting Scipio to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans mounted on all sides, despising the danger, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighboring forum. Being unable to do more, as it was now nightfall, he and his whole force passed the (B.C. 146) night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords, disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

[128] Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἢ σπουδῇ: τὸ γὰρ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλεονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφύεσαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς

ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκαίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἐξώροφοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρώτας τῶν οἰκιῶν κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δ' αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενωπῶν ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ἄνω, ἕτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσὶ, καὶ ζώντων ἔτι ριπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἢ αἰχμὰς ἄλλας ἢ ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων· καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὸ αἰεὶ πιμπράμενον ἐτέροις ὁδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν' εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

[128] Now Scipio hastened to the attack of Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six stories high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. They were compelled, therefore, to possess themselves of the first ones and use those as a means of expelling the occupants of the next. When they had mastered the first, they threw timbers from one to another over the narrow passageways, and crossed as on bridges. While war was raging in this way on the roofs, another fight was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them alighting on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Scipio reached Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passageways clear of burning material so that the army might move back and forth freely.

[129] ἄλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὅψις ἐτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομηματα οὐ διαιρούντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἄθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ὃ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺ πλείων ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀθρόοι νεκροί. ζῶντές τε ἕτεροι, πρεσβῦται μάλιστα καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖα, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμίφλεκτοι, φωνὰς ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἕτεροι δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὕψους μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὠθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπῶντο ῥηγνύμενοί τε καὶ κατασπασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη· λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἀξίναις καὶ κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλον τε καὶ ὠδοποιοῦν τοῖς διαθέουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἦν τε ἄνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐς

κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχοντα τῆς γῆς ἡσπαιρον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον: οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἐπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἐκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδρων ἐκόντες: ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοῦ καὶ σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλιάρχοι τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἔνθους ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὀρωμένων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.

[129] Then came new scenes of horror. As the fire spread and carried everything down, the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by little, but all in a heap. So the crashing grew louder, and many corpses fell with the stones into the midst. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering piteous cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder in all shapes of horror, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and forks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, dragging them along like sticks and stones and turning them over with their iron tools. Trenches were filled with men. Some who were thrown in head foremost, with their legs sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners do these things on purpose; but the tug of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the orders of the officers, the blast of the trumpets, tribunes and centurions marching their cohorts hither and thither — all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacles under their eyes.

[130] καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἑξ ἡμέραι τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἵνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ἀηδοῦς, Σκιπίωνος δ' ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος αὐπνου, καὶ σῆτον οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἰρουμένου, μέχρι κάμνων καὶ παρειμένος ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ, τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πορθουμένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον ἐβδόμῃς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια: τότε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ὅθεν οἶδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνῃς συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ ἐξήεσαν αὐτὶκα μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχίσματος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι

Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογνόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων ἄρρένων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς αἰεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, διὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὥς δὲ ὁ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθήρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.

[130] Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of fighting, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of longer duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Æsculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare the lives of all who might wish to depart from Byrsa. This he granted to all except the deserters. Forth-with there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Æsculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they might have defended themselves a long time although they were few in number, on account of the height and rocky nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, toil, and approaching dissolution, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

[131] κἀν τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ' ὥς εἶδον, ἤτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεῶν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένην, κατακοσμήσασθαι τε ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένην τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος: 'σοὶ μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖε: ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας: Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οἱ τε Καρχηδόνος δαίμονες ἀμύναινο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων.' εἰτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρέψασα εἶπεν: 'ὦ μίαιρα καὶ ἄπιστε καὶ μαλακώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψει: σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβον ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνος ἡγεμών; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τῷδε ᾧ παρακαθέζη;' τοσαῦτ' ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέριψεν.

[131] Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly presented himself to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arrayed in the best attire possible under such circumstances, and with her children by her side, said in Scipio's hearing, "For you, Roman, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. Upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children. Will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate a Roman triumph? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. Such, they say, was the death of the wife of Hasdrubal, which would have been more becoming to himself.

[132] ὧδε μὲν φασὶ τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὀρῶν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆσδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν ἴσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμη δὲ καὶ προθυμία πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἥ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιηρημένῃ τρισὶν ὅμως ἔτεσιν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῶδε καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολλὴ δ' ἔννους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχαὶ ἀπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἑναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, "ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὁλόλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο."

Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ 'καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος' ὃ τι βούλοιο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα, ἐς τὰνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδίδει.

[132] Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, rich with arms and fleets, elephants and money, equal to the mightiest monarchies but far surpassing them in bravery and high spirit (since without ships or arms, and in the face of famine, it had sustained continuous war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction — Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the rise and fall of cities,

nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon that of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, greatest of all, and later the splendid Macedonian empire, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:—”“The day shall come in which our sacred Troy

And Priam, and the people over whom

Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all.” (Iliad, vi, 448, 449; Bryant’s translation.)

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Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, he said that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it.

CHAPTER XX

Rejoicings in Rome — Scipio's Triumph — Carthage rebuilt by Augustus

[133] καὶ τότε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει: Σκιπίων δ', ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μὲν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἅπασι, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀμαρτόντων, ναῦν ὀξυτάτην κοσμήσας λαφύροις ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπε, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγωγῆσεν ὥς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λεῖαν τὴν περισσὴν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἄρει καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ διαζωσάμενος αὐτοῦς ἕκαστε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[133] Carthage being destroyed, Scipio gave the soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. He sold the rest of the spoils, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.

[134] οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δεῖλν ἐσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπήδων καὶ διενυκτέρευον μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἠδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὥς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ' ἄρχοντες ἐτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οἷαν οὐτίνα πρότερον ἄλλην νικην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς πατρασιν ἐς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἔναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν: πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ἤδεσαν, διὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὧν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑκαταίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐθις ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ἀλλήλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδὼν κατέσκαπται: ἐλεσχίνεον τε δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα περιηρέθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτίναντο ἕτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς

ἀφῆρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς, τό τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὠρύξαντο ἕτερον ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὕψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὀρῶντες ἄρτι γιγνόμενον ἀλλήλοις διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὁρᾷν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις, πανταχοῦ διαθεόντα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν,

[134] When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their world-wide supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as never before. Many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself, had they celebrated; but no other war had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, skill, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Pondering on these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they gabbled the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians were got away from them and how, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others; how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbor was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. They pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; and they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. In this way the people of Rome passed the night.

[135] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα θυσαί τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγοντο κατὰ φυλὴν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θεαὶ ποικίλαι.

δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἔπεμπε διαθησομένους Λιβύην μέτα Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων συμφέρον: οἱ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον ἅπασι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα: ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις

συνεμεμαγήκεσαν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἀπάσας· καὶ ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεβοθήκεσαν, χώραν ἔδωκαν ἐκάστη τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίοις τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνας αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιπέμπειν ἔκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνενηνόχεσαν ἐς Λιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἀνδρισκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἦγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

[135] The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds. The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. They decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should obliterate it and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Direful threats were levelled against any who should disobey and chiefly against the rebuilding of Byrsa or Megara, but it was not forbidden to go upon the ground. The towns that had allied themselves with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all to the Uticans was given the territory of Carthage itself, extending as far as Hippo. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike. It was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these arrangements had been carried out by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and he instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and gorged with statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of the world through all time, the fruit of their countless victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andriscus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad. (Y.R. 631)

[136] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, Γαῖου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληροῦχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἐξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις, ὁπότε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίον

φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὑπ' ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολλὸν ἰδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράψασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλούντων, συνέτασσεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ' ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ' ὁδε μὲν θάσσον ἀνῆρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνώκισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτατῶ μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνώκισαν αὐτῇ μετὰ ἑτῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.

[136] Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, (B.C. 123) uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate put a stop to the settlement. At a still later time it is said that Cæsar, who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and while making a distribution of lands to the poor, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000 colonists from Rome and that the rest came from the neighboring country. And (Y.R. 708) thus the Romans took Africa away from the Carthaginians, (B.C. 46) destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 102 years after its destruction.

Horace White Appian's account of the defeat of Regulus by Xanthippus is altogether different from that given by Polybius. I subjoin a translation of the latter: —

“About this time a certain recruiting officer returned to Carthage who had been sent to Greece some time before, bringing a large number of soldiers, and among them a certain Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, versed in the Spartan discipline and having corresponding experience in matters of war. When he had acquainted himself with the circumstances of the late defeat and had observed what still remained of the Carthaginian forces, and particularly their great strength in cavalry and elephants, he began to put this and that together,

and showed his friends how it happened that the Carthaginians had been beaten, not by the Romans, but by the unskilfulness of their own generals. The words of Xanthippus, being rumored around among the multitude and the generals, finally reached the ears of the magistrates, who sent for him in order to get better information. When he came he explained the causes of their recent failure, and showed that if they would follow his advice and choose the level ground for their marches, camps, and battles, they might easily repair their losses and overcome the enemy. The generals accepted this advice and immediately put their forces under his training. When the advice of Xanthippus was spread through the city hopeful talk and rumors became common among the people. When he brought the forces in front of the city, and marshalled them in good order, and began to drill them by divisions, and to give the word of command according to rule, he presented such a contrast to the want of discipline of the former commanders that the rank and file applauded and demanded to be led against the enemy as soon as possible, feeling assured that no misfortune could befall them under the lead of Xanthippus. The generals, seeing the spirits of the soldiers so wonderfully raised, addressed them in a manner befitting the occasion, and a few days later put their forces on the march. They had 12,000 foot, 4000 horse, and about 100 elephants.

“The Romans, seeing the Carthaginians marching through the open country and camping on level ground, were surprised at this unexpected movement and hastened to meet them. At the end of the first day’s march they encamped at a distance of only ten stades from the enemy. The next day the Carthaginian generals held a council of war to determine what should be done. But the soldiers, despising the danger, ran together in crowds and, shouting the name of Xanthippus, demanded to be led immediately against the enemy. The generals, observing the eagerness and confidence of their men and being urged by Xanthippus not to lose this opportunity, gave orders to the army to prepare for battle and put everything in the hands of Xanthippus to do as he liked. He took command, ranged the elephants in a single line in front of the whole army, and stationed the Carthaginian phalanx a short distance behind them. He placed the bulk of the mercenaries on the right wing, but the light-armed ones were stationed at the front of each wing, together with the horse. The Romans, observing the enemy’s movements, drew up their forces with equal readiness. In order to protect themselves against the onset of the elephants, which they dreaded, they threw forward a large number of skirmishers armed with javelins. Behind these were ranged the legions, and the horse were divided between the two wings. Their line of battle was somewhat shorter than usual, but deeper, being well calculated to receive the attack of the elephants, but not to withstand that of the enemy’s horse, which far outnumbered their own. When both armies had been put in battle array, according to their respective plans and divisions, they stood still for a while, each one eagerly expecting the moment of attack.

“At the same time that Xanthippus gave the order for the elephants to advance and break the ranks of the enemy, and for the horse to surround and attack their wings, the Roman soldiers, clashing their arms, according to their custom, and raising a shout, rushed against their adversaries. The Roman horse were speedily put to flight on both wings, being so much inferior in number to the Carthaginians. Their foot soldiers, stationed on the left wing in order to avoid the onset of the elephants and because they despised the enemy’s mercenaries, dashed furiously against the Carthaginian right wing, broke it, and pursued them as far as their camp. The first who encountered the elephants were thrust aside by their momentum, or trampled down in heaps, and utterly destroyed, but the column, as a whole, remained unbroken for a considerable time by reason of the depth of the files. When those bringing up the rear were surrounded on all sides by the Carthaginian horse and compelled to turn and ward off this danger, and when those who had struggled through the line of elephants to the front encountered, in the rear of the beasts, the solid Carthaginian phalanx still in perfect order, and were slaughtered by them, the Romans were everywhere in difficulties. The greater part were trampled down by the enormous weight of the elephants and the rest fell in their very ranks under the javelins of the Carthaginian horse. Finally, a few took refuge in flight. As their line of retreat lay through an open country, most of these were destroyed by the enemy’s cavalry and elephants. About 500, who had escaped with their general, Marcus, were, after a little, overtaken and made prisoners. About 800 of the Carthaginian mercenaries, who were opposed to the Roman left wing, were killed, and the 2000 Romans who pursued them, being thus carried out of danger, were saved. All the rest were slain except Marcus and those who were retreating with him. Those who escaped found refuge unexpectedly in the city of Aspis. The Carthaginians, having stripped the dead, returned to the city rejoicing over their victory and bringing the Roman general and the prisoners captured with him.” (Polybius I., 32-34.)

The Topography of Carthage

The following sketch of the present appearance of the site of ancient Carthage is from the pen of the Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.: —

“At the extremity of a peninsula stretching eight or ten miles into the Mediterranean, and connected with the mainland by a flat isthmus, across which the sea must once have flowed, there is a ridge of hills, forming a sort of semicircle some four miles long, with its convex turned toward the sea, and rising at its highest point to about 400 feet. The sea under the hills is deep and sheltered from the northwest, the quarter whence most high winds come, while toward the land the neck of the peninsula, even now only some three miles wide, and 2500 years ago probably much narrower, makes the defence of a settlement upon the hills comparatively easy. It was at the southern

extremity of this line of hills that the Tyrian founders of Carthage planted their settlement, and the last eminence or hummock toward the south became their citadel or Bozrah (for 'Bozrah ' seems to be the true Phœnician form of the word which the Greek and Roman authors have written Byrsa). This hummock rises about 200 feet above the sea, from which its base is a quarter of a mile distant. It is steep towards the sea on the east and the south, while sloping more gently towards the west. On it and around its base the city arose. The ports were excavated beneath it to the southeast, and were easily made large enough (the ground being partly alluvial and the rock soft) to contain a large fleet and many merchant vessels. Thus the position was both convenient and strong. The citadel defended the ports, and while the citadel was surrounded by a wall of its own, the city, stretching along the line of eminences to the north, had also an enclosing wall of its own, and thus gave a double protection to the citadel on the sides (north and west) where the acclivities were gentle.

"So much is clear. The so-called ports which are now visible have been dug out afresh recently, on what is believed to be the site, or part of the site, of the ancient ports. The space they occupy is so decidedly smaller than the descriptions of ancient writers imply that some antiquaries suppose there existed another port, enclosed by moles projecting into the sea, which has since vanished. The remains of the amphitheatre have been unearthed in the lower ground at the western base of the hill. And as to the Bozrah itself, on whose summit stood in Punic times the temple of the great god Eshmun, and where probably stood afterwards the residence of the Roman proconsul, and still later the palace of the Vandal kings, there is no question. But almost everything else is uncertain. Various spots have been suggested as the sites of the temples and churches and other public edifices mentioned by the ancient writers, but no data have yet been discovered sufficient to fix them. Even the direction of the walls and the extent of ground covered by the city are matters of controversy, so far as the evidence of the diggings goes. The ground area included in the compass of the city proper would appear to have been small (hardly more than a square mile) compared with its population, which is said to have at one time reached 700,000 or even 1,000,000. But probably there were large suburbs; and as the bulk of the population consisted of slaves, many might well be crowded into a small space.

* * * * *

"As the position is strong for defence, with the sea environing it, as it is admirable for maritime empire, lying in the middle of the Mediterranean, with Sicily and Sardinia close at hand, half-way from the mother-land of Tyre to the outermost Phœnician settlements on the edge of the ocean, so it rivals in the nobility of its landscape Constantinople or Corinth or Gibraltar. The hill of Bozrah is not lofty, but it rises so steeply from the sea, and commands so

unbroken a prospect in every direction, except northeast (where it is overtopped by Sidi Bou Said, another eminence of the same chain of hills two miles away), that the view seems boundless over both land and sea. To the east there is the vast expanse of the Mediterranean, broken twenty-five miles off by the rocky isle of Zembra. To the southeast a long line of hills rises over the ample bosom of the Gulf of Tunis, running far out to the Fair Promontory, as the ancients called it, now Cape Bon. To the northwest, beyond the flat lands which the sea once covered, rise the gentler ridges where stand the lonely ruins of Utica, the elder sister of Carthage, the spot where Cato's death left Julius Cæsar master of all the Roman world except Spain. To the south and southwest three magnificent mountain groups successively arrest the eye and carry it far into the interior of Africa. Nearest, with its foot washed by the sea, is the double-peaked summit of Bou Kornein, the mountain of the two-horned Baal (Saturnus Baalcaranensis, as the Romans called him), where the ruins of his temple have been recently discovered. Further to the south is Jebel Resas, the Lead Mountain, among whose gorges the mercenary troops that revolted from Carthage, and brought her almost to destruction after the First Punic war, were hemmed in and destroyed by famine and the sword. Furthest of all, and highest, is the magnificent pinnacle of Zaghwan, ' Mons Zeugitanus,' whence the Zeugitanian province took its name. In this peak rise the copious springs which, led by an aqueduct more than eighty miles in length, supplied Carthage with the purest water, and from its craggy top the view extends far away to the south over plains once rich, but now mostly waste and desolate, almost to the verge of the Sahara. Immediately beneath the hill of Carthage is the narrow strip of land that divides the lagoon of Tunis from the sea, with Goletta, long a stronghold of the Moorish pirates, stormed by the Emperor Charles V., and again (after his troops had been withdrawn) the arsenal and fortress of the Beys, rising upon it at the point where a narrow channel gives access from the sea to the lagoon. And at the head of the lagoon, its smooth surface ruffled only by the flocks of flamingoes that disport themselves in the sunshine, rise the minarets and cupolas of Tunis, glittering white across the blue waters, with line after line of hill seen behind it, growing dimmer and more delicate in their soft blue-gray tints till they sink beneath the western horizon on the borders of Numidia. As there are few more exquisite views in the world, so there are few which embrace a region more full of stirring and terrible events. For 1600 years, down to the destruction of Carthage by the Arabs in A.D. 697 a fierce and strenuous life ebbed and flowed incessantly round this hill and on the plain that lies between it and Tunis. For 1200 years the hill has stood silent and melancholy as it stands now, and, in the words of Tasso, "“Low lies proud Carthage; and the silent shore Keeps of her lordly ruins scarce a trace.””“

ἐκ τῆς Νομαδικῆς — NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

“ὅτι Βομίλχας κατηγορούμενος ἔφυγε πρὸ δίκης, καὶ Ἰογόρθας σὺν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐς τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας εἰπὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ὠνία πᾶσα, εἴ τις ὠνητὴς αὐτῆς εὐρεθείη.”

Mai script. vet. n. coll. t. II .

(Y.R. 644) “BOMILCAR being under accusation fled before his trial, (B.C. 110) and with him Jugurtha, who uttered that famous saying about bribetakers, that “the whole city of Rome could be bought if a purchaser could be found for it.”“

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

[2]

“ὅτι Μέτελλος ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς Λιβύην τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις αἰτίαν ἔχων παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ βραδυτήτος ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὁμότητος: σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐκόλαζεν.”

Val. .

(Y.R. 645) “Metellus went back to the African province, where he (B.C. 109) was accused by the soldiers of slothfulness toward the enemy and of cruelty toward his own men, because he punished offenders severely.”

FROM PEIRESC

[3]

“ὅτι Μέτελλος Βαγαίων ἀνήρει τὴν βουλὴν ὅλην ὡς τὴν φρουρὰν προδόντας Ἰογόρθα, καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον Τουρπίλιον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον οὐκ ἀνυπόπτως ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπαπκέτεινε τῇ βουλῇ. Θρᾶκας δὲ καὶ Λίγυας αὐτομόλους λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰογόρθα, τῶν μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέτεμνε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν μέχρι γαστρὸς κατῶρυσσε, καὶ περιτοξεύων ἢ ἐσακοντίζων ἔτι ἐμπνέουσι πῦρ ὑπετίθει.”

id. ib.

(Y.R. 646) “Metellus put the whole senate of Vacca to death because (B.C. 108) they had betrayed the Roman garrison to Jugurtha, and with them, also, Turpilius, the prefect of the guard, a Roman citizen, who was under suspicion of being in league with the enemy. After Jugurtha had delivered up to Metellus certain Thracian and Ligurian deserters, the latter cut off the hands of some, and others he buried in the earth up to their stomachs, and after transfixing them with arrows and darts set fire to them while they were still

FROM PEIRESC

[4]

“ὅτι τοῦ Μαρίου ἐς Κίρταν ἀφικομένου πρέσβεις Βόκχου παρήσαν, οἱ πεμφθῆναί τινας ἐς λόγους Βόκχῳ παρεκάλουν. καὶ ἐπέμφθησαν Αὐλὸς τε Μάλλιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ὁ ταμίης, οἷς ὁ Βόκχος ἔφη Ῥωμαίοις πολεμῆσαι διὰ Μάριον: γῆν γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς Ἰογόρθαν ἀφείλετο, πρὸς Μαρίου νῦν ἀφηρῆσθαι. Βόκχος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνεκάλει, Μάλλιος δ’ ἔφη τὴν γῆν τήνδε Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι Σύφακα πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ δοῦναι Μασσανάσση δωρεάν, διδόναι δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰς δωρεὰς ἔχειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἕως ἂν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλόγως μεταγνῶναι: Μασσανάσσην τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας Ἰογόρθαν κατακαίνοντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον γενέσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ἔτι εἶναι δίκαιον οὔτε τὸν πολέμιον ἔχειν δωρεάν ἢν ἔδομεν φίλῳ, οὔτε σὲ δοκεῖν Ἰογόρθαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν τάδε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλεξεν.”

Urs. .

(Y.R. 647) “When Marius arrived at Cirta messengers came to him from Bocchus asking that he would send somebody to hold a conference with him. He accordingly sent Aulus Manlius, (B.C. 107) his lieutenant, and Cornelius Sulla, his quæstor. To them Bocchus said that he fought against the Romans on account of the acts of Marius, who had taken from him the territory which he himself had taken from Jugurtha. To this complaint of Bocchus, Manlius replied that the Romans had taken this territory from Syphax by the law of war, and had made a present of it to Masinissa, and that such gifts were made by the Romans to be kept by those who received them during the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome. Nor did the Romans take back their gifts without reason. Masinissa was dead, and Jugurtha, who had murdered his grandchildren, was at war with the Romans. “It is not right,” he said, “that an enemy should keep the gift that we made to a friend, nor should you think that you can take from Jugurtha property that belongs to the Romans.” These were the words of Manlius concerning the territory in question.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

[5]

“ὅτι ὁ Βόκχος ἐτέρους ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, οἱ Μαρίου μὲν ἔμελλον περὶ εἰρήνης δεήσεσθαι, Σύλλα δὲ ἵνα συμπράξειεν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις. ληστευθέντας δ’ ἐν ὁδῷ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοῦσδε ὁ Σύλλας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ξενίζει μέχρι Μάριον ἀπὸ Γαιτούλων ἐπανελθεῖν. παρήνει δὲ Βόκχον διδάσκειν ὅτι χρὴ Σύλλα πείθεσθαι περὶ πάντων. ἐνδιδούς οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰογόρθα προδοσίαν ὁ Βόκχος, ἐς μὲν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπ’ ἄλλον στρατὸν περιέπεμπεν ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς γείτονας,

οἱ ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων Αἰθιοπῶν διήκουσιν ἐς τὸ Μαυρούσιον ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἄτλαντα, Μάριον δ' ἡξίου Σύλλαν οἱ πέμψαι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. καὶ Μάριος μὲν ἔπεμπε τὸν Σύλλαν, Ἄψαρα δὲ Ἰογόρθα φίλον, ἐν Βόκχου καταλειμμένον ἐφορᾶν τὰ γινόμενα, αὐτὸς τε Βόκχος καὶ Μαγδάλης φίλος Βόκχου, καὶ τις ἐξελεύθερος ἀνδρὸς Καρχηδονίου, Κορνήλιος, ἐνήδρευσαν ὧδε.”

id. ib.

“Bocchus sent another embassy who were to solicit peace from Marius and urge Sulla to assist them in the negotiation. These ambassadors were despoiled by robbers on the road, but Sulla received them kindly and entertained them until Marius returned from Gætulia. Marius advised them to urge Bocchus to consult with Sulla as to all his affairs. Accordingly, when Bocchus was inclined to betray Jugurtha he sent messengers around to the neighboring Ethiopians (who extend from eastern Ethiopia westward to the Mauritanian Mount Atlas) under pretence of raising a new army, and then asked Marius to send Sulla to him for a conference, and Marius did so. In this way Bocchus himself, and his friend Magdalses, and a certain freedman of Carthage, named Cornelius, deceived Apsar, the friend of Jugurtha, who had been left in Bocchus’ camp to keep watch on his doings.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς — MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

“ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦ πολεμήσαντος αὐτοῖς πέρι πάντων ἐπολυπραγμόνουν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ σφίσιν ἐνθύμιος ἦν ὅλως πονουμένης ἔτι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῦ Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν περικαθήμενοι, καὶ καθιστάμενοι Σικελίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ Φίλιππος ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία μείζονος, οὐδέν τι προπαθὼν, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρέσβεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ξενοφάνης, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συμμαχήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ κακεῖνος αὐτῷ σύνθοιτο κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. συμβάντος δ’ ἐς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ ὁμόσαντος, πρέσβεις τε ἀντιπέμψαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοῦ Φιλίππου, Ῥωμαίων τριήρης ἔλαβε τοὺς ἐκατέρων πρέσβεις ἀναπλέοντας, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκόμισεν. ἐφ’ ᾧ Φίλιππος ἀγανακτῶν Κερκύρα προσέβαλεν, ἥ Ῥωμαίοις συνεμάχει.”

U. .

“ὅτι ἐνήγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ Σιβύλλεια εἰς τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα: “αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδόνες Ἀργεάδῃσιν, ὑμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος. ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσι τ’ ἀνακτας θήσῃ, ὁ δ’ ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει, δημηθεὶς δ’ ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ’ ἀνδράσιν ἐνθάδ’ ὀλεῖται.”“

Mai .

“ὅτι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου πρέσβεις, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλέως, δῖς, ἔνθα περ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεπτομένας ἐκάλουν, συνῆλθον ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου. Σουλπικίου δ’ εἰπόντος οὐκ εἶναι κυρίου περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τι κρῖναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν κρύφα ἐπιστέλλοντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς Φιλίππῳ, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἔπεμπε συμμαχίαν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἵππας χιλίους, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ κατέλαβον Ἀμβρακίαν, ἣν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον αὐτῶν Φίλιππος ἀποπλευσάντων ἀνέλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις αὖθις συνῆλθον, καὶ πολλὰ φανερώς ἔλεγον, ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ διαφερόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς δουλείαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἐθίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος θαμινὰ πειραῖσθαι. ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ μὲν Σουλπίκιος ἀντιλέξων ἀνίστατο, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεκράγεσαν τοὺς πρέσβεις εὖ λέγειν.

Fragments

“THE Romans paid no attention to Philip, the Macedonian, when he began war against them. They were so busy about other things that they did not even think of him, for Italy was still scourged by Hannibal, the Carthaginian

general, and they were at war in Africa, Carthage, and (Y.R. 539) Spain, and were restoring order in Sicily. Philip himself, (B.C. 215) moved by a desire of enlarging his dominions, although he had suffered nothing whatever at the hands of the Romans, sent an embassy, the chief of which was Xenophanes, to Hannibal in Italy, proposing to aid him in Italy if he would promise to assist him in the subjugation of Greece. Hannibal agreed to this arrangement and took an oath to support it, and sent an embassy in return to receive the oath of Philip. A Roman trireme intercepted the ambassadors of both on their return and carried them to Rome. Thereupon Philip in his anger attacked Corcyra, which was in alliance with Rome.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“The Sibylline books induced the Romans to make war against Philip by these lines: “The Macedonians boast their descent from Argive kings. Philip will be the arbiter of weal or woe to you. The elder of that name shall give rulers to cities and peoples, but the younger shall lose every honor, and shall die the subject of a western race.”“

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

(Y.R. 546) “Ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and with (B.C. 208) them others from Chios and Mitylene, and from Amynder, king of the Athamanes, assembled at two different times at the place where the Ætolians were accustomed to call their cities together for consultation, to compose the differences between the Romans, the Ætolians, and Philip. But as Sulpicius said that it was not in his power to conclude peace, and wrote privately to the Senate that it was for the advantage of the Romans that the Ætolians should continue the war against Philip, the Senate forbade the treaty and sent 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to assist the Ætolians. With their help the Ætolians took Ambracia, which Philip recovered, not long afterward, on their departure. Again the ambassadors assembled and said that it was very evident that Philip and the Ætolians, by their differences, were subjecting the Greeks to servitude to the Romans, because they were accustoming the latter to make frequent attempts upon Greece. When Sulpicius rose to reply to them the crowd would not hear him, but shouted that the ambassadors had told the truth. (Y.R. 549)

[2] καὶ τέλος Αἰτωλοὶ τε πρῶτοι κατὰ σφᾶς, ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων, Φιλίππῳ συνέβησαν, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μηδετέρους ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φίλους. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτ’ ἔληξεν ἡ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς ἀλλήλους πείρα πρώτη, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὐδέτεροι βεβαίους, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ εὐνοίας, ἐδόκουν πεποιῆσθαι.”

“ὅτι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Φίλιππος μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στόλον ἐπαγγείλας, Σάμον καὶ Χίον εἴλε, καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀττάλου γῆς ἐπόρθησε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεπείρασε Περγάμου, μὴ φειδόμενος ἱερῶν ἢ τάφων, τήν τε Ῥοδίον περαιάν ἐδήου διαλλακτῆρων οἱ γεγονότων, καὶ ἐτέρῳ μέρει στρατοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπολιόρκει, ὥς οὐδὲν τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις προσηκόντων. λόγος τε ἦν ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σύρων βασιλεὺς ὑπόσχοιντο ἀλλήλοις, Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος συστρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ Κύπρον, ὃν τότε ἤρχεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τέταρτος, ὃ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπώνυμον ἦν, Φιλίπῳ δ’ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ Ἰωνίαν.

καὶ τήνδε τὴν δόξαν, ἐκταράσσουσιν ἅπαντας Ῥόδιοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμήνυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίων Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἡτιῶντο Φίλιππον τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μεταγινώσκοντες κατηγοροῦν ὥς καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἀπίστου γεγονότος, ἡξιοῦν τε αὐθις ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐγγραφῆναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ Αἰτωλοῖς ἐμέμψαντο τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ μεταβολῆς, πρέσβεις δ’ ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῆς ἐπεμπον, οἱ προηγόρευον αὐτοῖς Ἀντίοχον μὲν Αἰγύπτῳ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, Φίλιππον δὲ μηδὲν ἐς Ῥοδίους ἢ Ἀθηναίους ἢ Ἀττάλον ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον ἀμαρτάνειν. τούτοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίοις ἔξιν καλῶς, ἂν ἐμμένωσιν ἢ συνέθεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνῃ. οὕτω μὲν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαὶ ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡπείγετο, στρατηγούντος Ποπλίου καὶ ναυαρχοῦντος Λευκίου.”

U. .

“ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ... σῆται, συναγόντων αὐτοὺς Ἑπειρωτῶν πρέσβειν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Φλαμινῖος Φίλιππον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας ταῖς προειρημέναις ἀποδοθῆναι, ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν ...”

Mai .

“ποιμὴν ὑπέσχετο στρατὸν εὐζωνον ἄξειν ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ τρισὶν ἡμέραις.”

Suid. v. εὐζωνοί.

“ὅτι Λεύκιος Κοῖντιος ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογον ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις, οἱ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥοδίων ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου, διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος αἰτῶν βοήθειαν ὥς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ ἐνοχλοῦμενοι μὲν οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι πολέμῳ Νάβιδος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τυράννου, διεστῶτες δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἠπόρουν, καὶ οἱ πλείονες ἤροῦντο τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο Ῥωμαίους διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Σουλπικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομήματα. ἐγκειμένων δὲ βιαίως τῶν Ῥωμαϊζόντων, οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεχώρουν δυσχεραίνοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα ἐκβιασθέντες συνέθεντο τῷ Λευκίῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκολούθουν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον μηχανήματα φέροντες.”

U. .

“ὅτι Φλαμινῖνος αὐθις συνῆλθεν ἐς λόγους Φιλίπῳ κατὰ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον, ἔνθα κατηγορούντων τοῦ Φιλίππου Ῥοδίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμᾶνος ἐκέλευσε Φίλιππον ἐξαγεῖν τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ Φωκίδος, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἀμφοτέρους ἀποστεῖλαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἤξιον τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς τρεῖς φρουρὰς ἃς αὐτὸς πέδας ἐκάλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι: Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Λοκροῖς ἐπικειμένην, τὴν δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ καθάπερ πύλαις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀποκλείουσαν, καὶ τρίτην ἐν Δημητριάδι τὴν Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν ἐφεδρεύουσιν: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἤρετο τί φρονοίη περὶ τῶνδε τῶν φρουρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, Φλαμινῖνον ἔφη κρινεῖν, καὶ πράξειν ὃ τι ἂν δίκαιον ἡγῆται. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπανήεσαν, Φλαμινῖνος δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐς οὐδὲν συμβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις αὐθις ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο.”

U. .

“ὅτι ἡττηθεὶς πάλιν ὁ Φίλιππος περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Φλαμινῖνον, ὁ δ’ αὐθις αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους συνεχώρει, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δυσχεραινόντων, καὶ διαβαλλόντων αὐτὸν ἐς δωροδοκίαν, καὶ καταγινωσκόντων τῆς ἐς ἅπαντα εὐχεροῦς μεταβολῆς, ἡγούμενος δ’ οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν οὔτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι Φιλίππου καθαιρεθέντος ἐπιτολάσαι τὴν Αἰτωλῶν βίαν. τάχα δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς νίκης ἀγαπᾶν ἐποίει. συνθέμενος δὲ χωρίον οἷ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε γνώμην προαποφίνασθαι κατὰ πόλεις. τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλάνθρωπα ἦν, τό τε τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφορωμένων, καὶ τὸ παῖσμα τοῦτο οὐ κατ’ ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ πλέον ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἡγουμένων: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρόεδρος ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὸν Φλαμινῖνον ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλο μῆτε Ῥωμαίοις μῆθ’ Ἕλλησι συνοίσει πλὴν ἐξαيرهθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.

[2] Finally the Ætolians took the initiative and made (B.C. 205) peace with Philip by themselves without the Romans, and messengers were sent to Rome by Philip himself and by the commander of the Roman forces in order to come to an agreement. Peace was made between them on the condition that neither party should do any injury to the friends of the other. This was the result of the first trial of strength between them, and neither of them believed that the treaty would be lasting, since it was not based on good-will.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 554) “Not long afterward Philip, having ordered a fleet to be prepared by his maritime subjects, took Samos and Chios and devastated a part of the territory of King Attalus. He even attempted Pergamus itself, not sparing temples or sepulchres. He also ravaged Peræa, which belonged to the

Rhodians, who had been promoters of the treaty of peace. With another part of his army he ravaged Attica and laid (B.C. 200) siege to Athens, as though none of these countries concerned the Romans. It was reported also that a league had been made between Philip and Antiochus, king of Syria, to the effect that Philip should help Antiochus to conquer Egypt and Cyprus, of which Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, who was still a boy, was the ruler; and that Antiochus should help Philip to gain Cyrene, the Cyclades islands, and Ionia. This rumor, so disquieting to all, the Rhodians communicated to Rome. After the Rhodians, ambassadors of Athens came complaining of the siege instituted by Philip. The Ætolians also had repented of their treaty, and they complained of Philip's bad faith toward them and asked to be inscribed again as allies. The Romans reproached the Ætolians for their recent defection, but they sent ambassadors to the kings ordering Antiochus not to invade Egypt, and Philip not to molest the Rhodians, or the Athenians, or Attalus, or any other ally of theirs. To them Philip made answer that it would be well if the Romans would abide by the treaty of peace they had entered into with him. Thus was the treaty dissolved and a Roman army hastened to Greece, Publius commanding the land forces and Lucius the fleet."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Philip, king of Macedon, had a conference with Flaminius, (B.C. 198) which had been brought about by the ambassadors of the Epirots. When Flaminius ordered Philip to retire to Greece, not on account of the Romans, but of the Greek cities themselves and to make good the damage he had done to the aforesaid cities. . . ."

FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

"A shepherd promised to guide an army well equipped for the climb by a mountain path in three days' time."

FROM SUIDAS

"Lucius Quintius [Flaminius] sent envoys to the Achæan League to persuade them, together with the Athenians and Rhodians, to abandon Philip and join the Romans, and to ask them to furnish aid as allies. But they, being troubled by a civil war and also by one with Nabis, the neighboring tyrant of Lacedæmon, were divided in mind and hesitated. The greater part of them preferred the alliance of Philip and sided against the Romans on account of certain outrages against Greece committed by Sulpicius, the former commander. When the Roman faction urged their views with vehemence, most of their opponents left the assembly in disgust, and the remainder, being forced to yield by the smallness of their number, entered into an alliance with Lucius and followed him at once to the siege of Corinth, bringing their

engines with them.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 557) “Flamininus came into conference with Philip a second time at the Malian gulf. When the Rhodians, the Ætolians, and Amynder, king of the Athamanes, made their complaints against Philip, Flamininus ordered him to remove his garrison from Phocis, and required both parties to send ambassadors to Rome. When this was done the Greeks asked the Roman Senate to require Philip to remove from their country the three garrisons which he called the fetters of Greece: the one at Chalcis, which threatened the Bœotians, the Eubœans, and the Locrians; the one at Corinth, which closed the door of the Peloponnesus; and the third at Demetrias, which lay, as it were, in ambush for the Ætolians and the Magnesians. The Senate asked Philip’s ambassadors what the king’s views were respecting the garrisons. When they answered that they did not know, the Senate said that Flamininus should decide the question and do what he considered just. So the ambassadors took their departure from Rome. Flamininus and Philip, being (B.C. 197) unable to come to any agreement, resumed hostilities.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

“Philip, being defeated again, sent a herald to Flamininus to sue for peace, and again Flamininus granted him a conference, whereat the Ætolians were greatly displeased and accused him of being bribed by the king, and complained of his sudden change of mind as to all these matters. But he thought that it would not be to the advantage of the Romans, or of the Greeks, that Philip should be deposed and the Ætolian power made supreme. Perhaps, also, the unexpected greatness of the victory made him satisfied. Having agreed upon a place where Philip should come, he directed the allies by cities to deliver their opinions. Some of them were disposed to be moderate, viewing suspiciously the mysteries of fortune as evinced in the calamities of Philip, and considering this disaster that had befallen him due not so much to weakness as to bad luck. But Alexander, the presiding officer of the Ætolians, said, “Flamininus cannot be ignorant that this victory will be of no advantage to the Romans or the Greeks unless the kingdom of Philip is overthrown.”

[2] ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὴν Ῥωμαίων φύσιν, οἱ οὐδένα πω τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτόντων, καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἑναγχοῦς, ἐφείσαντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτοῖς ἀποδόντες καὶ φίλους ποιησάμενοι τοὺς ἡδίκηκότας. ‘ἀγνοεῖς δ’,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ τοῦθ’, ὅτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα βάρβαρα τὴν Μακεδονίαν περικάθηται, εἴ τις ἐξέλαι τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, ἐπιδραμεῖται ραδίως. ὅθεν ἐγὼ δοκιμάζω τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶν τῶν Μακεδόνων προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, Φίλιππον δὲ ἐκστῆναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὧν πρότερον ἀντέλεγε χωρίων, καὶ

Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην ἐσνεγκεῖν τάλαντα διακόσια, ὅμηρά τε δοῦναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον, μέχρι δὲ ταῦθ' ἢ σύγκλητος ἐπικυρώσει, τετραμήνους ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι.'

[2] Flamininus replied, "Alexander cannot be ignorant of the custom of the Romans, who never destroy an enemy at once, but have spared many offenders, as recently the Carthaginians, restoring their property to them and making allies of those who had done them wrong. You forget also that there are many barbarous tribes on the border of Macedonia, who would make easy incursions into Greece if the Macedonian kings were taken away. Wherefore, I think that the Macedonian government should be left to protect you against the barbarians, but Philip must retire from those Greek places that he has hitherto refused to give up, and must pay the Romans 200 talents for the expenses of the war, and give hostages of the most noble families, including his own son, Demetrius. Until the Senate ratifies these conditions there shall be an armistice of four months." (Y.R. 558)

[3] δεξαμένου δὲ πάντα τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἢ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐπεκύρωσε, τὰς δὲ προτάσεις τὰς Φλαμινίνου σμικρύνασα καὶ φαυλίσασα, ἐκέλευσε τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ἦσαν Ἑλληνίδες ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, πάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς φρουράς ἀπ' αὐτῶν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπιόντων Ἰσθμίων, ναῦς τε ὅσας ἔχει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς καὶ σκαφῶν πέντε καταφράκτων, παραδοῦναι τῷ Φλαμινίνῳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐσνεγκεῖν πεντακόσια μὲν αὐτίκα πεντακόσια δὲ ἔτεσι δέκα, ἐκάστου τὸ μέρος ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντα, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχοι. τάδε μὲν ἢ βουλὴ προσέθηκε, καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδέξατο ἅπαντα: ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἢ σμικρολογία Φλαμινίνου καταφανὴς ἐγένετο. συμβούλους δ' ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λήγουσι πολέμοις, δέκα ἄνδρας, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἔδει τὰ εἰλημμένα καθίστασθαι.

[3] Philip accepted all these conditions, and the Senate, when it learned the facts, ratified the peace, but considered (B.C. 196) the terms granted by Flamininus too lenient, and, accordingly, decreed that all the Greek cities that had been under Philip's rule should be free, and that he should withdraw his garrisons from them before the next celebration of the Isthmian games; that he should deliver to Flamininus all his ships, except one with six benches of oars and five small ones with decks; that he should pay the Romans 500 talents of silver down, and remit to Rome 500 more in ten years, in annual instalments; and that he should surrender all prisoners and deserters in his hands. These conditions were added by the Senate and Philip accepted them all, by which it was made plain that those named by Flamininus were much too lenient. They sent to him as counsellors ten men (as was customary at the end of a war), with whose aid he should regulate the new acquisitions.

[4] καὶ τάδε μὲν διετίθετο σὺν ἐκείνοις, αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἐπελθὼν, πληθύνοντος τοῦ σταδίου, σιωπὴν τε ἐσήμηνεν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, καὶ τὸν

κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν: ‘ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Φλαμινῖνος ὁ στρατηγός, Μακεδόνας καὶ βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐκπολεμήσαντες, ἀφῆσιν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφρούρητον ἀφορολόγητον ἰδίοις ἦθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι.’ πολλῆς δ’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ βοῆς καὶ χαρᾶς γενομένης θόρυβος ἥδιστος ἦν, ἐτέρων μεθ’ ἐτέρους τὸν κήρυκα καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ἀνειπεῖν μετακαλούντων. στεφάνους τε καὶ ταινίας ἐπέβαλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐψηφίζοντο κατὰ πόλεις. πρέσβεις τε μετὰ χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ χάριν ὡμολόγουν, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἀνεγράφοντο. καὶ δεύτερος ὁδε πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Φιλίπῳ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

[4] When he had arranged these things with them he went to the Isthmian games, and, the stadium being full of people, he commanded silence by trumpet and directed the herald to make this proclamation, “The Roman people and Senate, and Flamininus, their general, having vanquished the Macedonians and Philip, their king, order that Greece shall be free from foreign garrisons, not subject to tribute, and shall live under her own customs and laws.” Thereupon there was great shouting and rejoicing and a scene of rapturous tumult; and groups here and there called the herald back in order that he might repeat his words for them. They threw crowns and fillets upon the general and voted statues for him in their cities. They sent ambassadors with golden crowns to the Capitol at Rome to express their gratitude, and inscribed themselves as allies of the Roman people. Such was the end of the second war between the Romans and Philip. (Y.R. 564)

[5] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνεμάχησε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατ’ Ἀντιόχου βασιλείῳς, περὼντάς τε ἐπὶ Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διὰ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁδὸν οὐκ εὐμαρῇ παρέπεμπεν οἰκείοις τέλεσι καὶ τροφαῖς, ὁδοποιῶν καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσπόρους ζευγνὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους Θρᾶκας διακόπτων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἤγαγεν. ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλή τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον παρὰ σφίσιν ὀμηρεύοντα ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφῆκεν ὧν ἔτι ὤφειλεν: οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες οἶδε Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπ’ Ἀντιόχῳ νίκης, ἐπανιόντας, οὐκέτι Φιλίππου παρόντος, τὴν τε λείαν ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεδείχθη ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἀνιόντας ὤνησεν ὁ Φίλιππος.

[5] Not long afterward Philip lent aid in Greece to the Romans in their war against King Antiochus. As they were moving against Antiochus in Asia, passing through Thrace and Macedonia by a difficult road, he escorted them with his own troops, supplied them with food and money, repaired the roads, bridged the unfordable streams, and dispersed the hostile Thracians, until he had conducted them to the Hellespont. In return for these favors the Senate released his son Demetrius, who had been held (B.C. 190) by them as a hostage, and remitted the payments of money still due from him. But these Thracians fell upon the Romans when they were returning from their victory

over Antiochus, when Philip was no longer with them, carried off booty and killed many — by which it was plainly shown how great a service Philip had rendered them when they were going. (Y.R. 571)

[6] Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχου πολέμου πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ οὐ ποιεῖν ὧν ὥρισε Φλαμινῖνος, ὅτε διετίθετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ Δημήτριος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἐπρέσβευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κεχαρισμένος μὲν ἔκπαισι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀμηρείας, Φλαμινίου δὲ αὐτόν τῇ βουλῇ γνωρίζοντος ἰσχυρῶς. νεώτερον δ' ὄντα καὶ θορυβούμενον ἐκέλευσαν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπομνήματα ἀναγνῶναι, ἐν οἷς ἦν ἐφ' ἐκάστου, τὰ μὲν ἤδη γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ γενήσεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδίκως ὠρισμένα: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέκειτο πολλοῖς. ἡ δὲ βουλή τὴν ὑπόγυον αὐτοῦ ἐς Ἀντίοχον προθυμίαν αἰδουμένη, συγγιγνώσκειν τε ἔφη, καὶ προσεπέιπε διὰ Δημήτριον. ὁ δ' ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἀντιόχου πόλεμον χρησιμώτατός τε γεγονώς, καὶ βλαβερώτατος ἂν φανεῖς εἰ Ἀντιόχῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέπραξε, πολλὰ ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτόν ἀπιστούμενον καὶ κατηγορούμενον καὶ συγγνώμης ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἀξιούμενον, καὶ τῆσδε διὰ Δημήτριον, ἤχθετο καὶ ἡγανάκτει, καὶ ἐπέκρυπτεν ἄμφω. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ τῶν Φιλίππου πρὸς Εὐμένη μετέφερον, ἀσθενοποιοῦντες αἰεὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐς πόλεμον ἤδη λανθάνων ἡτοιμάζετο.”

id. ib.

“ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας διέφθειρεν, ἵνα μὴ Ῥωμαίοις λέγοιεν τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐκτετρῦσθαι.”

Suid. v. τετρῦσθαι.

“ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ταχέως αὐξανόμενον τὸν Περσέα ὑφεωρῶντο: καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἡρέθιζεν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλία καὶ γεινίασις, οἷς ἔχθος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐς Βαστέρνας ἀπεσταλμένοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔφασκον ἰδεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν καὶ νεότητα γεγυμνασμένην, Ῥωμαίους καὶ τάδε διετάρασσαν. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Περσεὺς ἐτέρους ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐχθρας δεδιὼς Περσέα ἦκεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ κατηγορεῖ φανερῶς αὐτοῦ, παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις δυσμενὴς γένοιτο αἰεὶ, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰκείως ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα ἀνέλοι, καὶ Φιλίππῳ τε παρασκευὴν τοσὴνδε κατ' αὐτῶν συναγαγόντι συμπράξειε, καὶ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκλύσειεν αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεργάσαιτο ἕτερα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀμέτρως θεραπεύει, Βυζαντίοις τε καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς συμμαχήσας, καὶ Θράκην κατακτῶτο, μέγα ὀρμητήριον, καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς διαστασιάσειε βουλομένους τι πρесеβεῦσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

[6] That war being ended, many of the Greeks charged (B.C. 183) Philip with doing or omitting various things, in disregard of the orders given by

Flaminius when he settled the affairs of Greece. To answer these charges Demetrius went as an envoy to Rome in his father's behalf, the Romans being well pleased with him aforetime, when he had been a hostage, and Flaminius strongly recommending him to the Senate. As he was a very young man and somewhat flustered, they directed him to read his father's memorandum in which were written down, one by one, the things already done and those yet to be done, although decided upon contrary to justice; for, indeed, his unjust acts were prominent in the thought of many. Nevertheless, the Senate, having regard to his late zeal in the matter of Antiochus, said that it would pardon him, but added that it did so on account of Demetrius. Philip, having been confessedly most useful to them in the war with Antiochus, when he might have done them the greatest damage if he had cooperated with Antiochus, as the latter asked him to, expecting much on this account and now seeing himself discredited and accused, and considered worthy of pardon rather than of gratitude, and even this merely on account of Demetrius, was indignant and angry, but concealed his feelings for a time. Afterwards, in a certain arbitration before the Romans, they transferred much of his territory to Eumenes, seeking all the time to weaken him. Then, at once, he began secretly preparing for war."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Philip utterly destroyed all forces that sailed against him, lest the Romans should say that the Macedonian power was weakening."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 582) "The Romans were suspicious of Perseus (the son of (B.C. 172) Philip) on account of his rapidly growing power, and they were especially disturbed by his nearness to the Greeks and their friendship for him, due to hatred of the Romans, which the Roman generals had caused. Afterward the ambassadors, who were sent to the Bastarnæ, reported that they had observed that Macedonia was strongly fortified and had abundant war material, and that its young men were well drilled; and these things also disturbed the Romans. When Perseus perceived this he sent other ambassadors to allay the suspicion. At this time also Eumenes, king of that part of Asia lying about Pergamus, fearing Perseus on account of his own former enmity to Philip, came to Rome and accused him publicly before the Senate, saying that he had always been hostile to the Romans; that he had killed his brother for being friendly to them; that he had aided Philip in collecting material for war against them, which material, when he became king, he did not desist from collecting, but added much more to it; that he was conciliating the Greeks in every possible way and furnishing military aid to the Byzantines, the Ætolians, and the Boeotians; that he had possessed himself of the great stronghold of Thrace and had stirred up dissensions among the Thessalians and the Perrhæbi when they

wanted to send an embassy to Rome.

[2] ‘καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων,’ ἔφη, ‘φίλων καὶ συμμάχων Ἀβρουπόλιν μὲν ἀφήρηται τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀρθέταυρον δ’ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δυνάστην καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐπιβουλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους ὑποδέδεκται.’ διέβαλλε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας βασιλικὰς ἅμφω γενομένας, καὶ τὰς νυμφαγωγίας ὅλῳ τῷ Ῥοδίων στόλῳ παραπεμφθείσας. ἐγκλημα δ’ ἐποίει καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νηφάλιον τῆς διαίτης, ὄντος οὕτω νέου, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς πολλῶν ὀξέως ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀγαπῶτο καὶ ἐπαινοῖτο. ζήλου τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκλημάτων οὐδὲν ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπολιπὼν, ἐκέλευε τὴν σύγκλητον ὑφορᾶσθαι νέον ἐχθρὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ γειτονεύοντα.

[2] “And of your two friends and allies,” he said, “he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom and conspired to kill Arthetaurus, the Illyrian chief, and gave shelter to his murderers.” Eumenes also slandered him on account of his marriages, both of which were with royal families, and for his bridal processions escorted by the whole fleet of Rhodes. He even made his industry a crime and his sobriety of life (being so young), and his being beloved and praised by so many in so short a time. Of the things that could excite their jealousy, envy, and fear even more strongly than direct accusations, Eumenes omitted nothing, and he urged the Senate to beware of a youthful enemy so highly esteemed and so near to them.

[3] ἡ δ’ ἔργῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιούσα βασιλέα σώφρονα καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐς πολλοὺς φιλόφρονον, ἀθρόως οὕτως ἐπαίρομενον καὶ πατρικὸν ὄντα σφίσιν ἐχθρόν, ἐν πλευραῖς ἔχειν, λόγῳ δ’ ἃ προύτεινεν ὁ Εὐμένης αἰτιωμένη, πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ Περσεῖ. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἀπόρητον ἔτι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦμενοι, Ἄρπαλόν τε πεμφθέντα παρὰ Περσέως ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Εὐμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν, βουλομένους ἐς ὅπιν τὸν Εὐμένη διελέγχειν, παρόντος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐ προσήκοντο, μεταστάντος δὲ ἐδέξαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε πρῶτον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενοι πλέον πολεμεῖν βουλομένους ἤδη Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ καὶ Ῥοδίοις μᾶλλον ἐξηγγίωσαν: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ τὸν Εὐμένη δι’ αἰτίας εἶχον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δέους αἴτιον τοσοῦδε πολέμου γεγόμενον. καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτοῦ, μόνου βασιλέων, ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἥλιου πεμπομένην οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

[3] The Senate, in fact, did not like to have on their flank a sober-minded, laborious, and popular king, an hereditary enemy to themselves, attaining eminence so suddenly. So, making a pretended accusation of the things alleged by Eumenes, they decided to make war against Perseus, but kept the matter a secret among themselves. When Harpalus, who had been sent by Perseus to answer the charge of Eumenes, and a certain ambassador of the Rhodians, desired to discuss the matter in the presence of Eumenes, who was still there, they were not admitted; but after his departure they were received. These, being angry at such treatment, and using too much freedom of speech, exasperated still more the Romans, who were already meditating war against

Perseus and the Rhodians. Many senators, however, blamed Eumenes for causing so great a war on account of his own private grudges and fears, and the Rhodians refused to receive only his among all the representatives of the kings sent to their festival of the sun.

[4] αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανιὼν ἐκ Κίρρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέβαινε θύσων, καὶ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχιον ὑποστάντες ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς αἰτίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν Περσέως πόλεμον ὡς οὐπω κεκριμένον προσελάμβανον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς φίλους βασιλέας, Εὐμένη καὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Ἀριαράθην καὶ Μασσανάσσην καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου, περιέπεμπον, ἐτέρους δ' ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Ἥπειρον καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους, ὅσας δύναιτο προσαγαγέσθαι· ὁ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐτάραττεν, ἡδομένους μὲν τῷ Περσεῖ φιλέλληνι ὄντι, ἀναγκαζομένους δ' ἐνίους Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμβάσεις χωρεῖν.

[4] When Eumenes was returning to Asia he went up from Cirrha to Delphi to sacrifice, and there four men, hiding behind a wall, made an attempt upon his life. Other causes besides this were advanced by the Romans for a war against Perseus, although it had not yet been decreed, and ambassadors were sent to the allied kings, Eumenes, Antiochus, Ariarathes, Masinissa, and Ptolemy of Egypt, also to Greece Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, and to such of the islands as they could perhaps draw to their side. This specially troubled the Greeks, some because fond of Perseus as a Philhellene, and some because compelled to enter into agreement with the Romans. (Y.R. 583)

[5] ὢν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀπορῶν τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί παθόντες ἐκλήθονται τῶν συγκειμένων καὶ πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτοῦ περιπέμπουσιν ὄντος φίλου, δέον, εἰ καὶ τι μέφονται, λόγῳ διακριθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ὅσα Εὐμένης εἴποι καὶ πάθοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Θράκην κατακτῶτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχει καὶ παρασκευὴν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντος ἀνδρός. ὁ δ' αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐτέρους, οἱ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπαχθέντες ἔλεγον ὧδε:

τοῖς μὲν προφάσεως ἐς πόλεμον, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, δεομένοις ἱκανὰ πάντα ἐς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐστίν. εἰ δ' αἰδεῖσθε συνθήκας οἱ πολλὸν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτῶν λόγον ἔχειν, τί παθόντες ὑπὸ Περσέως αἵρεσθε πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι στρατιὰν ἔχει καὶ παρασκευήν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ταῦτα καθ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κεκτηῖσθαι βασιλέας κωλύετε: οὐδ' ἄδικον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τὰ περίοικα, καὶ εἴ τις ἐξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύει. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευσε καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἐναγχοῦς ἀνεκαίνισεν.

[5] When Perseus learned these facts he sent other ambassadors to Rome, who said that the king was surprised and wished to know for what reason they had abandoned the agreement and sent around legates against himself, their ally. If they were offended at anything, they ought to discuss the matter first. The Senate then accused him of the things that Eumenes had told them, and also of what Eumenes had suffered, and especially that Perseus had taken possession

of Thrace and had collected an army and war material, which were not the doings of one desiring peace. Again he sent ambassadors who, deeply grieved, spoke as follows in the senate-chamber: “To those who are seeking an excuse for war, O Romans, anything will serve for a pretext, (B.C. 171) but if you have respect for treaties, — you who profess so much regard for them, — what have you suffered at the hands of Perseus that you should bring war against him? It cannot be because he has an army and war material. He does not hold them against you, nor do you prohibit other kings from having them, nor is it wrong that he should take precautions against those under his rule, and against his neighbors, and foreigners who might have designs against him. But to you, Romans, he sent ambassadors to confirm the peace and only recently renewed the treaty.

[6] ἀλλ’ Ἀβρούπολιν ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐπιδραμόντα γε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀμυνόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσε Περσεύς, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνενεώσασθε, οὐπω διαβάλλοντος Εὐμένους. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἀβρούπολιν καὶ πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τῶν συνθηκῶν, καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὅτε συνετίθεσθε, δίκαιον ἐφάνη. Δόλοψι γὰρ ἐπεστράτευσεν οὔσι τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμὸν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσει. δίδωσι δ’ ὅμως, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ὑμᾶς τε καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν. ἔκτειναν δ’ οἱ Δόλοπες οἶδε τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν αἰκισάμενοι, καὶ ζητεῖ Περσεὺς τί ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐδράσατε τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοιαῦτα πράξαντας. ἀλλ’ Ἀρθέταυρόν τινες ἀνελοντες ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διέτριβον. κοινῷ γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ, καθὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ἐτέρωθεν φεύγοντας ὑποδέχεσθε. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦθ’ ὅτι ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθε, ἐξεκέρυξεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης.

[6] “But, you say, he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom. Yes, in self-defence, for he had invaded our territory. This fact Perseus himself explained to you, and afterward you renewed the treaty with him, as Eumenes had not yet slandered him. The affair of Abrupolis antedates the treaty and seemed to you just, when you ratified it. You say that he made war on the Dolopians, but they were his own subjects. It is hard if he is to be obliged to give an account to you of what he does with his own. He gives it nevertheless, being moved by his high regard for you and for his own reputation. The Dolopians put their governor to death with torture, and Perseus asks what you would have done to any of your subjects who had been guilty of such a crime. But the slayers of Arthetaurus lived on in Macedonia! Yes, by the common law of mankind, the same under which you give asylum to fugitives from other countries. But when Perseus learned that you considered this a crime he forbade them his kingdom entirely.

[7] Βυζαντίοις δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς οὐ καθ’ ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἐτέρων συνεμάχησεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάλαι ὑμῖν ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις ἐμήνουν, καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμφεσθε μέχρι τῆς Εὐμένους διαβολῆς, ἣν οὐκ εἰάσατε τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἐς ὅσιν αὐτὸν ἐλέγξει. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ

γενομένην προσγράφετε Περσεῖ, πόσων Ἑλλήνων, πόσων δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' Εὐμένους πρεσβευσάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷς πᾶσιν ἐχθρός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὢν. Ἐρέννιον δὲ τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν ὅτι Περσεύς, Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ὑμέτερον καὶ πρόξενον, εἴληφεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς φαρμακείαν, ὥς ἀναλῶσαι τὴν σύγκλητον δι' αὐτοῦ δυνάμενος, ἢ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους εὐμενεστεροὺς ἔξω δια τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους; ἀλλ' Ἐρέννιος μὲν ἐψεύσατο τοῖς ἐπιτίμβουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα διδούς, Εὐμένης δ' ὑπ' ἐχθρας τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ὥκνησεν ἐγκαλέσαι Περσεῖ, ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι κεχαρισμένος καὶ φιλέλλην, καὶ σωφρόνως ἀντὶ μέθης καὶ τρυφῆς ἄρχει. καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὑπέστητε ἀκροάσασθαι.

[7] “He gave aid to the Byzantines, the Ætolians, and the Bœotians, not against you, but against others. Of these things our ambassadors advised you beforehand, and you did not object until Eumenes uttered his slander against us, which you did not allow our ambassadors to answer in his presence. But you accuse Perseus of the plot against him at Delphi. How many Greeks, how many barbarians, have sent ambassadors to you to complain against Eumenes, to all of whom he is an enemy because so base a man! As for Erennius of Brundisium, who would believe that Perseus would choose a Roman citizen, your friend and patron, to administer poison to the Senate, as though he could destroy the Senate by means of him, or by destroying some of them render the others more favorable to himself? Erennius has lied to those who are inciting you to war, furnishing them a plausible pretext. Eumenes, moved by hatred, envy, and fear, does not scruple to make it a crime on the part of Perseus that he is liked by so many people, that he is a Philhellene, and that he leads the life of a temperate ruler, free from drunkenness and luxury. And you endure to listen to such stuff from this accuser!

[8] τοιγάρτοι τὴν ἐκείνου διαβολὴν αὖξετε καθ' ὑμῶν ὥς οὐ φέροντες σῶφρονας καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλοπόνους γείτονας. Περσεὺς δ' Ἐρέννιον μὲν καὶ Εὐμένην, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι, προκαλεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν ἐς ἐξέτασιν καὶ κρίσιν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἀναμιμνήσκει μὲν τῆς ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίας καὶ βοηθείας, ἧς ἐπιγιγνομένης καλῶς ἡσθάνεσθε, αἰσχρὸν δὲ παρελθούσης ἐπιλαθέσθαι, προφέρει δὲ συνθήκας πατρώας τε καὶ ἰδίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑμῖν γενομένας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὐκ ὀκνεῖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς οὓς ὠμόσατε αἰδεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν ἀδίκως ἐς φίλους, μηδ' ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθαι γειννίαςιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ὥς Εὐμένους, καὶ ὑμῶν ἄπτεσθαι φθόνον ἢ φόβον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ σῶφρον, φεῖδεσθαι γειτόνων ἐπιμελῶν, καὶ ὥς Εὐμένης φησὶν, εὖ παρασκευασμένων.

[8] “Beware lest his slanders multiply against yourselves, if you cannot endure temperate, honest, and industrious neighbors. Perseus challenges Erennius and Eumenes and anybody else to scrutiny and trial before you. He reminds you of his father’s zeal and assistance to you against Antiochus the

Great. You realized it very well at the time; it would be base to forget it now. He invokes the treaties that you made with his father and with himself, and he does not hesitate to exhort you to fear the gods by whom you swore, and not to bring an unjust war against your allies and not to make nearness, sobriety, and preparation causes of complaint. It is not worthy of you to be stirred by envy and fear like Eumenes. On the contrary, it will be the part of wisdom for you to spare neighbors who are diligent and, as Eumenes says, are well prepared!"

[9] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοιαῦτα εἶπον, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἐκύρουν. καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκ μεν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τριάκοντα ἄλλαις ἐξιέναι. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι Μακεδόνων ἐκήρυττεν. καὶ θόρυβος αὐτίκα μετὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπίφθοнос ἦν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ὥραις ἐλαννομένων τοσῶνδε ὁμοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑποζύγια εὐρεῖν ἐν οὕτῳ βραχεῖ διαστήματι, οὐδὲ πάντα φέρειν δυναμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδῆς οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανον ἐπὶ τοὺς σταθμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀνεπαύοντο ταῖς ὁδοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ παίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. πάντα τε ἐγίνετο ὅσα εἰκος ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ τοιῷδε κηρύγματι: αἰφνίδιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο διὰ τὰς ἔτι πρεσβείας."

U. .

“ὅτι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὁ Περσεὺς, εἴτ' ἐπιγελῶν Κράσσῳ καὶ τωθάζων αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἀποπειρώμενος ὅπως ἔτι φρονήματος ἔχοι, εἴτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν τε καὶ παρασκευὴν ὑφορώμενος, εἴθ' ἐτέρῳ τῷ λογισμῷ, προσέεπεμπεν αὐτῷ περὶ διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο ὣν ὁ πατήρ Φίλιππος οὐ συνεχῶρει: ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑποπτος ἦν ἐπιγελῶν καὶ πειρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας οὐκ εἶναι διαλύσεις αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειε Ῥωμαίοις: αἰδούμενος δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἡττης κατῆρξαν, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἐμαρτύρησεν ὡς ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὴν συμφορὰν γενομένοις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ὡς πρώτων τραπέντων. καὶ τούτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν.”

id. .

“τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἀμφοτέρω περὶ σιτολογίαν ἐγίνοντο, Περσεὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀλωνευόμενος, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.”

Suid. v. ἀλωνευόμενος.

“ὅς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε τοῦ πόνου, ἐξηκοντούτης ὥν καὶ βαρὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πιμελής.”

id. v. πιμελής.

“τότε δὲ ἔθει τις δρόμῳ δηλώσων τῷ Περσεῖ λουομένῳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀναλαμβάνοντι. ὁ δὲ ἐξήλατο τοῦ ὕδατος βοῶν ὅτι ἐαλώκοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.”

“ὅτι Περσεὺς ἀναθαρρῶν ἤδη κατ’ ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν, Νικίαν καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον, οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν καταποντισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπόμφει, περιποιήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα, συνίστορας ἡγούμενος αἰσχροῦ φόβου καὶ ἐτέροις ἐξαγγελεῖν, ἀπέκτεινεν ἀθεμίστως, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε εὐθὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὤμος καὶ εὐχερῆς ἐς ἅπαντας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ’ εὐβουλὸν οἱ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὁ πιθανώτατος ἐς εὐβουλίαν καὶ λογίσασθαι δεξιὸς καὶ εὐτολμότατος ἐς μάχας, ὅσα γε μὴ σφάλλοιο δι’ ἀπειρίαν, ἀθρόως τότε καὶ παραλόγως ἐς δειλίαν καὶ ἀλογιστίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ ταχὺς καὶ εὐμετάθετος ἄφνω καὶ σκαιὸς ἐς πάντα ἐγένετο, ἀρχομένης αὐτὸν ἐπιλείπειν τῆς τύχης. ὅπερ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, μεταβολῆς προσιούσης ἀλογωτέρους γιγνομένους ἑαυτῶν.”

Val. (hinc Suid. v. Περσεὺς Μακεδόν).

“ὅτι Ῥόδιοι πρέσβεις ἐς Μάρκιον ἔπεμψαν, συνηδόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων [Περσεῖ]. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐδίδασκε Ῥοδίους πεῖσαι πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥώμην διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Περσεῖ. καὶ Ῥόδιοι πυθόμενοι μετέπιπτον ὥς οὐ φαύλως ἔχοντος τοῦ Περσέως: οὐ γὰρ εἵκαζον ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ταῦτα Μάρκιον ἐπισκῆπτειν. ὁ δ’ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τάδε καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ δι’ ἀτολμίαν ἔπραττεν. Ῥόδιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ὥς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐτέρους πρὸς Μάρκιον.”

U. .

“ὅτι Γένθιος βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν ἐνὸς ἔθνους προσοίκου Μακεδόσι, Περσεῖ συμμαχῶν ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, ὧν τι καὶ προειλήθει, ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Περπένναν καὶ Πετίλιον ἔδησεν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος οὐκέτι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἔπεμπε ὥς ἤδη καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένον. ἐς δὲ Γέτας ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, καὶ Εὐμένους ἀπεπείρασεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, εἰ μὲν εἰδὼς οὐ λησόμενα ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους, ἐλπίζων δ’ ἢ πράξειν τι αὐτῶν ἢ τῇ πείρᾳ διαβαλεῖν τὸν Εὐμένη. ὁ δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφη, τάλαντα δ’ ἤτει τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, τῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας χίλια. καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἤδη Γετῶν αὐτῷ προσιέναι μισθοφόρους μυρίους ἱππέας καὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς πυθόμενος, αὐτίκα τοῦ Εὐμένους κατεφρόνει, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν οὐδὲν ἰσχυρήν γὰρ φέρειν ἀμφοῖν, τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως οὐ προδώσειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καταθήσειν μέχρι γένοιτο ἢ διάλυσιν, εὐμετάβολος ἤδη καὶ μικρολόγος ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ἐς πάντα γενόμενος. ἐνὸς δὲ ὧν ἥλιπσεν ὁμως οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, Ῥωμαίοις Εὐμένους ὑπόπτου γενομένου.

[9] When the ambassadors had thus spoken the Senate gave them no answer, but made a public declaration of war, and the consul ordered the ambassadors

to depart from Rome the same day and from Italy within thirty days. The same orders were proclaimed to all Macedonian residents. Consternation mingled with anger followed this action of the Senate, that, on a few hours' notice, so many people were compelled to depart together, who were not able to find animals in so short a time, or to carry all their goods themselves. Some, in their confusion, could not reach a lodging-place, but passed the night in the middle of the roads. Others threw themselves on the ground at the city gates with their wives and children. Everything happened that was likely to follow such an unexpected decree, for it was unexpected to them on account of the pending negotiation."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"After his victory Perseus, either to make sport of Crassus, and by way of joke, or to test his present state of mind, or fearing the power and resources of the Romans, or for some other reason, sent messengers to him to treat for peace, and promised to make many concessions which his father, Philip, had refused. In this promise he seemed to be rather joking with him and testing him. But Crassus replied that it would not be worthy of the dignity of the Roman people to come to terms with him unless he should surrender Macedonia and himself to them. Being ashamed that the Romans were the first to retreat, Crassus called an assembly, in which he praised the Thessalians for their brave conduct in the catastrophe, and falsely accused the Ætolians and the other Greeks of being the first to fly; and these men he sent to Rome."

FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

"Both armies employed the rest of the summer in collecting corn, Perseus threshing in the fields and the Romans in their camp."

FROM SUIDAS

"He (Q. Marcius) was foremost in labor, although sixty years of age and very corpulent."

FROM SUIDAS

"Then somebody ran to Perseus, while he was refreshing himself with a bath, and told him [that the enemy was approaching]. He sprang out of the water, exclaiming that he had been captured before the battle."

FROM SUIDAS

(Y.R. 585) "Perseus, having already gradually plucked up courage (B.C. 169) after his flight, wickedly put to death Nicias and Andronicus, whom he

had sent with orders to throw his money into the sea and to burn his ships; because after the ships and money had been saved he knew that they were witnesses of his disgraceful panic and might tell others of it. And from that time, by a sudden change, he became cruel and reckless toward everybody. Nor did he show any soundness or wisdom of judgment thereafter, but he, who had before been most persuasive in council and shrewd in calculation and courageous in battle, barring his inexperience, when fortune began to change became suddenly and unaccountably timid and imprudent, as well as changeable and maladroit in all things. Thus we see many who lose their usual discretion when reverses come.”

FROM PEIRESC

“The Rhodians sent ambassadors to Marcius to congratulate him on the state of affairs in his war with Perseus. Marcius advised the ambassadors to persuade the Rhodians to send legates to Rome to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus. When the Rhodians heard these things they changed their minds, thinking that the affairs of Perseus were not in such bad shape, for they could not imagine that Marcius would have given this advice without the concurrence of the Romans. But he did this and many other things on his own motion, by reason of cowardice. The Rhodians nevertheless sent ambassadors to Rome and others to Marcius.”

FROM “THE EMBASSIES”

(Y.R. 586) “Genthius, king of a tribe of Illyrians bordering on Macedonia, having formed an alliance with Perseus in consideration of 300 talents, of which he had received a part down, made an attack upon Roman Illyria, and when the Romans sent Perpenna and Petilius as ambassadors to inquire about it, he put them in chains. When Perseus learned this he decided not to pay the rest of the money, thinking that now the Romans would make war on him for this outrage. He also sent legates to the Getæ on the other side of the Danube, and he offered money to Eumenes if he would come (B.C. 168) over to his side, or negotiate for him a peace with Rome, or help neither party in the contest. He hoped either that Eumenes would do some one of these things, which could not be kept secret from the Romans, or that he should cause Eumenes to be suspected by the very attempt. Eumenes refused to come over to his side, and he demanded 1500 talents for negotiating a peace, or 1000 for remaining neutral. But now Perseus, learning that 10,000 foot and as many horse were coming to him as mercenaries from the Getæ, began forthwith to despise Eumenes, and said that he would pay nothing for his neutrality, for that would be a disgrace to both of them, but for negotiating a peace he would not fail to pay, and would deposit the money in Samothrace until the treaty was concluded, so fickle and penurious in all matters had he become in his infatuation. Nevertheless, one of the things that he hoped for took place:

Eumenes fell under suspicion at Rome.

[2] Γετῶν δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον περασάντων, ἐδόκει Κλοιλίῳ μὲν τῷ ἡγεμόνι δοθῆναι χιλίους χρυσοὺς στατήρας, ἱππεῖ δ' ἐκάστῳ δέκα, καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα πεζῶ: καὶ τοῦτο σύμπαν ἦν ὀλίγῳ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων χρυσίου. ὁ δὲ χλαμύδας μὲν τινὰς ἐπήγετο καὶ ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἵππους ἐς δωρεὰν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, καὶ στατήρας φερομένους μυρίου, καὶ πλησιάσας μετεπέμπετο Κλοίλιον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας, εἰ φέρουσι τὸ χρυσίον, ἤρετο, καὶ μαθὼν οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀναστρέφειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ὣν ὁ Περσεὺς πυθόμενος, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντος θεοῦ, κατηγορεῖ τῶν Γετῶν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὡς φύσεως ἀπίστου, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μὴ θαρρεῖν δισμυρίους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποδέξασθαι, μόλις δ' ἔφη μυρίου, ὧν καὶ νεωτερίζοντων κρατῆσαι δύνασθαι.

[2] When the Getæ had crossed the Danube, it was claimed that there was due to Clælius, their leader, 1000 gold staters and, also, ten to each horseman and five to each foot-soldier, the whole amounting to a little over 150,000 pieces of gold. Perseus sent messengers to them bearing military cloaks, gold necklaces, and horses for the officers, and 10,000 staters. When he was not far from their camp he sent for Clælius. The latter asked the messengers whether they had brought the gold, and when he learned that they had not, he ordered them to go back to Perseus. When Perseus learned this, he was again misled by his evil genius, and complained among his friends of the fickleness and bad faith of the Getæ, and pretended to be afraid to receive 20,000 of them in his camp. He said that he could hardly subdue 10,000 of them if they should rebel.

[3] ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις εἰπὼν ἕτερα τοῖς Γέταις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦτει, τὸ χρυσίον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν. τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας ἔγεμε, φροντίζων χρημάτων τῶν πρὸ βραχέος ἐς θάλασσαν μεθειμένων. ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἰδὼν ἤρετο μετὰ βοῆς εἰ τὸ χρυσίον κεκομίσασι, καὶ βουλομένους τι λέγειν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου. ὡς δ' ἔμαθεν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφήρητο καὶ τῆσδε συμμαχίας, πολλῆς τε καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐλθούσης. ὑπὸ δ' ἀφροσύνης, ἐν Φίλα χειμάζων καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων πολὺν Θεσσαλίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεχεν, ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχορήγει τροφάς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπεμπε κωλύειν τὴν ἀγοράν τὴν ἐκείθεν αὐτοῖς φερομένην.”

Val. .

“ὅτι Παῦλῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχίας τοσῆσδε γενομένῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐφθόνησε τῆς εὐτυχίας. καὶ οἱ τεσσάρων παίδων ὄντων τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν ἐς θέσιν ἄλλοις ἐδεδώκει, Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Σκιπίωνα, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἄμφω συνέβη, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν δὲ μετὰ πέντε, ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐδενὸς ἦττον ὁ Παῦλος κατελογίσατο τῷ δήμῳ. ἔθους

γὰρ ὄντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καταλέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἶπεν ἐς μὲν Κέρκυραν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλεῦσαι μιᾷς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ Κερκύρας πέντε μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὁδεῦσαι καὶ θῆσαι τῷ θεῷ, πέντε δὲ ἄλλαις ἐς Θεσσαλίαν παραγενέσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸν στρατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλαις ἐλεῖν Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας παραλαβεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ὀξέως ἀπάντων ἐπιτυχὼν δεῖσαι μὴ τι τῷ στρατῷ συμπέσοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανιόντι. ‘διασωθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐδεδοίκειν,’ ἔφη: ‘φθονερὸς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων. ἐς ἐμὲ δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ ἀθρόως μοι τῶν δύο παίδων ἀποθανόντων, ἐπ’ ἐμαντῷ μὲν εἰμι βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀμέριμνος.’ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν, καὶ καταθαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἰκτιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν.”

id. .

[3] While saying these things to his friends, he offered other fictions to the Getæ and asked for half of their force, promising to give them the gold that he had on hand — so inconsistent was he, and so anxious about the money that he had ordered to be thrown into the sea a little while before. Clælius, seeing the messengers returning, asked in a loud voice whether they had brought the gold, and when they wanted to talk about something else he ordered them to speak of the gold first. When he learned that they did not have it, he led his army home without waiting to hear another word from them. Thus Perseus deprived himself of this powerful force of auxiliaries, which had opportunely arrived. He was so foolish, also, that while wintering with a large army at Phila he made no incursion into Thessaly, which furnished supplies to the Romans, but sent a force to Ionia to prevent the bringing of supplies to them from that quarter.”

FROM PEIRESC

“Some divinity was jealous of the prosperity of Paulus when he had reached such a pinnacle of fortune. Of his four sons he gave the two elder, Maximus and Scipio, for adoption into other families. The two younger ones died, one of them three days before his triumph and the other five days after it. Paulus alluded to this among other things in his address to the people. When he came to the forum to give an account of his doings, according to the custom of generals, he said, “I sailed from Brundisium to Corcyra in one day. Five days I was on the road from Corcyra to Delphi, where I sacrificed to the god. In five days more I arrived in Thessaly and took command of the army. Fifteen days later I overthrew Perseus and conquered Macedonia. All these strokes of good fortune coming so rapidly led me to fear the approach of some calamity to the army or to you. When the army was made safe, I feared for you on account of the invidiousness of fate. Now that the calamity falls upon me, in the sudden loss of my two sons, I am the most unfortunate of men for myself, but free from anxiety as to you.” Having spoken thus, Paulus became the

object of universal admiration, and commiseration on account of his children; and he died not long after.”

FROM PEIRESC

Ιλλυρικη — THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Ἰλλυριοὺς Ἕλληνες ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην ἀπὸ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μῆκος, εὗρος δ' ἐκ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Θρακῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐπὶ Παιονας καὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ τὰ πρόποδα τῶν Ἀλπεων. καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν εὗρος ἡμερῶν πέντε, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τριάκοντα, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἴρηται. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὴν χώραν μετρησαμένων ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους.

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Illyrians — The Vengeance of Apollo — First Contact with the Romans

THE Greeks call those people Illyrians who occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Ister (Danube). This is the length of the country. Its breadth is from Macedonia and the mountains of Thrace to Pannonia and the Adriatic and the foot-hills of the Alps. Its breadth is five days' journey and its length thirty — so the Greek writers say. The Romans measured the country and found its length to be upward of 6000 stades and its width about 1200.

[2] φασί δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον Ἰλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι: Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὄντας ἐξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξει τῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. καὶ τότε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθεύοντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει. Ἰλλυριῷ δὲ παῖδας Ἐγγέλεα καὶ Αὐταριέα καὶ Δάρδανον καὶ Μαῖδον καὶ Ταύλαντα καὶ Περραιβὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ θυγατέρας Παρθῶ καὶ Δαορθῶ καὶ Δασσαρῶ καὶ ἑτέρας, ὅθεν εἰσὶ Ταυλάντιοί τε καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐγγέλεες καὶ Αὐταριεῖς καὶ Δάρδανοι καὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Δασσαρήτιοι καὶ Δάρσιοι. Αὐταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι, καὶ Σκορδίσκον Παίονι καὶ Τριβαλλόν, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη παρώνυμα εἶναι. καὶ τότε μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαιολογούσι μεθείσθω,

[2] They say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily; and the nations called Celts, Illyrians, and Galatians took their origin from them. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems to me the most plausible. Illyrius had six sons, Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Mædus, Taulas, and Perrhæbus, also daughters, Partho, Daortho, Dassaro, and others, from whom sprang the Taulantii, the Perrhæbi, the Enchelees, the Autarienses, the Dardani, the Partheni, the Dassaretii, and the Darsii. Autarieus had a son Pannonius, or Pæon, and the latter had sons, Scordiscus and Triballus, from whom nations bearing similar names were derived. But I will leave these matters to the archæologists.

[3] γένη δ' ἔστιν Ἰλλυριῶν, ὡς ἐν τοσῇδε χώρᾳ, πολλά. καὶ περιώνυμα ἔτι νῦν, χώραν νεμόμενα πολλήν, Σκορδίσκων καὶ Τριβαλλῶν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ διέφθειραν ὡς Τριβαλλῶν εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐς Γέτας ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον φυγεῖν, καὶ γένος ἀκμάσαν μέχρι Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου νῦν ἔρημον καὶ ἀνώνυμον τοῖς τῇδε εἶναι, Σκορδίσκους δὲ ἀσθενεστάτους ἀπὸ τοῦδε γενομένου ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὕστερον ὅμοια παθεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τοῦ

αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ φυγεῖν, σὺν χρόνῳ δέ τινας ἐπανέλθειν καὶ Παιόνων ἐσχατιαῖς παροικῆσαι: ὅθεν ἔστι καὶ νῦν Σκορδίσκων γένος ἐν Παίοσιν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Ἀρδιαῖοι τὰ θαλάσσια ὄντες ἄριστοι πρὸς Αὐταριέων ἀρίστων ὄντων τὰ κατὰ γῆν, πολλὰ βλάψαντες αὐτούς, ὅμως ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ ναυτικοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρδιαίοις ἐγένοντο Λιβυρνοί, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐλήστευον ναυσὶν ὠκείαις τε καὶ κούφαις, ὅθεν ἔτι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα δίκροτα Λιβυρνίδας προσαγορεύουσιν.

[3] The Illyrian tribes are many, as is natural in so extensive a country; and celebrated even now are the names of the Scordisci and the Triballi, who inhabited a wide region and destroyed each other by wars to such a degree that the remnant of the Triballi took refuge with the Getæ on the other side of the Danube, and, though flourishing until the time of Philip and Alexander, is now extinct and its name scarcely known in the regions once inhabited by it. The Scordisci, having been reduced to extreme weakness in the same way, and having suffered much at a later period in war with the Romans, took refuge in the islands of the same river. In the course of time some of them returned and settled on the confines of Pannonia, and thus it happens that a tribe of the Scordisci still remains in Pannonia. In like manner the Ardiæi, who were distinguished for their maritime power, were finally destroyed by the Autarienses, whose land forces were stronger, but whom they had often defeated. The Liburni, another Illyrian tribe, were next to the Ardiæi as a nautical people. These committed piracy in the Adriatic Sea and islands with their light, fast-sailing pinnaces, from which circumstance the Romans to this day call their own light, swift biremes liburnicas.

[4] Αὐταριέας δὲ φασὶν ἐκ θεοβλαβείας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ περιελθεῖν. Μολιστόμῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις ἐπὶ Δελφοῦς συστρατεῦσαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τοὺς πλέονας αὐτῶν πρὸ ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὑετῶν σφίσι καὶ θυέλλης καὶ πρηστήρων ἐμπεσοντων, ἐπιγενέσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑποστρέψασιν ἄπειρον βατράχων πλῆθος, οἱ διασαπέντες τὰ νάματα διέφθειραν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀτμῶν ἀτόπων γενομένων λοιμὸς ἦν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ φθόρος Αὐταριέων μάλιστα, μέχρι φεύγοντες τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν σφίσι περιφέροντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς δεχομένου διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ὑπερῆλθον ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τριῶν, καὶ τὴν Γετῶν ἐλώδη καὶ ἀοίκητον, παρὰ τὸ Βαστερνῶν ἔθνος, ᾤκησαν. Κελτοῖς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν ἔσεισε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατήνεγκε: καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔληγε, μέχρι καὶ οἶδε τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἐνέβαλον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς συναμαρτοντας σφίσιν, ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ γενομένους, καὶ ἐδήωσάν τε τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ μετασχόντες ἔφυγον καὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐλεηλάτουν. ἐπιστρέφουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἑω, Ῥωμαῖοι, δεδιότες ὑπὸ μνήμης τῶν προπεπολεμηκότων σφίσι Κελτῶν, μὴ καὶ οἶδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπῆντων ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ πανστρατιᾷ διώλλυντο. καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων μέγα δέος Κελτῶν ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε, μέχρι Γάιον Μάριον ἐλόμενοι σφῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγεῖν, ἄρτι Λιβύων τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ Μαυρουσίοις ἐγκρατῶς

πεπολεμηκότα, τοὺς Κίμβρους ἐνίκων καὶ πολὺν φόνον αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο πολλάκις, ὥς μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι εἴρηται. οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τε ἤδη γενόμενοι καὶ πάσης γῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανῆλθον πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες καὶ παθόντες.

[4] The Autarienses were overtaken with destruction by the vengeance of Apollo. Having joined Molostimus and the Celtic people called Cimbri in an expedition against the temple of Delphi, the greater part of them were destroyed by storm, hurricane, and lightning just before the sacrilege was committed. Upon those who returned home there came a countless number of frogs, which filled the streams and polluted the water. The noxious vapors rising from the ground caused a plague among the Illyrians which was especially fatal to the Autarienses. At last they fled from their homes, and as the plague still clung to them (and for fear of it nobody would receive them), they came, after a journey of twenty-three days, to a marshy and uninhabited district of the Getæ, where they settled near the Bastarnæ. The god visited the Celts with an earthquake and overthrew their cities, and did not abate the calamity until these also fled from their abodes and made an incursion into Illyria among their fellow-culprits, who had been weakened by the plague. While robbing the Illyrians they caught the plague and again took to flight and plundered their way to the Pyrenees. When they were returning to the east the Romans, mindful of their former encounters with the Celts, and fearful lest they should cross the Alps and invade Italy, sent against them both consuls, who were annihilated with the whole army. This calamity to the Romans brought great dread of the Celts upon all Italy until Gaius Marius, who had lately triumphed over the Numidians and Mauritanians, was chosen commander and defeated the Cimbri repeatedly with great slaughter, as I have related in my Celtic history. Being reduced to extreme weakness, and for that reason excluded from every land, they returned home, inflicting and suffering many injuries on the way.

[5] τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκεν Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Κελτοῖς: οὐ μὴν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλ' αὖθις, ἅμα τοῖς Κελτοῖς, Ἰλλυριῶν οἱ Σκορδίσκοι μάλιστα καὶ Μαῖδοι καὶ Ἀρδανοὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέδραμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν ἐσύλησαν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ὅμως καὶ τότε. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἔχοντες ἤδη δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐς Κελτοὺς πείρας, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐπιστρατεύουσι τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἱεροσυλίᾳ ἡγουμένου Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, ἤδη τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μακεδόνων προστατοῦντες. καὶ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν περιχώρους οὐ συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀβοηθήτους, μνήμη τῶν δι' Αὐταριέας ἐς πάντας Ἰλλυριοὺς συμπεσόντων: Σκιπίωνα δὲ Σκορδίσκους μὲν διαφθεῖραι, καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὰς νήσους τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετοικῆσαι φυγόντας, Μαῖδοις δὲ καὶ Ἀρδανεῦσι συνθέσθαι δωροδοκήσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ χρυσίου. καὶ τις ἔφη τῶν

Ἰταλικῶν συγγραφέων ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοις πλεόνως μετὰ Λεύκιον τὰ ἐμφύλια ἤκμασε μέχρι μοναρχίας· καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν Ἰλλυριῶν τσαυτὰ μοι προλελέχθω.

[5] Such was the punishment which the god visited upon the Illyrians and the Celts for their impiety. But they did not desist from temple robbing, for again, in conjunction with the Celts, certain Illyrian tribes, especially the Scordisci, the Mædi, and the Dardani again invaded Macedonia and Greece together, and plundered many temples, including that of Delphi, but losing many men this time also. The Romans, thirty-two years after their first encounter with the Celts, having fought with them at intervals since that time, now, under the leadership of Lucius Scipio, made war against the Illyrians, on account of this temple-robbery, as they [the Romans] now held sway over the Greeks and the Macedonians. It is said that the neighboring tribes, remembering the calamity that befell all the Illyrians on account of the crime of the Autarienses, would not give aid to the temple-robbers, but abandoned them to Scipio, who destroyed the greater part of the Scordisci, the remainder fleeing to the Danube and settling in the islands of that river. He made peace with the Mædi and Dardani, accepting from them part of the gold belonging to the temple. One of the Roman writers says that this was the chief cause of the numerous civil wars of the Romans after Lucius Scipio's time till the establishment of the empire. So much by way of preface concerning the peoples whom the Greeks called Illyrians.

[6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Νορικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώτῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστρου καταπλέοντι ῥκηται, διαιροῦσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται, ὅθεν μὲν ἀρξάμενοι τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὐρεῖν, χρώμενοι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστρου μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὑφ' ἐν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡμολόγησα μὲν καὶ περὶ Κρήτης λέγων οὐχ εὐρεῖν τὰς ἀκριβεῖς τῶν πολέμων ἀρχάς τε καὶ προφάσεις, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοὺς δυναμένους τι πλέον εἰπεῖν παρεκάλουν· ὅσα δ' αὐτὸς ἔγνων, ἀναγράψω.

[6] These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Rhærtians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighboring tribes who inhabited the right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguished from one another just as the various Greek peoples are distinguished from each other, and they call each by its own name, but they consider the whole of Illyria as embraced under a common designation. Whence this idea took its start I have not been able to find out, but it continues to this day, for they farm the tax of all the nations from the source of the Danube to the Euxine Sea under one head, and call it the Illyrian tax. Why the Romans subjugated them, and what were the real

causes or pretexts of the wars, I acknowledged, when writing of Crete, that I had not discovered, and I exhorted those who were able to tell more, to do so. I shall write down only what I know.

CHAPTER II

First Illyrian War — Second Illyrian War — War with Genthius — War with the Dalmatians

(Y.R. 524)

[7] Ἄγρων ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρος ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης τὸν Ἴονιον, ὃν δὴ καὶ Πύρρος ὁ τῆς Ἠπείρου βασιλεὺς κατεῖχε καὶ οἱ τὰ Πύρρου διαδεξάμενοι. Ἄγρων δ' ἔμπαλιν τῆς τε Ἠπείρου τινὰ καὶ Κόρκυραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Φάρον καταλαβὼν ἔμφρουρα εἶχεν. ἐπιπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον Ἴονιον, νῆσος, ἥ ὄνομα Ἴσσα, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τοῖς Ἰσσίοις συνέπεμψαν, εἰσομένους τὰ Ἀγρωνος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα. τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ἔτι προσπλέουσιν ἐπαναχθέντες Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι τῶν μὲν Ἰσσίων πρεσβευτὴν Κλεέμπορον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κορογκάνιον ἀναιροῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέδρασαν αὐτούς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ναυσὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζῷ στρατευόντων, Ἀγρων μὲν ἐπὶ παιδίῳ σμικρῷ, Πίννῃ ὄνομα, ἀποθνήσκει, τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῷ παιδί παραδούς, καίπερ οὐκ οὔσῃ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδίου, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φάρου ἡγούμενος Ἀγρωνι Φάρου τε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦρχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε Κορκύρας παρέδωκεν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπλέουσιν ἐκ προδοσίας. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταύταις Ἐπίδαμνον ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγοντο, καὶ τοῖς Ἰσσίοις καὶ Ἐπιδamnίοις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἔπλεον. Ἰλλυριοὶ μὲν δὴ τὰς πολιορκίας λύσαντες ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, οἱ Ἀτιντανοὶ λεγόμενοι, μετετίθεντο. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡ Ἀγρωνος γυνὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ἀποδιδόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἄγοντας, καὶ ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀγρωνος γενομένων. οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Φάρον καὶ Ἴσσαν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἦδη Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι, Πίννην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀγρωνος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν καὶ φίλον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν ἀπέχρηταί τε τῶν προλελεγμένων, καὶ τὴν Λίσσον μὴ παραπλέωσιν Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι δυοῖν πλείονες, καὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀνόπλοις.

[7] Agron was king of that part of Illyria which borders (B.C. 230) the Adriatic Sea, over which sea Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his successors held sway. Agron captured a part of Epirus and also Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Pharus in succession, where he established garrisons. When he threatened the rest of the Adriatic with his fleet, the isle of Issa implored the aid of the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to accompany the Issii and to ascertain what offences Agron imputed to them. The Illyrian vessels attacked the ambassadors on their voyage and slew Clemporus, the envoy of Issa, and the Roman Coruncanus; the remainder escaped (Y.R. 525) by flight. Thereupon the Romans invaded Illyria by land (B.C. 229) and sea. Agron, in the meantime, had died, leaving an infant son named Pinnes, having given the

guardianship and regency to his wife, although she was not the child's mother. Demetrius, who was Agron's governor of Pharus and who held Corcyra also, surrendered both places to the invading Romans by treachery. The latter then entered into an alliance with Epidamnus and went to the assistance of the Issii and of the Epidamnians, who were besieged by the Illyrians. The latter raised the siege and fled, and one of their tribes, called the Atintani, went over to the Romans. After these (Y.R. 526) events the widow of Agron sent ambassadors to Rome to (B.C. 228) surrender the prisoners and deserters into their hands. She begged pardon also for what had been done, not by herself, but by Agron. They received for answer that Corcyra, Pharus, Issa, Epidamnus, and the Illyrian Atintani were already Roman subjects, that Pinnes might have the remainder of Agron's kingdom and be a friend of the Roman people if he would keep hands off the aforesaid territory, and agree not to sail beyond Lissus nor to keep more than two Illyrian pinnaces, both to be unarmed. The woman accepted all these conditions.

[8] ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐδέχετο, καὶ γίνονται Ῥωμαίοις αἶδε πρῶται πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πείραι τε καὶ συνθήκαι: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀφῆκαν ἐλευθέρως, Δημητρίῳ δ' ἔστιν ἅ χωρία μισθὸν ἔδοσαν τῆς προδοσίας, ἐπειπόντες ὅτι ἐν τοσῷδε διδόασιν, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἄρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑφορώμενοι. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἥρξεν αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον: Ῥωμαίων γὰρ Κελτοῖς ἐπὶ τριετὲς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οὖσι πολεμοῦντων, ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς ὄντων ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλήζετο, καὶ Ἰστρου ἐθνὸς ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοῦτο προσελάμβανε, καὶ τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστη. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Κελτῶν διετέθειτο, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιπλεύσαντες αἰροῦσι τοὺς ληστὰς, ἐς νεώτα δὲ ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Δημήτριον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς συναμαρτόντας αὐτῷ. Δημήτριον μὲν δὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα φυγόντα καὶ αὐθις ἐπιόντα καὶ ληστεύοντα τὸν Ἴονιον κτείνουσι, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ Φάρον συναμαρτοῦσαν ἐπικατέσκαψαν, Ἰλλυριῶν δ' ἐφείσαντο διὰ Πίννην αὐθις δεηθέντα. καὶ δευτέραι πείραι τε καὶ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο.

[8] This was the first conflict and treaty between the Romans and the Illyrians. Thereupon the Romans made Corcyra and Apollonia free. To Demetrius they gave certain castles as a reward for his treason to his own people, adding the express condition that they gave them only conditionally, for they suspected the man's bad faith; and (Y.R. 532) before long he began to show it. While the Romans were (B.C. 222) engaged in a three years' war with the Gauls on the river Po, Demetrius, thinking that they had their hands full, set forth on a piratical expedition, brought the Istrians, another Illyrian tribe, into the enterprise, and detached the Atintani from Rome. The Romans, when they had settled their business with the Gauls, immediately sent a naval force and overpowered the pirates. The following year they marched against Demetrius and his Illyrian fellow-culprits. Demetrius fled to Philip, king of Macedon, but when he returned and resumed his piratical career in the

Adriatic they slew him and utterly demolished his native town of Pharus, (Y.R. 534) which was associated with him in crime. They spared the (B.C. 220) Illyrians on account of Pinnes, who again besought them to do so. And such was the second conflict and treaty between them and the Illyrians.

[9] τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὕτι μοι πάντα χρόνῳ καὶ τάξει μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν ἕκαστον, ὅσα ἡῦρον, συγγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδόσιν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ Περσεὺς ἦν ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μετὰ Φίλιππον· Περσεῖ δὲ Γένθιος Ἰλλυριῶν ἐτέρων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι συνεμάχει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας ἔδησεν, αἰτιώμενος οὐ πρέσβεις ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν. Ἀνίκιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς λέμβους τε τοῦ Γενθίου τινὰς εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐκράτει τὴν μάχην, καὶ συνέκλεισεν ἐς τι χωρίον, ὅθεν αὐτῷ δεομένῳ ὁ μὲν Ἀνίκιος ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίοις ἐαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ὁ δ' ἐς βουλὴν ἤτησε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔλαβεν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνίκιον μετατιθεμένων ἠξίωσεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Ἀνικίῳ, καὶ γονυπετῆς ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ πάνυ αἰσχυρῶς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιθαρρύνων κατεπηχότα ἀνίστη, καὶ καλέσας ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν, ἀπιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐς φυλακὴν ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς θρίαμβον ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἤγαγε, καὶ ὁ Γενθίου πόλεμος ἅπας εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἐπεπολέμητο· ἐβδομήκοντα δ' αὐτοῦ πόλεις οὕσας Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος ὁ τὸν Περσέα ἐλὼν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιστειλᾶσης ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, ἐς Ῥώμην παρῶδευεν ἐπίτηδες, καὶ δεδιόσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο συγγνώσεσθαι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐὰν ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀργυρίον τε καὶ χρυσίον ἐσενέγκωσιν. ὑποδεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων συνέπεμπεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς πόλιν ἐκάστην, ὅρισας ἡμέραν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι τοῦ στρατοῦ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἅμα ἕξ κηρύσσειν ἕκαστον ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τρισὶν ὥραις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ χρήματα φέρειν, συνενεγκόντων δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διαρπάσαι.

[9] The following events I have written as I have found them, not in due order according to their times of occurrence, but rather taking each Illyrian nation separately. When the Romans were at war with the Macedonians during the reign of Perseus, the successor of Philip, Genthius, an Illyrian chief, made an alliance with Perseus for money and (Y.R. 586) attacked Roman Illyria. When the Romans sent ambassadors (B.C. 168) to him on this subject he put them in chains, charging that they had not come as ambassadors, but as spies. The Roman general, Anicius, in a naval expedition, captured some of Genthius' pinnaces and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and shut him up in a castle. When he begged a parley Anicius ordered him to surrender himself to the Romans. He asked and obtained three days for consideration, at the end of which time, his subjects having meanwhile gone over to Anicius, he asked for an interview with the latter, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon in the most abject manner. Anicius encouraged the trembling wretch, lifted him up, and invited him to supper, but as he was

going away from the feast he ordered the lictors to cast him into prison. Anicius afterward led both him and his sons in triumph at Rome. The whole war with Genthius was finished within twenty days. When Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, returned to Rome, he received secret orders from the Senate to go back on particular business relating to the seventy towns that (Y.R. 587) had belonged to Genthius. They were much alarmed, but (B.C. 167) he promised to pardon them for what they had done if they would deliver to him all the gold and silver they had. When they agreed to do so he sent a detachment of his army into each town appointing the same day for all the commanding officers to act, and ordering them to make proclamation at daybreak in each that the inhabitants should bring their money into the market-place within three hours, and when they had done so to plunder what remained. Thus Paulus despoiled seventy towns in one hour.

[10] οὗτω μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις διήρπασεν ὥρα μιᾷ: Ἀρδεῖοι δὲ καὶ Παλάριοι, γένη ἕτερα Ἰλλυριῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Ἰλλυρίδα ἐδήουν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ἀσχολίαν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐπιπλήζοντας αὐτοῖς. οὐ μεταθεμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππευσιν ἑξακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι, καὶ ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν μεταγινώσκοντες καὶ δεόμενοι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὰς βλάβας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἡδικημένοις. οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων δὲ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Φούλουιος Φλάκκος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἄρα μέχρι καταδρομῆς ἔληξε μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἥδρον αὐτοῦ τέλος ἀκριβές. Ἰάποσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων ἐπολέμησε μὲν Σεμπρώνιος ὁ Τουδιτανὸς ἐπὶ κλην καὶ Πανδούσας Τιβέριος καὶ εἰκάσιν οἱ Ἰάποδες αὐτοῖς ὑπακοῦσαι, εἰκάσι δὲ καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ Λευκίῳ Κόττῳ καὶ Μετέλλῳ, ἀμφοτέρω δ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποστήναι.

[10] The Ardei and the Palarii, two other Illyrian tribes, made a raid on Roman Illyria, and the Romans, being otherwise occupied, sent ambassadors to scare them. When they refused to be obedient, the Romans collected an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horse to be despatched against them. (Y.R. 619) When the Illyrians learned this, as they were not yet prepared (B.C. 135) for fighting, they sent ambassadors to crave pardon. The Senate ordered them to make reparation to those whom they had wronged. As they were slow in obeying, Fulvius Flaccus marched against them. This war resulted in an excursion only, for I cannot find any definite end to it. (Y.R. 625) Sempronius Tuditanus and Tiberius Pandusa waged war (B.C. 129) with the Iapydes, who live among the Alps, and seem to (Y.R. 635) have subjugated them, as Lucius Cotta and Metellus seem (B.C. 119) to have subjugated the Segestani; but both tribes revolted not long afterward. (Y.R. 598)

[11] Δαλμάται δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν ἕτερον γένος, Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις κατέθειον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἀφικομένους περὶ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίων οὐ προσίεντο. στρατεύουσιν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μαρκίου Φίγλου σφῶν ὑπατεύοντός τε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενου. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι τοῦ Φίγλου

παρὰστρατοπεδεύοντος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐνίκων ἐπίδραμόντες, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατήραξαν ἐς πεδίον πρᾶνές, μέχρι ἐπὶ Νάρωνα ποταμὸν ἦκεν ὑποφεύγων. ὥς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ἀρχὴ δὲ χειμῶνος ἦν, ὁ Φίγλος ἐλπίσας αὐτοῖς ἀδοκῆτως ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι συνερρυηκότας ἡῦρεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνήλασεν ὁμως ἐς πόλιν Δελμίνιον, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματέας, εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐτράπη. οὐδὲν δὲ πρὸς ἐχυρὰν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου δυνάμενος, οὐδὲ μηχανήμασιν ἔχων χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ἦρει τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθέων, ἐρημοτέρας ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον συνόδου γενομένης. εἶτα διπήχεας κορύνας πίσση καὶ θείῳ καὶ στυπνίῳ περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον ἐκ καταπελτῶν ἐσφενδόνα. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ρύμης ἐξεκαίοντο, καὶ φερόμεναι καθάπερ λαμπάδες ὅπου τύχοιεν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως πολλὰ μὲν κατεπρήσθη, καὶ τέλος ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τότε Φίγλω τοῦ Δαλματῶν πολέμου. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Καϊκίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπατεύων οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοῖς Δαλμάταις ἐψηφίσατο πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμία θριάμβου, καὶ δεχομένων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ὥς φίλον διεχείμασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαλώνῃ πόλει, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

[11] The Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, made an (B.C. 156) attack on the Illyrian subjects of Rome, and when ambassadors were sent to them to remonstrate they were not received. The Romans accordingly sent an army against them, with Marcius Figulus as consul and commander. While Figulus was laying out his camp the Dalmatians over-powered the guard, defeated him, and drove him out of the camp in headlong flight to the plain as far as the river Naro. As the Dalmatians were returning home (for winter was now approaching), Figulus hoped to fall upon them unawares, but he found them reassembled from their towns at the news of his approach. Nevertheless, he drove them into the city of Delminium, from which place they first got the name of Delmatenses, which was afterward changed to Dalmatians. As he was not able to attack this strongly defended town from the road, nor to use the engines that he had, on account of the height of the place, he attacked and captured some other towns that were partially deserted on account of the concentration of forces at Delminium. Then, returning to Delminium, he hurled sticks of wood, two cubits long, covered with flax and smeared with pitch and sulphur, from catapults into the town. These caught fire from friction and, flying in the air like torches, wherever they fell caused a conflagration, so that the greater part of the town was burned. This was the end of the war waged by Figulus against the Dalmatians. At a later period, in (Y.R. 635) the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus, war was declared (B.C. 119) against the Dalmatians, although they had been guilty of no offence, because he desired a triumph. They received him as a friend and he wintered among them at the town of Salona, after which he returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

CHAPTER III

Julius Cæsar and the Illyrians — The Pannonians on the Danube

[12] τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἡγουμένου Κελτῶν, οἱ Δαλμάται οἶδε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἰλλυριῶν τότε μάλιστα διηυτύχουν, Λιβυρνοὺς, ἕτερον ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν, Πρωμόναν πόλιν ἀφείλοντο: οἱ δὲ σφᾶς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγὺς ὄντα κατέφευγον. ὁ δὲ ἔπεμψε μὲν, καὶ προηγόρευσε τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν Πρωμόναν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Λιβυρνοῖς: οὐ φροντισάντων δὲ ἐκείνων τέλος ἔπεμψε στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, οὓς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν οἱ Ἰλλυριοί. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν: οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ σχολή τότε στασιάζοντι πρὸς Πομπήιον. ἐκραγείσης δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τῆς στάσεως ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ μεθ' ὅσων εἶχεν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου χειμῶνος τὸν Ἴονιον ἐπέρα καὶ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐπολέμει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦγε τῷ Καίσαρι, περῶν καὶ ὁδε τὸν Ἴονιον χειμῶνος ἄκρου, σπεύρας δὲ πεζοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππέας Γαβίνιος ἦγεν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, περιοδεύων τὸν Ἴονιον. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ φόβῳ τῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονότων ἐς Καίσαρα, τὴν νίκην αὐτοῦ νομίζοντες ὄλεθρον γενήσεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς, κτείνουσι πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Γαβινίῳ στρατὸν ἐπιδραμόντες, χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου καὶ ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων. καὶ ἐς χρήματα τότε μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐκ τοσῶνδε λαφύρων ἔστησαν.

[12] At the time when Cæsar held the command in Gaul these same Dalmatians and other Illyrians, who were then in a very prosperous condition, took the city of Promona (Y.R. 704) from the Liburni, another Illyrian tribe. The latter put (B.C. 50) themselves in the hands of the Romans and appealed to Cæsar, who was near by. Cæsar sent word to those who were holding Promona that they should give it up to the Liburni, and when they refused, he sent against them a strong detachment of his army who were totally destroyed by the Illyrians. Nor did Cæsar renew the attempt, for he had no leisure then, on account of the civil strife with Pompey. When the civil strife burst forth in war Cæsar crossed the Adriatic from Brundisium in the winter, with what forces he had, and opened his campaign against Pompey in Macedonia. Antony brought another army to Cæsar's aid in Macedonia, he also crossing the Adriatic in mid-winter. Gabinius led fifteen cohorts of foot and 3000 horse for him by way of Illyria, passing around the Adriatic. (Y.R. 706) The Illyrians, fearing punishment for what they had done (B.C. 48) to Cæsar not long before, and thinking that his victory would be their destruction, attacked and slew the whole army under Gabinius, except Gabinius himself and a few who escaped. Among the spoils captured was a large amount of money and war material.

[13] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἡσυχολεῖτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐς Πομπήιον, καὶ Πομπηίου καθαιρεθέντος ἐς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς ἐκείνου στάσεως πολυμερῇ γενόμενα,

καταστησάμενος δὲ πάντα ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ Γέτας τε καὶ Παρθυαίους. ἔδεισαν οὖν οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μὴ ἐν ὁδῷ σφίσιν οὖσιν ἐπιθοῖτο, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἐς Ῥώμην ἤτουν τε συγγνώμην τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἐς φίλιαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐδίδοσαν, ὥς περὶ ἔθνους ἀλκίμου μάλιστα σεμνολογούμενοι. ὁ δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα ἐς Παρθυαίους σεμνότερον ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, φίλους μὲν οὐ θήσεσθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα δεδρακότας, συγγνώσεσθαι δέ, εἰ φόρους ὑποσταῖεν καὶ ὄμηρα δοῖεν. ὑπὸ σκηνωμένων δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν Οὐατίνιον ἔπεμψε σὺν στρατοῦ τέλεσι τρισὶ καὶ ἑκατὸσι πολλοῖς, φόρους τε ὀλίγους τάζοντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα ληψόμενον. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἡγούμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι γεγονέναι τε καὶ διεφθάρθαι, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ Οὐατίνιου κατήκουον, οὔτε ἐς τοὺς φόρους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἐγχειροῦντος αὐτοὶ πέντε τάξεις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν τάξεων Βαίβιον, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, καὶ Οὐατίνιος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀνεχώρει· ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ τὸν στρατὸν τόνδε καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ὅσων ἦρχον, ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ Καίπωνι τῷ κτείναντι Γάιον, ὅτε περ καὶ Συρίαν Κασσίω, καὶ τῷδε ἀνδροφόνῳ Γαῖου γενομένῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷδε, πολεμουμένοι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, ἐς οὐδὲν ἐσχόλασαν Ἰλλυριοῖς.

[13] Cæsar was preoccupied by the necessity of coming to a conclusion with Pompey, and, after Pompey's death, with the numerous parts of his faction still remaining. When he had settled everything he returned to Rome and made preparations for war with the Getæ and the Parthians. The Illyrians began to fear lest he should attack them, as they were on his intended line of march. So they sent ambassadors to Rome to crave pardon for what they had done and to offer their friendship and alliance, vaunting themselves (Y.R. 709) as a very brave race. Cæsar was hastening his preparations (B.C. 45) against the Parthians; nevertheless, he gave them the dignified answer that he could not make friends of those who had done what they had, but that he would grant them pardon if they would subject themselves to tribute and give him hostages. They promised to do both, and accordingly he sent Vatinius thither with three legions and a large cavalry force to impose a light tribute on them and receive the (Y.R. 710) hostages. When Cæsar was slain the Dalmatians, thinking (B.C. 44) that the Roman power resided in him and had perished with him, would not listen to Vatinius on the subject of the tribute or anything else. When he attempted to use force they attacked and destroyed five of his cohorts, including their commanding officer, Bæbius, a man of senatorial rank. Vatinius took refuge with the remainder of his force in Epidamnus. The Roman Senate transferred this army, together with the province of Macedonia and Roman Illyria, to Brutus Cæpio, one of Cæsar's murderers, and at the same time assigned Syria to Cassius, another of the assassins. But they also, being involved in war with Antony and the second Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, had no time to attend to the Illyrians.

[14] οἱ δὲ Παῖονές εἰσιν ἔθνος μέγα παρά τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐπίμηκες ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους, Παῖονες μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, καὶ ῥωμαῖσι Παννόνιοι, συναριθμοῦμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι, ὡς προεῖπον. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶνδὲ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἰλλυρικά εἰπεῖν. ἔνδοξοι δ' εἰσιν ἐκ Μακεδόνων δι' Ἀγριᾶνας, οἱ τὰ μέγιστα Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεργασάμενοι Παῖονές εἰσι τῶν κάτω Παϊόνων, Ἰλλυριοῖς ἔποικοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Παῖονας ἐστράτευσεν Κορνήλιος, κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας μέγα δέος Παϊόνων Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ἐς πολὺ τοῖς ἔπειτα ὑπάτοις ὄκνον ἐπὶ Παῖονας ἐλαύνειν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πάλαι τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Παϊόνων ἔσχον εὐρεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κληθέντος Σεβαστοῦ, παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παϊόνων ἤρουν.

[14] The Pæones are a great nation on the Danube, extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. They are called Pæones by the Greeks, but Pannonians by the Romans. They are counted by the Romans as a part of Illyria, as I have previously said, for which reason it seems proper that I should include them in my Illyrian history. They have been renowned from the Macedonian period through the Agrianes, who rendered very important aid to Philip and Alexander and are Pæones of Lower Pannonia bordering on Illyria. When the expedition of Cornelius against the Pannonians resulted disastrously, so great a fear of those people came over all the Italians that for a long time afterwards none of the consuls ventured to march against them. Concerning the early history of the Illyrians and Pannonians, I have not been able to discover anything further, nor have I found in the commentaries of Augustus anything earlier in the chapters treating of the Pannonians.

[15] Ἰλλυρίων δέ μοι φαίνεται χωρὶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἕτερα Ῥωμαίων προῦπακοῦσαι. καὶ ὅπως μὲν, οὐκ ἔγνων· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραφεν, ὡς δ' ἀποστάντας ἐς τοὺς φόρους ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ἐτέρους ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἔτι ὄντας αὐτονόμους εἴλε, καὶ πάντα ἐκρατύνατο ὅσοι τὰς κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἀλπεων, βάρβαροι καὶ μάχιμα ἔθνη, καὶ κλοπεύοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς γείτονα. καὶ μοι θαῦμά ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι Ῥωμαίων στρατοὶ ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰβήρας διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὁδεύοντες ὑπερεῖδον τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οὐδὲ Γάιος Καίσαρ, εὐτυχέστατος ἐς πολέμους ἀνὴρ, ἐξήνυσεν αὐτά, ὅτε Κελτοῖς ἐπολέμει καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐχεῖμαζεν. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἡρέθησαν ἐπειγόμενοι, τῆς διόδου τῶν Ἀλπεων μόνης φροντίσαι, ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀμφὶ τε τὰ Κελτικὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ Κελτικὰ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπερθέσθαι. φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἅμα Κελτοῖς αἰρεθεῖς ἄρχειν, οὐ πάσης δ' ἄρα ἦρχεν ἀλλ' ὅση τις ἦν τότε Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίς.

[15] I think that other Illyrian tribes besides those mentioned had previously come under Roman rule, but how, I do not know. Augustus did not describe the transactions of others so much as his own, telling how he brought back

those who had revolted and compelled them again to pay tribute, how he subjugated others that had been independent from the beginning, and how he mastered all the tribes that inhabit the summits of the Alps, barbarous and warlike peoples, who often plundered the neighboring parts of Italy. It is a wonder to me that so many great Roman armies traversing the Alps to conquer the Gauls and Spaniards, should have overlooked these tribes, and that even Gaius Cæsar, that most successful man of war, did not despatch them during the ten years that he was fighting the Gauls and wintering in that very country. But the Romans seem to have been intent only upon getting through the Alpine region on the business they were bestirring themselves about, and Cæsar seems to have delayed putting an end to the Illyrian troubles on account of the Gallic war and the strife with Pompey, which closely followed it. It appears that he was chosen commander of Illyria as well as of Gaul — not the whole of it, but as much as was then under Roman rule.

CHAPTER IV

*Augustus invades Illyria — Subjugation of the Salassi and of the Iapydes —
Hard Fighting at Metulus — Destruction of the City — War against the
Segestani — Their City Captured*

[16] ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς πάντα ἐχειρώσατο ἐντελῶς, καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου κατελογίσατο τῇ βουλῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμερῶσαι δυσμάχων ἐθνῶν θαμινὰ ἐνοχλοῦντων. Ὁξυαῖους μὲν δὴ καὶ Περθεηνάτας καὶ Βαθιάτας καὶ Ταυλαντίους καὶ Καμβαίους καὶ Κινάμβρους καὶ Μερομέννους καὶ Πυρρυσσαίους εἵλε δι' ὅλης πείρας· ἔργῳ δὲ μείζονι ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ φόρους ὅσους ἐξέλιπον ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀποδοῦναι, Δοκλεᾶται τε καὶ Κάρνοι καὶ Ἰντερφρουρίνοι καὶ Ναρήσιοι καὶ Γλιντιδίωνες καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. ὧν ἀλόντων οἱ ὁμοροὶ προσέθεντο αὐτῷ καταπλαγέντες, Ἰππασίνοι τε καὶ Βεσσοί. ἐτέρους δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποστάντας, Μελιτηνοὺς καὶ Κορκυρηνοὺς, οἱ νήσους ὥκουν, ἀνέστησεν ἄρδην, ὅτι ἐλήστευον τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἐκτείνε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπέδοτο. Λιβυρνῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφείλετο, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἐλήστευον. Ἰαπόδων δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Μοεντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Αὐενδεᾶται προσέθεντο αὐτῷ προσιόντι, Ἀρουπίνοι δ', οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι τῶνδε τῶν Ἰαπόδων εἰσίν, ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνφίκισαντο, καὶ προσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς ὕλας συνέφυγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τὸ ἄστυ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας ἐνδώσειν αὐτούς· καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν.

[16] When Augustus had made himself master of everything, he informed the Senate, by way of contrast with Antony's slothfulness, that he had freed Italy from the savage tribes that had so often raided it. He overcame the Oxyæi, the Perthoneatæ, the Bathiatæ, the Taulantii, the Cambæi, the Cinambri, the Meromenni, and the Pyrissæi in one campaign. By more prolonged effort he also over-came the Docleatæ, the Carui, the Interphrurini, the Naresii, the Glintidiones, and the Taurisci. From these tribes he exacted the tributes they had been failing to pay. When these were conquered, the Hippasini and the Bessi, neighboring tribes, were overcome by fear and surrendered themselves to him. Others which had revolted, the Meliteni and the Corcyreans, who inhabited islands and practised piracy, he destroyed utterly, putting the young men to death and selling the rest as slaves. He deprived the Liburnians of their ships because they also practised piracy. (Y.R. 719) The Mœntini and the Avendeatæ, two tribes of the Iapydes, (B.C. 35) dwelling within the Alps, surrendered themselves to him at his approach. The Arrepini, who are the most numerous and warlike of the Iapydes, betook themselves from their villages to their city, but when he arrived there they fled to the woods. Augustus took the city, but did not burn it, hoping that they would deliver themselves up, and when they did so he allowed them to occupy it.

[17] μάλιστα δ' ἠνώχλησαν αὐτὸν Σαλασσοί τε καὶ Ἰάποδες οἱ πέραν Ἄλπεων

καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ καὶ Δαλμάται καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται καὶ Παῖονες, ὄντες ἐκάς τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, οἱ κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἄλπεων, ὄρη δύσβατα, καὶ στενὴ διόδός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ δυσχερής· δι' ἧ καὶ ἦσαν αὐτόνομοι, καὶ τέλη τοῦς παροδεύοντας ἤτουν. τούτοις Οὐτέτερ ἐμπεσὼν ἀδοκῆτως τὰ στενὰ προύλαβε δι' ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἐπὶ διετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. οἱ δὲ ἁλῶν ἀπορία, ὣν εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἐν χρεῖα, φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο. καὶ Οὐτέτερος ἀποστάντος τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξέβαλον εὐθύς, καὶ τὰ στενὰ κρατυνάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιτεμπομένους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος διέπαιζον, οὐδὲν δρᾶν μέγα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, προσδοκωμένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμου, συνέθετο αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν, καὶ ἀκολάστους τῶν ἐπὶ Οὐτέτερι πραχθέντων. οἱ δ' ἅτε ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες ἄλλας πολλοὺς ἐσώφρευον, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθεον, μέχρι Μεσσάλας Κοροῦνιὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεμφθεὶς λιμῷ παρεστήσατο.

[17] Those who gave him the most trouble were the Salassi, the transalpine Iapydes, the Segestani, the Dalmatians, the Dæsitiatæ, and the Pannonians, far distant from the Salassi, who occupy the higher Alpine mountains, difficult of access, the paths being narrow and hard to climb. For this reason they had not only preserved their independence, but had levied tolls on those who passed through their country. Vetus assaulted them unexpectedly, seized the passes by stratagem, and besieged them for two years. They were driven to surrender for want of salt, which they use largely, and they received a Roman garrison; but when Vetus went away they expelled the garrison forthwith, and, possessing themselves of the mountain passes, they mocked at the forces that Augustus sent against them, as unable to accomplish anything of importance. Thereupon Augustus, anticipating a war with Antony, acknowledged their independence and allowed them to go unpunished for their offences against Vetus. But as they were suspicious of what might happen, they laid in large supplies of salt and made (Y.R. 720) incursions into the Roman territory until Messala Corvinus (B.C. 34) was sent against them and reduced them by hunger. In this way were the Salassi subjugated. (Y.R. 719)

[18] καὶ Σαλασσοὶ μὲν οὕτως ἐλήφθησαν, Ἰάποδες δὲ οἱ πέραν Ἄλπεων, ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄγριον, δις μὲν ἀπεώσαντο Ῥωμαίους, ἔτεσί που ἀγχοῦ εἴκοσιν, Ἀκυληῖαν δ' ἐπέδραμον καὶ Τεργηστὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποικον ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁδὸν ἀνάντη καὶ τραχεῖαν· οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐδυσχέRAINON αὐτῷ, τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες. ὥς δ' ἀνήλθεν, ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην αὐτοὶ συνέφυγον καὶ προσίοντα ἐλόχων. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε γὰρ αἰεὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἐς τὰς ἀκρωρείας τινὰς ἔπεμπε, οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συνέθεον προβαίνοντι διὰ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ καὶ κόπτοντι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ Ἰάποδες ἐπεξέθεον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιτρεχόντων κατεκόπτοντο οἱ πλείους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάλιν ἐς τὰ λάσια συνέφευγον, τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες, ἧ ὄνομα Τέρπωνος. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας καὶ τούσδε ἐνδώσειν· καὶ ἐνέδωκαν.

[18] The transalpine Iapydes, a strong and savage tribe, drove back the

Romans twice within the space of about twenty years, overran Aquileia, and plundered the Roman colony of Tergestus. When Augustus advanced against them by a steep and rugged road, they made it still harder for him by felling trees. As he advanced farther they took refuge in another forest, where they lay in ambush for the approaching foe. Augustus, who was always suspecting something of this kind, sent forces to occupy certain ridges which flanked both sides of his advance through the flat country and the fallen timber. The Iapydes darted out from their ambush and wounded many of the soldiers, but (B.C. 35) the greater part of their own forces were killed by the Romans who fell upon them from the heights above. The remainder again took refuge in the thickets, abandoning their town, the name of which was Terponus. Augustus took this town, but did not burn it, hoping that they also would give themselves up, and they did so.

[19] ἐπὶ δ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ἔχῳρει, Μετοῦλον, ἥ τῶν Ἰαπόδων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ, κεῖται δ' ἐν ὄρει σφόδρα ὑλῶδει ἐπὶ δύο λόφων, οὓς διαιρεῖ χαράδρα στενὴ. καὶ ἡ νεότης ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχίλιους μαχίμους τε καὶ σφόδρα εὐόπλους· οἱ Ῥωμαίους τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν περιστάντας εὐκόλως ἀπεκρούοντο. οἱ δὲ χῳμα ἤγειρον· καὶ οἱ Μετοῦλοι τό τε χῳμα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκτρέχοντες ἠνώχλουν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μηχαναῖς κατεπόνουν, αἷς ἐσχέκεσαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ὃν Δέκμος Βροῦτος ἐνταῦθα ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ. πονοῦντος δὲ κάκεινους ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, οἷδ' ὑπετείχισαν ἔνδοθεν, καὶ τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἐκλιπόντες μετεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ νεότευκτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐκλειφθὲν λαβόντες ἐνέπρησαν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου δύο χῳματα ἔχουν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεφύρας τέσσαρας ἐξέτεινον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ περιέπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὰ ὀπίσθια τῆς πόλεως, περισπᾶν τοὺς Μετούλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις προσέταξε περᾶν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη. διὰ τῶν γεφυρῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ὑψηλὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς ἐώρα.

[19] Thence he advanced to another place called Metulus, which is the chief town of the Iapydes. It is situated on a heavily timbered mountain, on two ridges with a narrow valley between them. Here were about 3000 warlike and well-armed youth, who easily beat off the Romans who surrounded their walls. The latter raised a mound. The Metulians interrupted the work by assaults by day and by night, and harassed the soldiers from the walls with engines which they had obtained from the war which Decimus Brutus had waged there with Antony and Augustus. When their wall began to crumble they built another inside, abandoned the ruined one, and took shelter behind the other. The Romans captured the abandoned one and burned it. Against the new fortification they raised two mounds and from these threw four bridges to the top of the wall. Then, in order to distract their attention, Augustus sent a part of his force around to the rear of the town and ordered the others to dash across the bridges to the walls. He ascended to the top of a high tower to see the result.

[20] οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τοῖς περῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν τε ἐκ μετώπου κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ ὑπεδρεύνοντες ἕτεροι τὰς γεφύρας μακροῖς δόρασιν ὑπεκέντουν, μᾶλλον τε ἐθάρρηνσαν μιᾷ γεφύρᾳ καὶ δευτέρᾳ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ πεσοῦσης. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη συνέπεσε, φόβος ἤδη παντελὴς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπέιχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπέβαινε, ἕως ὃ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου καταθορῶν ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἐρεθιζομένων, αὐτὸς ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔτο δρόμῳ. συνέθεον δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Ἱέρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ Λοῦτος καὶ Οὐόλας, τέσσαρες οἵδε μόνοι, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν περῶντος, ἐν αἰδοῖ γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεπήδησεν ἄθρους. καὶ πάλιν ἡ γέφυρα βαρηθεῖσα καταπίπτει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἄθροοι κατεχώννυντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συντριβέντες ἐφέροντο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπλήγῃ μὲν τὸ σκέλος τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἄμφω, ἀνέδραμε δ' ὁμῶς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξεν ἔρρωμένον, μὴ τις ὥς ἀποθανόντος γένοιτο θόρυβος. ἵνα δὲ μὴδ' οἱ πολέμοι νομίσειαν αὐτὸν ἐνδῶσειν ἀναχωρήσαντα, εὐθὺς ἐτέρας ἐπήγνυτο γεφύρας. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα κατέπληξε τοὺς Μετούλους ὥς ὑπὸ γνώμης ἀμάχου πολεμουμένους.

[20] Some of the barbarians ran from the parapet to meet the Romans who were crossing, while others, unseen, sought to undermine the bridges with their long spears. They were much encouraged at seeing one bridge fall and a second one follow on top of it. When a third one went down a regular panic overtook the Romans, so that no one ventured on the fourth bridge until Augustus leaped down from the tower and reproached them. As they were not roused to their duty by his words, he seized a shield and sprang upon the bridge himself. Agrippa and Hiero, two of the generals, and one of his bodyguard, Lucius, and Volas ran with him, only these four with a few armor-bearers. He had almost crossed the bridge when the soldiers, overcome by shame, rushed after him in crowds. Then this bridge, being overweighted, fell also, and the men on it went down in a heap. Some were killed and others were carried away with broken bones. Augustus was injured in the right leg and in both arms. Nevertheless, he ascended the tower with his signals forthwith and showed himself safe and sound, lest dismay should arise from a report of his death. In order that the enemy might not fancy that he was going to give in and retire he began to construct new bridges; by which means he struck terror into the Metulians, who thought that they were contending against an unconquerable will.

[21] καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμήρους τε πεντήκοντα ἔδωσαν, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελέξατο, καὶ φρουρὰν ὑποσχόμενοι δεξιέσθαι τὸν ὑψηλότερον λόφον τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετεχώρουν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσελθοῦσα ἡ φρουρὰ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἀποθέσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἡγανάκτησάν τε, καὶ τὰ γύναια σφῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συγκλείσαντες, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπιστήσαντες, οἷς εἴρητο, εἴ τι ἀηδὲς γίνοιτο περὶ αὐτοὺς, ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπεχείρουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὶ μετ'

ἀπονοίας. οἷα δ' ὑψηλοτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ ταπεινοῦ, συνεχώσθησαν ἄθροοι, καὶ οἱ φύλακες τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέπησαν, πολλαὶ τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἑαυτάς τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι φέρουσαι ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνήλαντο, ὥς ἀπολέσθαι τῶν Μετούλων τὴν τε νεότητα πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων τὸ πλεόν τῷ πυρί. συγκατεφλέγη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἵχνος μεγίστης ἐκεῖθι γενομένης. Μετούλου δ' ἀλούσης οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰαπόδων καταπλαγέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἰάποδες μὲν οὖν οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων τότε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκουσαν· καὶ αὐτῶν Ποσηνοὺς ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστάντας ἐπιπεμφθεὶς αὐτοῖς Μᾶρκος Ἑλουῖος εἴλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδoto.

[21] The next day they sent messengers to Augustus offering to give fifty hostages whom he might select, and promising to receive a garrison and to assign to them the highest hill while they themselves would occupy the other. When the garrison entered and he ordered them to lay down their arms they were very angry. They shut their wives and children up in their council-chamber and stationed guards there with orders to set fire to the building in case things went wrong with them, and then they attacked the Romans with desperation. Since, however, they made the attack from a lower position upon those occupying higher ground, they were completely overpowered. Then the guards set fire to the council-chamber and many of the women killed their children and themselves. Others, holding in their arms their children still alive, leaped into the flames. Thus all the Metulian youth perished in battle and the greater part of the non-combatants by fire. Their city was entirely consumed, and, large as it was, not a trace of it now remains. After the destruction of Metulus the remainder of the Iapydes, being terror-stricken, surrendered to Augustus. The transalpine Iapydes were then for the first time brought in subjection to the Romans. After Augustus departed the Poseni (Y.R. 720) rebelled and Marcus Helvius was sent against them. He (B.C. 34) conquered them and after punishing the leaders of the revolt with death sold the rest as slaves. (Y.R. 719)

[22] ἐς δὲ τὴν Σεγεστικὴν γῆν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δις πρότερον ἐμβαλόντες οὔτε ὄμηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι εἰλήφεσαν· ὅθεν ἦσαν ἐπὶ φρονήματος οἱ Σεγεστανοί. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐπήει διὰ τῆς Παίωνων γῆς, οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ τῆσδε ὑπηκούου γενομένης. ὑλώδης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Παίωνων, καὶ ἐπιμήκης ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους. καὶ οὐ πόλεις ὥκουν οἱ Παίονες οἶδε, ἀλλ' ἄγρους ἢ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν· οὐδ' ἐς βουλευτήρια κοινὰ συνήεσαν, οὐδ' ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μάχης ἐς δέκα μυριάδας συνετέλουν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι συνήεσαν ἄθροοι δι' ἀναρχίαν. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὰς ὕλας ὑποφυγόντες τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνήρουν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἕως μὲν ἠλπίζεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε τὰς κώμας οὔτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἔλυσμαίνετο, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντων δὲ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη καὶ ἔκειρεν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἐς ὃ διήλθεν ἐς τὴν Σεγεστανῶν, καὶ τήνδε Παίωνων οὔσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Σάου ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐχυρά, τῷ τε ποταμῷ καὶ τάφρῳ

μεγίστη διειλημμένη, διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῆς ἔχρηζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταμειῷ χρησόμενος ἐς τὸν Δακῶν καὶ Βαστερνῶν πόλεμον, οἱ πέραν εἰσι τοῦ Ἰστρου, λεγομένου μὲν ἐνταῦθα Δανουβίου, γιγνομένου δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον Ἰστρου. ἐμβάλλει δ' ὁ Σάος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν τῷ Σάῳ Καίσαρι ἐγίνοντο, αἱ ἐς τὸν Δανούβιον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν διοίσειν ἔμελλον.

[22] At an earlier time the Romans twice attacked the (B.C. 35) country of the Segestani, but obtained no hostages nor anything else, for which reason the Segestani became very arrogant. Augustus advanced against them through the Pannonian territory, which was not yet under subjection to the Romans. Pannonia is a wooded country extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. The inhabitants do not live in cities, but scattered through the country or in villages according to relationship. They have no common council and no rulers over the whole nation. They number 100,000 fighting men, but they do not assemble in one body, because they have no common government. When Augustus advanced against them they took to the woods, from which they darted out and slew the stragglers of the army. As long as Augustus hoped that they would surrender voluntarily he spared their fields and villages. As none of them came in he devastated the country with fire and sword for eight days, until he came to the Segestani. Theirs is also Pannonian territory, on the river Save, on which is situated a city strongly fortified by the river and by a very large ditch encircling it. For this reason Augustus greatly desired to possess it as a magazine convenient for a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnæ on the other side of the Ister, which is there called the Danube, but a little lower down is called the Ister. The Save flows into it, and Augustus caused ships to be built in the latter stream to bring provisions to the Danube for him.

[23] διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Σεγέστης ἔχρηζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ· προσιώντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ προσέπεμψαν, πυνθανόμενοι τίνος χρήξει. ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν ἐσαγαγεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὁμήρους ἑκατὸν λαβεῖν, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ταμειῷ τῇ πόλει χρῶτο ἐπὶ Δάκας. ἦται δὲ καὶ σῖτον, ὅσον δύναιτο φέρειν. ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν πρωτεύοντες ἡξίουσαν δοῦναι· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξαγριαίνων τὰ μὲν ὄμηρα διδόμενα περιεῖδεν, ὅτι ἴσως οὐ παρὰ σφῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων παῖδες ἦσαν, προσιούσης δὲ τῆς φρουρᾶς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ὁρμῇ μανιώδει τὰς πύλας αὐθις ἀπέκλειον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τόν τε ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου, καὶ χάρακας καὶ τάφρους πάντοθεν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀποτειχίσας δ' αὐτοὺς δύο χώματα ἔχου. οἷς ἐπέδραμον μὲν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ πολλάκις, οὐ δυνηθέντες δ' ἐλεῖν λαμπάδας καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἄνωθεν ἐπέβαλλον. προσιούσης δ' αὐτοῖς Παιόνων ἐτέρων βοηθείας, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐνῆδρευσεν αὐτήν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ' ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι Παιόνων ἐβόηθει.

[23] For these reasons he desired to obtain possession of Segesta. As he was approaching, the Segestani sent to inquire what he wanted. He replied that he desired to station a garrison there and to have them give him 100 hostages in

order that he might use the town safely as a base of operations in his war against the Dacians. He also asked for as much food as they were able to supply. The chief men of the town acquiesced, but the common people were furious, yet consented to the giving of the hostages, perhaps because they were not their children, but those of the notables. When the garrison came up, however, they could not bear the sight of them, but shut the gates in a mad fury and stationed themselves on the walls. Thereupon Augustus bridged the river and surrounded the place with ditch and palisade, and, having blockaded them, raised two mounds. Upon these the Segestani made frequent assaults and, being unable to capture them, endeavored to destroy them with torches and fire thrown from above. When aid was sent to them by the other Pannonians Augustus met and ambuscaded this reinforcement, destroyed a part of their force, and put the rest to flight. After this they got no more help from the Pannonians.

[24] οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ δὲ πᾶσαν πολιορκίαν ὑποστάντες ἡμέρα τριακοστῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἱκετεύειν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαίνω τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐλέω τῆς ἱκεσίας οὔτε ἔκτεινεν οὔτε ἀνέστησεν, ἀλλὰ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε, καὶ τῆς πόλεως μέρος διατειχίσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σπειρῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰδ' ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέξεν, ὥς ἦρος ἐπανήξων ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα. φήμης δ' ἐπιδραμούσης ὅτι τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέθορε χειμῶνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τέλος τῆς φήμης ψευδὲς ἦν, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀληθῆ: ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ ἐν κινδύνῳ, τῶν Σεγεστανῶν αὐτοὺς ἄφνω περιστάντων, καὶ πολλοὺς τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἀπωλλέκει, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προελθόντες ἐκράτουν τῶν Σεγεστανῶν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας μετῆι, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, Ταυλαντίους ὄμορον.

[24] Thus the Segestani, after enduring all the evils of a siege, were taken by force on the thirtieth day, and then for the first time they began to beg. Augustus, admiring them for their bravery and yielding to their prayers, neither killed nor banished them, but contented himself with a fine. He caused a part of the city to be separated from the rest by a wall, and in this he placed a garrison of twenty-five cohorts. Having accomplished this he went back to Rome, intending to return to Illyria in the spring. But a rumor becoming current that the Segestani had massacred the garrison, he set forth hastily in the winter. However, he found that the rumor was false, yet not without cause. They had been in danger from a sudden uprising of the Segestani and had lost many men by reason of its unexpectedness, but on the next day they rallied and put down the insurgents. Augustus turned his forces to Dalmatia, another Illyrian country bordering on Taulantia.

CHAPTER V

*Second War against the Dalmatians — The City of Promona taken —
Sunodium burned — The Dalmatians subdued*

(Y.R. 720)

[25] οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἐξ οὗ τὰς ὑπὸ Γαβινίῳ πέντε τάξεις ἀνηρήκεσαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τὰ ὄπλα οὐκ ἀπετέθειντο ἔτεσιν ἥδη δέκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς συμμαχήσιν ἀλλήλοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαχιδώτατοι μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πλείους, ὧν στρατηγὸν Οὐέρσον αἰροῦνται. ὁ δὲ Πρωμόναν αὖθις, τὴν τῶν Λιβυρνῶν πόλιν, καταλαβὼν ὠχύρου, καὶ τὰλλα οὖσαν ἐκφυῶς ὀχυρωτάτην: ὄρειον γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτῷ περὶκενται λόφοι πάντοθεν ὀξεῖς οἷα πρίονες. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλεόν ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόφοις διέθηκεν Οὐέρσος φρούρια: καὶ πάντες ἐφεώρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερόν πάντας ἀπετείχιζε, λάθρα δὲ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἔπεμπε ζητεῖν ἄνοδον ἐς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῶν λόφων. καὶ οἱ μὲν, τῆς ὕλης αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλυπτούσης, νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτουσι τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐναζομένοις, καὶ κτείνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι κατέσεισαν ὑπὸ λύγῃ: ὁ δὲ τῆς τε πόλεως ἐς πείραν ἦει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, καὶ ἐς τὸ εἰλημμένον ἄκρον ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἔπεμπεν, οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόφοις ἐπικατήσαν. φόβος τε καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρουμένοις πάντοθεν: μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἔδεισαν διὰ τὸ ἄνυδρον, μὴ τῶν διόδων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. καὶ συμφεῦγουσιν ἐς τὴν Πρωμόναν.

[25] The Dalmatians, after the slaughter of the five cohorts under Gabinius and the taking of their standards, elated by their success, had not laid down their arms for ten years. When Augustus advanced against them they made an alliance with each other for mutual aid in war. They had upwards of 12,000 fighting men under a general named Versus. He occupied Promona, the city of the Liburni, and fortified it, although it was very strong by nature. It is a mountain stronghold surrounded on all sides by sharp-pointed hills like saw-teeth. The greater part of his forces were stationed in the town, but he placed guards on the (B.C. 34) hills and all of them looked down upon the Romans from elevated positions. Augustus in plain sight began to draw a wall around the whole, but secretly he sent his bravest men to seek a path to the highest of the hills. These, concealing themselves in the woods, fell upon the guards by night while they were asleep, slew them, and signalled to Augustus in the twilight. He led the bulk of the army to make an attempt upon the city, and sent another force to hold the height that had been taken, while the captors of it should get possession of the lower hills. Terror and confusion fell upon the barbarians everywhere, for they believed themselves to be attacked on all sides. Especially were those on the hills alarmed lest they should be cut off from their supply of water, for which reason they all fled to Promona.

[26] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν τε καὶ δύο λόφους, οἳ ἔτι ἐκρατοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁμοῦ περιτειχίζε, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων περίμετρον. κὰν τούτῳ Τέστιμον Δαλμάτην, στρατὸν ἕτερον ἄγοντα τοῖς ἐν Πρωμόνῃ συμμάχον, ὑπαντήσας ἐδίωκεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τεστίμου τὴν Πρωμόναν εἵλεν, οὐπω τῆς περιτειχίσεως τετελεσμένης. ἐκδραμόντων γὰρ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ συνελαυνομένων ὀξέως, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν συνεσέπεσον, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τούτων ἔνδον ἔκτειναν: οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέδραμον. καὶ σπεῖρα Ῥωμαίων ἐφύλασεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. οἷς προσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι νυκτὸς τετάρτης, καὶ ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σπεῖρα τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀνέκοψε τῆς ὁρμῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης εἴλε παραδόντας ἑαυτούς: τὴν δὲ σπεῖραν ἢ τὸ φυλάκιον ἐξέλιπε διακληρώσας, ἐξημίωσε θανάτῳ τὸ δέκατον, καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δύο. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνου τοῦ θέρους κριθὴν ἀντὶ σίτου τραφῆναι δίδοσθαι.

[26] Augustus surrounded the town, and two hills which were still held by the enemy, with a wall forty stades in length. When Testimus, another Dalmatian general, brought an army to the relief of the place Augustus met him and drove him back to the mountains, and while Testimus was still looking on he took Promona before the line of circumvallation was finished. For when the citizens made a sally and were sharply repulsed, the Romans pursued them and entered the town with them, where they killed a third part of them. The remainder took refuge in the citadel, at the gates of which a Roman cohort was placed to keep watch. On the fourth night the barbarians assaulted them, and they fled terror-stricken from the gates. Augustus repulsed the enemy's assault, and the following day received their surrender. The cohort that had abandoned its position was obliged to cast lots, and every tenth man suffered death. The lot fell upon two centurions among others. It was ordered, as a further punishment, that the surviving members of the cohort should subsist on barley instead of wheat for that summer.

[27] οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Πρωμόνα, Τέστιμος δ' ὁρῶν διεσκέδασε τὸν στρατὸν ἑαυτοῦ, φεύγειν ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ: ὅθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκειν ἐς πολὺ, τὴν τε διαίρεσιν σφῶν τὴν ἐς πολλὰ δείσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς φυγῆς συγκεχυμένα. Συνόδιον δ' αἰροῦσι πόλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ὕλης, ἐν ἣ τὸν Γαβινίου στρατὸν ἐνήδρευσαν οἱ Δαλμάται περὶ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ καὶ ἐπιμήκει καὶ μέσῃ δύο ὁρῶν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνήδρευον. ὁ δὲ τό τε Συνόδιον ἐνέπρησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη περιπέμψας ἄνω στρατὸν ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συμπαρομαρτεῖν, αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς φάραγγος, κόπτων τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὰς πόλεις αἰρῶν, καὶ πάντα ἐμπιπράς ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦρει. πολιορκουμένης δὲ πόλεως Σετουῖας, ἐπήγει τις αὐτοῖς συμμαχία βαρβάρων, ἣν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐκώλυσεν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐς τὴν Σετουῖαν. κὰν τῷ πόνῳ τῷδε ἐπλήγη λίθῳ τὸ γόνυ, καὶ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθεραπεύετο. ῥαῖσας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ὑπατεύσων σὺν Οὐολκατίῳ Τύλλῳ, Στατίλιον Ταῦρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καταλιπών.

[27] Promona being thus taken, Testimus, who was still looking on, disbanded his army, telling them to scatter in all directions. For this reason the Romans were not able to pursue them long, as they feared to divide themselves into small bands, being ignorant of the roads, and the foot-prints of the fugitives being much confused. They took the town of Sunodium at the edge of the forest in which the army of Gabinius had been entrapped by the Dalmatians in a long and deep gorge between two mountains. There also they laid an ambuscade for Augustus, but after he had burned Sunodium he sent soldiers around by the summits of the mountains to keep even pace with him on either side while he passed through the gorge. He cut down trees and captured and burned all the towns he found on his way. While he was besieging the city of Setovia a force of barbarians came to its assistance, which he met and prevented from entering the place. In this conflict he was struck by a stone on the knee and was confined for several days. When he recovered he returned to Rome to perform the duties of the consulship with Volcatius Tullus, his colleague, leaving Statilius Taurus to finish the war. (Y.R. 721)

[28] νουμηνία δ' ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδοὺς Αὐτρωνίῳ Παίτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐξέθορεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τοὺς Δαλμάτας, ἄρχων ἔτι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν: δύο γὰρ ἔλειπεν ἔτη τῇ δευτέρᾳ πενταετία τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνηγρίσαντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκεκυρώκει. οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἤδη κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, τῶν ἐξωθεν ἀγορῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, ἐρχομένῳ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ πύλων καὶ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, ὅμηρά τε δόντες ἐπτακοσίους παῖδας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤτει, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ σημεῖα τὰ Γαβινίου: τὸν δὲ φόρον τὸν ἀπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐκλειφθέντα ἀποδώσειν ὑποστάντες, εὐπειθεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο. τὰ σημεῖα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθηκεν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ὀκταουία λεγομένη. Δαλματῶν δ' ἀλόντων καὶ Δερβανοὶ προσίοντα τὸν Καίσαρα συγγνώμην ἤτουν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλειφθέντας φόρους ὑπέστησαν ἀποδώσειν. τῶν δὲ ... οἷς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλησίασε, καὶ ὁμήρους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔδοσαν: ὅσοις δ' οὐκ ἐπλησίασε διὰ νόσον, οὗτ' ἔδοσαν οὐτε συνέθεντο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἶδε ὕστερον ὑπαχθέντες.

οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση τε ἀφειστήκει Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ πρότερον ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλὴ θρίαμβον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι, ὃν ἐθρίαμβευσεν ὕστερον ἅμα τοῖς κατ' Ἀντωνίου.

[28] Entering upon his new consulship on the Calends (B.C. 33) of January, and delivering the government to Autronius Pætus the same day, he started back to Dalmatia at once, the triumvirate still existing; for two years remained of the second five-year period which the triumvirs themselves had ordained and the people confirmed. And now the Dalmatians, oppressed by hunger and cut off from foreign supplies, met him on the road and delivered themselves up with supplications, giving 700 of their children as hostages, as Augustus

demanded, and also the Roman standards taken from Gabinus. They also promised to pay the tribute that had been in arrears since the time of Gaius Cæsar and to be obedient henceforth. Augustus deposited the standards in the portico called the Octavia. After the Dalmatians were prostrated Augustus advanced against the Derbani, who likewise begged pardon with supplications, gave hostages, and promised to pay the past-due tribute. In like manner other tribes at his approach gave hostages for observing the treaties that he made with them. Some, however, he was prevented by sickness from reaching. These gave no hostages and made no treaties. It appears, however, that they were subjugated later. Thus Augustus subdued the whole Illyrian country, not only the parts that (Y.R. 725) had revolted from the Romans, but those that had never (B.C. 29) before been under their rule. Wherefore the Senate awarded him an Illyrian triumph, which he enjoyed later, together with one for his victory over Antony.

[29] λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παϊόνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. Ῥαιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρικοὺς ἡγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἢ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειρούμενον Παίονας: ἐν μέσῳ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡῦρον ἴδιον ἐς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νωρικοὺς γενόμενον: ὅθεν μοι δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἐτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι.

[29] The remaining peoples, who are considered by the Romans to be parts of Illyria, are the Rhætians and the Noricans, on this side of Pannonia, and the Mysians on the other side as far as the Euxine Sea. I think that the Rhætians and Noricans were subdued by Gaius Cæsar during the Gallic war or by Augustus during the Pannonian war, as they lie between the two. I have found no mention of any war against them separately, whence I infer that they were conquered along with other neighboring tribes.

[30] Μυσοὺς δὲ Μάρκος μὲν Λεύκολλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λικινίου Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσαντος, κατέδραμε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλὼν, ἔνθα εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες ἐξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροιχοι, Ἴστρος τε καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ Μεσημβρία, καὶ Καλλατίς, καὶ Ἀπολλωνία: ἐξ ἧς ἐς Ῥώμην μετήνεγκε τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ Παλατίῳ. καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἡῦρον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας ἐς Μυσοὺς γενόμενον, οὐδ' ἐς φόρου ὑπαχθέντας οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ: ὑπήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβέριου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Σεβαστὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου. ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ μὲν πρὸ ἀλώσεως Αἰγύπτου πάντα ὑπὸ νεύματι τοῦ δήμου γενόμενα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν συγγέγραπται, ἃ δὲ μετ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ αὐτοκράτορες οἶδε ἐκρατύναντο ἢ προσέλαβον, ὥς ἴδια αὐτῶν ἔργα, μετὰ τὰ κοινὰ εἴρηται: ἔνθα καὶ περὶ Μυσῶν ἐρῶ πλεονα. νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τοὺς Μυσούς τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγοῦνται, καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμά μοι τοῦτο Ἰλλυρικόν ἐστιν, ὥς ἂν εἴη τὸ σύγγραμμα ἐντελές, ἐδόκει προειπεῖν ὅτι καὶ Μυσοὺς Λεύκολλός τε τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν ἐπέδραμε καὶ Τιβέριος εἴλε κατά τὴν μοναρχον ἐξουσίαν.

[30] Marcus Lucullus, brother of that Licinius Lucullus who conducted the war against Mithridates, advanced against the Mysians and arrived at the river where six Grecian cities lie adjacent to the Mysian territory, namely, Istrus, Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesembria, Catalis, and Apollonia; from which he brought to Rome the great statue of Apollo which was afterward set up on the Palatine Hill. I have found nothing further done by the Roman republic as to the Mysians. They were not subjected to tribute by Augustus, but by Tiberius, who succeeded him as Roman emperor. All the things done by command of the people before the taking of Egypt have been written by me for each country separately. Those countries that the emperors themselves pacified after Egypt was taken, or annexed as their own work, will be mentioned after the affairs of the commonwealth. There I shall tell more about the Mysians. For the present, since the Romans consider the Mysians a part of Illyria and this is my Illyrian history, in order that it may be complete it seems proper to premise that Lucullus invaded Mysia as a general of the republic and that Tiberius took it in the time of the empire.

Συριακή — THE SYRIAN WARS

Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, Σύρων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς, ἔκτος δὲ ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ Εὐφράτην βεβασιλευκότος, ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Μηδίαν τε καὶ Παρθυηνὴν καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη ἀφιστάμενα ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δράσας, καὶ μέγας Ἀντίοχος ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληθεὶς, ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὰ προσωνυμία, Συρίαν τε τὴν κοίλην καὶ Κιλικίας ἔστιν ἡ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, Αἰγύπτου βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, ἐπιδραμὼν περιέσπασε, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος Ἑλλησποντίους ἐπήει καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Ἴωνας ὡς οἱ προσήκοντας ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀσίας, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέων ὑπῆκουον. ἐς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαπλεύσας Θράκην ὑπήγετο καὶ τὰ ἀπειθοῦντα ἐβιάζετο, Χερρόνησόν τε ὠχύρου, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ὥκισεν, ἦν Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ Θράκης ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεύσας ἔκτισεν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς Θραξίν εἶναι, οἱ Θραῖκες δ' ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου καθηρήκεσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνήκισε, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον ὠνούμενος, καὶ ἐτέρους προσκαταλέγων, καὶ βοῦς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος ὁρμήν· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο λαμπρῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ ὅλη Θράκῃ, καὶ ταμιεῖον εὐκαιρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὧν ἐπενόει πάντων ἔσεσθαι.

CHAPTER I

Ambition of Antiochus the Great — His First Disagreement with Rome — A Conference at Lysimacheia — Hannibal at Ephesus — Antiochus forms Alliances

(Y.R. 530) ANTIOCHUS (the son of Seleucus and grandson of Antiochus), (B.C. 224) king of the Syrians, the Babylonians, and other nations, was the sixth in succession from that Seleucus who succeeded Alexander in the government of the Asiatic countries around the Euphrates. He invaded Media and Parthia, and other countries that had revolted from his ancestors, and performed many exploits, from which he was named Antiochus the Great. Elated by his successes, and by the (Y.R. 556) title which he had derived from them, he invaded Cœle-Syria (B.C. 198) and a portion of Cilicia and took them away from Ptolemy Philopator [Epiphanes], king of Egypt, who was still a boy. As there was nothing small in his views he marched among the Hellespontines, the Æolians, and the Ionians as though they belonged to him as the ruler of Asia; and, indeed, they had been formerly subjects of the Asiatic (Y.R. 558) kings. Then he crossed over to Europe, brought Thrace (B.C. 196) under his sway, and reduced by force those who would not obey him. He fortified Chersonesus and rebuilt Lysimacheia, which Lysimachus, who ruled Thrace in the time of Alexander, built as a stronghold against the Thracians themselves, but which they destroyed after his death. Antiochus repopled it, calling back the citizens who had fled, redeeming those who had been sold as slaves, bringing in others, supplying them with cattle, sheep, and agricultural implements, and omitting nothing that might contribute to its speedy completion as a stronghold; for the place seemed to him to be admirably situated to hold all of Thrace in subjection, and a convenient base of supplies for other operations that he contemplated.

[2] ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διαφορᾶς φανεραῖς καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἤρξεν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ μετῆι τὰς τῆδε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, οἱ μὲν πλέονες αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο καὶ φρουρὰς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς ἀλώσεως, Σμυρναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἔτι ἀντέχοντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Φλαμινῖον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγόν, ἄρτι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος μεγάλη μάχη περὶ Θετταλίαν κεκρατηκότα: ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ Μακεδόνων καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίμικτα ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη καὶ χρόνους, ὥς μοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ γραφῇ δεδῆλωται. καὶ γίνονται τινες Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Φλαμινίῳ διαπρεσβεύσεις τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀπόπειραι ἀτελεῖς. ἐκ πολλοῦ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπόπτως εἶχον ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες Ἀντίοχον ἐπαιρόμενον ἀρχῆς τε μεγέθει καὶ εὐπραξίας ἀκμῇ, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίους οἱ μόνους αὐξομένῳ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κωλύειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην περαιούμενον. οὐδενὸς δὲ πῶ φανεροῦ γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, αἰτιωμένου Συρίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν Ἀντίοχον

αὐτὸν ὑφελέσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐπέβαινον ἄσμενοι, κατὰ καιρὸν σφίσι γενομένης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἔστελλον, οἱ λόγῳ μὲν ἔμελλον συναλλάξειν Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντιόχῳ, ἔργῳ δὲ κατασκέψεσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν Ἀντιόχου καὶ κωλύσειν ὅσα δύναιτο.

[2] Here the open disagreements between him and the Romans began, for as he passed among the Greek cities thereabout most of them joined him and received his garrisons, because they feared capture by him. But the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus, and some others who still resisted, sent ambassadors to Flamininus, the Roman general, who had lately overthrown Philip the Macedonian in a great battle in Thessaly; for the affairs of the Macedonians and of the Greeks were closely linked together at certain times and places, as I have shown in my Grecian history. Accordingly, certain embassies passed between Antiochus and Flamininus and tested each other to no purpose. The Romans and Antiochus had been suspicious of each other for a long time, the former surmising that he would not keep quiet because he was so much puffed up by the extent of his dominions and the acme of fortune that he had reached. Antiochus, on the other hand, believed that the Romans were the only people who could put a stop to his increase of power and prevent him from passing over to Europe. Still, there was no outward cause of enmity between them until ambassadors came to Rome from Ptolemy Philopator complaining that Antiochus had taken Syria and Cilicia away from him. The Romans gladly seized this occasion as one well suited to their purposes, and sent to Antiochus ostensibly to bring about a reconciliation between him and Ptolemy, but really to find out his designs and to check him as much as they could.

[3] τούτων δὴ τῶν πρέσβεων Γναῖος ἡγούμενος ἠξίου τὸν Ἀντίοχον Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν, ὄντι Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ, συγχωρεῖν ἄρχειν ὅσων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἦρχεν, αὐτονόμους ἔαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον Ἀντίοχον κρατεῖν ὧν Φίλιππον ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅλως δ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη τί τοσοῦτον στόλον ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τοσαύτην στρατιάν ἄγων ἄνωθεν ἐκ Μήδων ἔλθοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐσβάλοι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζοιτο, καὶ Θράκην ὑπάγοιτο, εἰ μὴ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐτέρου πολέμου θεμέλια. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο Θράκην μὲν, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην τε καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ἐκπεσοῦσαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ὧν ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐγείρειν οἰκητήριον Σελεύκῳ τῷ παιδί εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἑάσειν, εἰ τὴν χάριν οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἄλλ' ἑαυτῷ μέλλοιεν ἔξειν. 'Πτολεμαίῳ δ', ἔφη, 'καὶ συγγενῆς εἰμι καὶ ὅσον οὐπω καὶ κηδεστὴς ἔσομαι, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν παρασκευάσω. ἀπορῶ δὲ κἀγὼ τίνι Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦντος.'

[3] Gnæus, the chief of the embassy, demanded that Antiochus should allow Ptolemy, who was a friend of the Roman people, to rule over all the countries

that his father had left to him, and that the cities of Asia that had been part of the dominions of Philip should be independent, for it was not right that Antiochus should usurp powers of which the Romans had deprived Philip. "We are wholly at a loss to know," he said, "why Antiochus should come from Media bringing such a fleet and such an army from the upper country to the Asiatic coast, make an incursion into Europe, build cities there, and subdue Thrace, unless these are the preparations for another war." Antiochus replied that Thrace had belonged to his ancestors, that it had fallen away from them when they were occupied elsewhere, and that he had resumed possession because he had leisure to do so. He had built Lysimacheia as the future seat of government of his son Seleucus. He would leave the Greek cities of Asia independent if they would acknowledge the gratitude therefor as due to himself and not to the Romans. "I am a relative of Ptolemy," he said, "and I shall be his father-in-law, although I am not so now, and I will see to it that he renders gratitude to you. I am at a loss to know by what right you meddle with the affairs of Asia when I never interfere with those of Italy." And so they separated without coming to any understanding, and both sides broke into more open threats. (Y.R. 559)

[4] οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν, ἀπορρηγνύντες ἤδη τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐς τὸ φανερώτερον· λόγου δὲ καὶ δόξης ἐμπεσοῦσης ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ ἀποθάνει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπῆει ὡς Αἴγυπτον ἔρημον ἄρχοντας ἀρπασόμενος. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἑφεσον Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος συμβάλλει, φεύγων τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἐχθρῶν διαβολάς, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι δύσεριν τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ οὔποτε εἰρηνεῦειν δυνάμενον. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαῖοις ὑπήκουον ἔνσπονδοι. Ἀννίβαν μὲν δὴ διώνυμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις ὄντα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς καὶ εἶχεν ἀμφ' αὐτόν· περὶ δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν Πτολεμαῖον περιεῖναι μαθὼν Αἰγύπτου μὲν ἀπέγνω, Κύπρον δ' ἐλπίσας αἰρήσειν ἀντὶ Αἰγύπτου διέπλει κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτήν. χειμῶνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν συμπεσόν, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαλὼν, ἐνίας δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φίλοις, ἐς Σελεύκειαν τῆς Συρίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ τὸν στόλον κατεσκεύαζε πεπονημένον. γάμους τε τῶν παίδων ἔθυσεν, Ἀντιόχου καὶ Λαοδίκης, ἀλλήλοις συναρμόζων.

[4] A rumor having spread abroad that Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 195) was dead, Antiochus hastened to Egypt in order to seize the country while bereft of a ruler. While on this journey Hannibal the Carthaginian met him at Ephesus. He was now a fugitive from his own country on account of the accusations of his enemies, who reported to the Romans that he was hostile to them, that he wanted to bring on a war, and that he could never enjoy peace. This was a time when the Carthaginians were leagued with the Romans by treaty. Antiochus received Hannibal in a magnificent manner on account of his great military reputation, and kept him near himself. At Lycia he learned that Ptolemy was alive. So he gave up the idea of seizing Egypt and turned his attention to Cyprus, hoping to take it instead of Egypt, and sailed thither with

all speed. Encountering a storm at the mouth of the river Sarus and losing many of his ships, some of them with his soldiers and friends, he sailed back to Seleucia in Syria to repair his damaged fleet. There he celebrated the nuptials of his children, Antiochus and Laodice, whom he had joined together in marriage. (Y.R. 561)

[5] ἤδη δὲ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἐπιγαμίαις τοὺς ἐγγὺς βασιλέας προκατελάμβανε, καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔστελλε Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Σύραν ἐπὶ κλησιν, προῖκα Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἐπιδιδούς, ἣν αὐτὸς ἀφῆρητο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, θεραπεύων ἤδη τὸ μεिरάκιον, ἔν' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρεμῇ: Ἀντιοχίδα δ' ἔπεμπεν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν Εὐμένει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἑώρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις τε πολεμῆσειόντα καὶ πρὸς τήνδε τὴν χρεῖαν τὸ κῆδος αὐτῷ συναπτόμενον ἡρνήσατο, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀττάλῳ τε καὶ Φιλεταίρῳ, θανμάζουσιν ὅτι κῆδος βασιλέως τοσοῦδε καὶ γείτονος, αὐτοῦ τε κατάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου, παραιτοῖτο, ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ τι παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἕξειν ἰσοπαλές, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ὑπεροίσειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων δι' εὐψυχίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν. 'ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, 'Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπικρατούντων βεβαίως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἄρξω, Ἀντιόχου δὲ νικῶντος ἐλπίς μὲν ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα πρὸς γείτονος, ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ ἔχοντα βασιλεύσειν βασιλεύομενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου.'

[5] Now, determining no longer to conceal his intended (B.C. 193) war with the Romans, he formed alliances by marriage with the neighboring kings. To Ptolemy in Egypt he sent his daughter Cleopatra, surnamed Syra, giving with her Coele-Syria as a dowry, which he had taken away from Ptolemy himself, thus flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans. To Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent his daughter Antiochis, and the remaining one to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But the latter, seeing that Antiochus was about to engage in war with the Romans and that he wanted to form a marriage connection with him on this account, refused her. To his brothers, Attalus and Philetærus, who were surprised that he should decline marriage relationship with so great a king, who was also his neighbor and who made the first overtures, he showed that the coming war would be of doubtful issue at first, but that the Romans would prevail in the end by their courage and perseverance. "If the Romans conquer," said he, "I shall be firmly seated in my kingdom. If Antiochus is the victor, I may expect to be stripped of all my possessions by my powerful neighbor, or, if I am allowed to reign, to be ruled over by him." For these reasons he rejected the proffered marriage.

CHAPTER II

Sends an Embassy to Rome — Hannibal's Advice to Antiochus — Hannibal sends a Messenger to Carthage — Roman Ambassadors meet Hannibal at Ephesus — Colloquy between Hannibal and Scipio Africanus — The Place of Hannibal's Death

[6] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῖσδε λογισμοῖς τοὺς γάμους ἀπεώσατο, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος αὖθις ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κατήει, καὶ περιπλεύσας ἐς Χερρόνησον πολλὰ καὶ τότε τῆς Θράκης ὑπήγετό τε καὶ κατεστρέφετο. Ἑλληνας δ', ὅσοι τοῖς Θραξίν ὑπῆκουον, ἡλευθέρου, καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐχαρίζετο πολλὰ ὥς ἐπικαιρον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος πόλιν ἔχουσιν. Γαλάτας τε δώροισι καὶ καταπλήξει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγετο, ἀξιομάχους ἡγούμενος ἔσεσθαι οἱ διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν σωμάτων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς Ἐφεσον κατήει, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε Λυσίαν τε καὶ Ἡγησιάνακτα καὶ Μένιππον, οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποπειράσειν ἔμελλον, τῷ λόγῳ δ' ὁ Μένιππος ἔφη τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν ἐσπουδακότα, καὶ βουλόμενον αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἂν ἀξιώσι, θαυμάζειν ὅτι κελεύουσι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ φόρους τισὶν ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔνια μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ Θράκην εἰάν αἰετῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην: ἅπερ οὐ τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡττημένοις τοὺς κεκρατηκότας ἐπικελεύειν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας συνιέντες ἐπὶ διαπεῖρα σφῶν ἀφιγμένης, διὰ βραχείας ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, εἰάν Ἀντίοχος αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔᾳ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχηται, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι φίλον, ἂν ἐθέλῃ.

[6] Then Antiochus went down to the Hellespont and crossed over to Chersonesus and possessed himself of a large part of Thrace by conquest or surrender. He freed the Greeks who were under subjection to the Thracians, and conciliated the Byzantines in many ways, because their city was admirably situated at the outlet of the Euxine Sea. By gifts and by fear of his warlike preparations he brought the Galatians into his alliance, because he considered them formidable by reason of their bodily size. Then he went back to Ephesus and sent as ambassadors to Rome Lysias, Hegesianax, and Menippus. They were sent really to find out the intentions of the Senate, but for the sake of appearances Menippus said, "King Antiochus, while strongly desirous of the friendship of the Romans and willing to be their ally if they wish, is surprised that they urge him to give up the cities of Ionia and to remit tribute for certain states, and not to interfere with certain of the affairs of Asia and to leave Thrace alone, though it has always belonged to his ancestors. Yours are not the exhortations of friends, but resemble orders given by victors to the vanquished." The Senate, perceiving that the embassy had come to make a test of their disposition, replied curtly, "If Antiochus will leave the Greeks in Asia free and independent, and keep away from Europe, he can be the friend of the Roman people if he desires." Such was the answer of the

Romans, and they gave no reason for their rejoinder.

[7] τοσάδε μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν οὐκ ἐπέθεσαν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐς πρώτην ἐπινοῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσβαλεῖν, κάκειθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου, ὑπετίθετο τὴν γνώμην τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ Ἀννίβᾳ· ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἐκ πολλοῦ τετρυμένην ἔργον εὐχείρωτον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἅπασι χαλεποὺς μὲν οἶκοι διὰ λιμὸν τὸν ἐπιγιγνόμενον, ἔξω δὲ κουφοτέρους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐ ποτε Ἀντίοχον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καθαιρήσειν, ἀγορᾶς τε οἰκείας καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱκανῆς εὐπορούντων. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τι προλαβεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενον, ἵνα Ῥωμαίοις ἀσθενέστερα ἢ καὶ τὰ οἶκοι καὶ τὰ ἔξω. ‘ἔχω δ’ ἐμπείρως,’ ἔφη, ‘τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ μυρίοις ἀνδράσι δύναμαι καταλαβεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπικαιρα, ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐγείραι, δυσφοροῦντα τέως ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπίστως ἔχοντα, τόλμης τε καὶ ἐλπίδος ἐμπλησόμενον, εἰ πύθοιντό με πορθοῦντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὖθις.’ ὁ δ’ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας τοῦ λόγου, καὶ μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος Καρχηδόνα προσλαβεῖν, αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐπιστέλλειν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκέλευεν.

[7] As Antiochus intended to invade Greece first and thence begin his war against the Romans, he communicated his design to Hannibal. The latter said that as Greece had been wasted for a long time, the task would be easy; but that wars which were waged at home were the hard ones to bear, by reason of the scarcity which they caused, and that those which took place in foreign territory were much easier to endure. Antiochus could never vanquish the Romans in Greece, where they would have plenty of home-grown corn and all needed material. Hannibal urged him to occupy some part of Italy and make his base of operations there, so that the Romans might be weakened both at home and abroad. “I have had experience of Italy,” he said, “and with 10,000 men I can occupy some convenient place and write to my friends in Carthage to stir up the people to revolt. As they are already discontented with their condition, and harbor ill-will toward the Romans, they will be filled with courage and hope if they hear that I am ravaging Italy again.” Antiochus listened eagerly to this advice, and as he considered a Carthaginian accession a great advantage (as it would have been) for his war, directed him to write to his friends at once.

[8] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέστειλε μὲν ‘οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτό πω, Ῥωμαίων τε πάντ’ ἀνερευνομένων, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μὴ πω φανεροῦ γεγονότος, καὶ πολλῶν οἱ διαφορομένων ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδ’ εὐσταθὲς ἐχούσης, ἃ καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἀνέτρεψε τὴν Καρχηδονά, Ἀρίστωνά δ’ ἔμπορον Τύριον ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ἐμπορίας ἔπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀξιώων, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τότε ἐκείνους τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐς ἄμυναν ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἐγείρειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστον οὕτως ἔπραξεν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐχθροί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐπιδημίας, ἐθορύβουν ὡς ἐπὶ νεωτέροις ἔργοις, καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστωνά ἐζήτουν περιόντες. ὁ δέ, ἵνα τὴν διαβολὴν μὴ

ἐξαίρετον ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀννίβου φίλοι, προὔθηκε νυκτὸς λαθὼν γράμματα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὅτι πάντας ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρακαλοῖη τῇ πατρίδι συνάρασθαι μετ' Ἀντιόχου. καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸ μὲν δέος ἐξήρητο τῶν Ἀννίβου φίλων ἐκ τῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐπινοίας, ὥς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπεσταλμένου, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπεπλήρωτο θορύβου ποικίλου, δυσμενῶς μὲν ἔχουσα Ῥωμαίοις, λήσεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶσα.

[8] Hannibal did not write the letters, since he did not consider it yet safe to do so, as the Romans were searching out everything and the war was not yet openly declared, and he had many opponents in Carthage, and the city had no fixed or sound policy, — the very lack of which caused its destruction, not long afterward. But he sent Aristo, a Tyrian merchant, to his friends, on the pretext of trading, to tell them that when he should invade Italy they should rouse Carthage to avenge her wrongs. Aristo did this, but when Hannibal's enemies learned that he was in the city they raised a tumult as though a revolution was impending, and searched everywhere to find him. In order that Hannibal's friends might not be particularly accused, he posted letters in front of the senate-chamber secretly by night, saying that Hannibal exhorted the whole senate to rescue the country with the help of Antiochus. Having done this he sailed away. In the morning the friends of Hannibal were relieved of their fears by this afterthought of Aristo, which implied that he had been sent to the whole senate. The city was filled with all kinds of tumult, the people feeling bitterly toward the Romans, but despairing of accomplishing anything indirectly. Such was the situation of affairs in Carthage. (Y.R. 562)

[9] καὶ τὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίων ὧδε εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις, ἕτεροί τε καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐς ὁμοίαν πεμφθέντες Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε γνώμης ἀπόπειραν καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς κατάσκεψιν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡῦρον οἰχόμενον ἐς Πισίδας, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περιέμενον, ἔνθα συνήεσαν θαμινὰ ἐς λόγους τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, Καρχηδόνοιο τε σφίσιν ἔτι οὐσης ἐνσπόνδου καὶ οὐπω φανερῶς Ἀντιόχου πολεμίου, καταμεμφόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα φύγοι, Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμαρτόντων. ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦθ', ὑποπτον ἐργαζόμενοι γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς σφῶν ὁμιλίας τε καὶ συνόδου. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν στρατηγικώτατος Ἀννίβας οὐχ ὑπενόησεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὑπώπτευσεν, καὶ ἀμβλύτερος ἦν τὰπὸ τοῦδε πιστεύειν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ: καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ζήλου προὔπην ἐς αὐτὸν ἦδη καὶ φθόνου, μὴ τῶν γιγνομένων τὸν ἔπαινον Ἀννίβας ἀποφέροίτο.

[9] In the meantime Roman ambassadors, and among them Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power, were sent, like those of Antiochus, to ascertain his designs and to form an estimate of his strength. Learning that the king had gone to Pisidia, they waited for him at Ephesus. There they entered into frequent conversations with Hannibal, Carthage being then at peace with

them and war with Antiochus not yet declared. They reproached Hannibal for flying his country when the Romans had nothing to complain against him, or against the other Carthaginians, under the terms of the last treaty. They did this in order to cast suspicion on Hannibal in the mind of the king by the protracted conversations and intercourse. Hannibal, although a most profound military genius, did not perceive their design, but the king, when he learned what had been going on, did suspect him, and was more reluctant to give him his confidence thereafter. There was also some jealousy and envy added, lest Hannibal should carry off the glory of the exploits.

[10] λέγεται δ' ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λεσχηνεῦσαι ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σκιπίωνα καὶ Ἀννίβαν περὶ στρατηγίας πολλῶν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐρομένου τίς δοκοίη οἱ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος γενέσθαι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν εἰπεῖν, 'ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος.' Σκιπίωνα δ' ἡσυχάσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδ', ἐξιστάμενον ἄρα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐπανερέσθαι δὲ τίς εἴη δεῦτερος μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τὸν φάναι, 'Πύρρος ὁ Ἑπειρώτης,' τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄρα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐν τόλμῃ τιθέμενον: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν μεγαλοτολμοτέρους τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων. δακνόμενον δ' ἤδη τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὅμως ἐπανερέσθαι ἔτι τίνι διδοίη τὰ τρίτα, ταχὺ γοῦν ἐλπίζοντα ἔξειν τὰ τρίτα. τὸν δέ, 'ἐμαντῶ,' φάναι: 'νέος γὰρ ὢν ἔτι Ἰβηρίας τε ἐκράτησα, καὶ στρατῶ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη μετ' Ἡρακλέα πρῶτος ὑπερῆλθον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὑμῶν οὐδενός ποθαρροῦντος, ἐμβάλων τετρακόσια ἀνέστησα ἄσθη, καὶ περὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ἀγῶνα πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπέστησα, οὔτε μοι χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιᾶς ἐπιτεμπομένης ἐκ Καρχηδόνης.' ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἶδεν ἀπομηκύνοντα τὴν σεμνολογίαν, ἔφη γελάσας, 'ποῦ δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔταττες, ὦ Ἀννίβα, μὴ νενικημένος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ;' τὸν δὲ φασιν, αἰσθανόμενον ἤδη τῆς ζηλοτυπίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔγωγε ἔταξα ἂν ἐμαντὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπέμεινέ τε τῇ σεμνολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα λαθὼν ἐθεράπευσεν ὥς καθελόντα τὸν ἀμεινονα Ἀλεξάνδρου:

[10] It is said that at one of their meetings in the gymnasium Scipio and Hannibal had a conversation on the subject of generalship, in the presence of a number of (B.C. 192) bystanders, and that Scipio asked Hannibal whom he considered the greatest general, to which the latter replied, "Alexander of Macedon." To this Scipio assented since he also yielded the first place to Alexander. Then he asked Hannibal whom he placed next, and he replied, "Pyrrhus of Epirus," because he considered boldness the first qualification of a general; "for it would not be possible," he said, "to find two kings more enterprising than these." Scipio was rather nettled by this, but nevertheless he asked Hannibal to whom he would give the third place, expecting that at least the third would be assigned to him; but Hannibal replied, "To myself; for when I was a young man I conquered Spain and crossed the Alps with an army, the first after Hercules. I invaded Italy and struck terror into all of you, laid waste 400 of your towns, and often put your city in extreme peril, all this time receiving neither money nor reinforcements from Carthage." As Scipio

saw that he was likely to prolong his self-laudation he said, laughing, “Where would you place yourself, Hannibal, if you had not been defeated by me?” Hannibal, now perceiving his jealousy, replied, “In that case I should have put myself before Alexander.” Thus Hannibal continued his self-laudation, but flattered Scipio in a delicate manner by suggesting that he had conquered one who was the superior of Alexander.

[11] διαλυομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου Σκιπίωνα μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ξένια ἐκάλει, Σκιπίων δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἂν ἔφη μάλα προθύμως, εἰ μὴ συνῆσθα νῦν Ἀντιόχῳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑπόπτως ἔχοντι. ὧδε μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξίως, τὴν ἔχθραν ὀρίζοντο τοῖς πολέμοις, Φλαμινῖνος δ’ ἀνομοίως. ἡττηθέντος γὰρ ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἀλώμενον περὶ Βιθυνίαν, πρεσβεύων, ἐφ’ ἑτέρα πρὸς Προυσίαν, οὔτε τι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπαθὼν, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων ἐντειλαμένων, οὔτε φοβερὸν ἔτι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι δυνάμενον Καρχηδόνος κατεστραμμένης, ἔκτεινε διὰ τοῦ Προυσίου φαρμάκῳ, λεγόμενον μὲν ἐσσηκέναι ποτὲ χρησμὸν ὧδε ἔχοντα ‘Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας,’ καὶ οἰόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ τεθνήξεσθαι, ποταμὸς δ’ ἔστι Λίβυσσος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ, καὶ πεδῖον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Λίβυσσα. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς ὑπόμνημα τῆς Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλονοίας καὶ Φλαμινίνου σμικρότητος παρεθέμην.

[11] At the end of this conversation Hannibal invited Scipio to be his guest, and Scipio replied that he would be so gladly if Hannibal were not living with Antiochus, who was held in suspicion by the Romans. Thus did they, in a manner worthy of great commanders, cast aside their enmity at the end of their wars. Not so Flamininus, for, at a later period when Hannibal had fled after the defeat of Antiochus and was wandering around Bithynia, Flamininus sent an embassy to King Prusias on other matters, and, although he had no grievance against Hannibal, and had no orders from the Senate, and Hannibal was no longer formidable to them, Carthage having fallen, he caused Prusias to put him to death by poison. There was a story that an oracle had once said: ““Libyssan earth shall cover Hannibal’s remains.”“

So he believed that he should die in Libya. But there is a river Libyssa in Bithynia, and the adjoining country takes the name of Libyssa from the river. These things I have placed side by side as memorials of the magnanimity of Hannibal and Scipio and of the smallness of Flamininus.

CHAPTER III

Antiochus invades Greece — Amynander, King of the Athamanes, joins him — Hannihal repeats his Advice — The Romans prepare for War — Philip joins the Romans

[12] ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐκ Πισιδῶν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπανήει, καὶ χρηματίσας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι Ῥοδίους μὲν καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικηνούς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες, αὐτονόμους ἐπηγγέλατο ἑάσειν, εἰ γίγνοιτο αὐτῷ συνθῆκαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, Αἰολέας δὲ καὶ Ἴωνας οὐ συνεχώρει ὥς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας εἰθισμένους ὑπακούειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοντες 'οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἔργῳ συμβάσεων ἐληλύθεσαν ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπόπειραν ὥχοντο ἐς Ῥώμην: Ἀντίῳ δ' ἦκον Αἰτωλῶν πρέσβεις, ὧν Θόας ἦρχεν, αὐτοκράτορά τε στρατηγὸν Αἰτωλῶν Ἀντίοχον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ διαπλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤδη παρακαλοῦντες ὥς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔτοιμον. οὐδὲ εἶων ἀναμένειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω κατιοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Αἰτωλῶν ὑπερεπαίροντες, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σφίσι καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν Μακεδόνα, Ῥωμαίοις μηνίοντα, συμμαχήσειν, ἐπέσπερχον ἐς τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ δ' ἠρεθίζετο μάλα κουφόνως, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ προσαγγελθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ τεθνάναι τῆς ὁρμῆς τι ἐνδούς, διέπλει μετὰ μυρίων ὧν τότε εἶχε μόνων ἐς Εὐβοίαν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν αὐτὸς παρεστήσατο ἅπασαν, ἐνδοῦσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως: Μικιθίων δέ, αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, τοῖς περὶ Δῆλιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν ἱερὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον Ἀπόλλωνος' τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξώγρησεν.

[12] Antiochus, on his return from Pisidia to Ephesus, entered upon the business with the Roman ambassadors and promised to leave the Rhodians, the Byzantines, the Cyzicæans, and the other Greeks of Asia free and independent if the Romans would make a treaty with him, but he would not release the Ætolians and the Ionians, since they had long been accustomed to obey the barbarian kings of Asia. The Roman ambassadors came to no agreement with him — in fact, they had not come to make an agreement, but to find out his purposes. So they returned to Rome. There-upon an Ætolian embassy came to Antiochus, of which Thoas was the principal member, offering him the command of the Ætolian forces and urging him to embark for Greece at once, as everything was in readiness there. They would not allow him to wait for the army that was coming from upper Asia, but by exaggerating the strength of the Ætolians and promising the alliance of the Lacedæmonians and of Philip of Macedon in addition, who was angry with the Romans, they urged his crossing. He assembled his forces very hastily, nor did even the news of his son's death in Syria delay him at all. He sailed to Eubœa with 10,000 men, who were all that he had in hand at the time. He took possession of the whole island, which surrendered to him through fear.

Michithio, one of his generals, fell upon the Romans at Delium (a place sacred to Apollo), killed some of them, and took the rest prisoners.

[13] Ἀμύνανδρός τε, ὁ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλεύς, ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆλθε διὰ τοιαύσδε προφάσεως. τῶν τις Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τραφεὶς καὶ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας ἀξιωθείς, ἑτερατεύετο γένος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου προσήκειν, γενομένους τέ οἱ παῖδας ὠνόμασεν, ἐς πίστιν ὧν ἐλογοποίει, Φίλιππὸν τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπάμαν, ἣν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ πρός γάμον ἡγγύησεν. ἀγαγὼν δ' αὐτὴν Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἀμύνανδρον εἶδεν ἀσθενῆ καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον, παρέμενε, τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ κῆδος διοικῶν. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Φίλιππον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τότε ἐπελπίζων ἐς τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ὡς οἰκείαν οἱ κατὰζειν, προσέλαβε τοὺς Ἀθαμᾶνας ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Θηβαίους, αὐτὸς ἐς Θήβας παρελθὼν τε καὶ δημηγορήσας.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις τε καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοσῶδε πολέμῳ μάλα ματαιῶς ἐθάρρει, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐσκόπει πότερον εὐθὺς ἢ μετὰ χειμῶνα δύοι στρατεύειν: Ἀννίβαν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ σκέψει τῇδε ἡσυχάζοντα ἐκέλευε γνώμην πρῶτον ἐσνεγκεῖν.

[13] Amynander, king of the Athamanes, leagued himself with Antiochus for the following reason. A certain Macedonian, named Alexander, who had been educated at Megalopolis and admitted to citizenship there, pretended that he was a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to make people believe his fables he named his two sons Philip and Alexander and his daughter Apama. The latter he betrothed to Amynander. Her brother Philip conducted her to the nuptial ceremony, and when he saw that Amynander was weak and inexperienced he remained there and took charge of the government by virtue of this connection. By holding out to this Philip the hope that he would restore his ancestral kingdom of Macedonia to him, Antiochus secured the alliance of the Athamanes. He secured that of the Thebans also by going to Thebes and making a speech to the people. He was emboldened to enter upon this great war relying most rashly on the Thebans, Amynander, and the Aetolians, and he made a reconnoissance of Thessaly to determine whether he should invade it at once or after the winter had passed. As Hannibal expressed no opinion on the subject, Antiochus, before coming to a decision, asked him his thought.

[14] ὁ δ' ἔφη, 'Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν οὐ δυσχερές, εἴτε νῦν εἴτε μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐθέλοις, ὑπάγεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος ἐκ πολλοῦ πεποννηκὸς ἔς τε σὲ νῦν καὶ ἐς Ῥωμαίους αὖ, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο νεώτερον, μεταβαλεῖται. ἤλθομεν δ' ἄνευ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπάγουσι πεισθέντες ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν: ὧν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἀκούω μετ' Ἀχαιῶν, Φίλιππον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ σοι παρόντα, δυνατόν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ῥοπήν, ὅποτερώσε προσθοῖτο, ποιῆσαι. τῆς δὲ γνώμης ἔχομαι τῆς αὐτῆς, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καλεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ μὴ ἐν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὅταν δ' ἀφίκηται, τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθεῖν, ἵνα

τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς περισπώμενοι τὰ σὰ λυπῶσιν ἥκιστα, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων δεδιότες μηδαμοῦ προῖωσιν. ὁ δὲ τρόπος οὐκέθ' ὁμοιος ᾧ προύλεγον, ἀλλὰ χρή τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς τῶν νεῶν τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας πορθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖς ναυλοχεῖν ἐφεδρεῦον ἐς τὰ συμφερόμενα, αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ παντὶ προκαθήμενον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν ἐσβολῆς, καὶ εἰ δύναιό ποτε, καὶ ἐσβαλεῖν. Φίλιππον δὲ πειρᾶσθαι μὲν προσάγεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ, πλεῖστον ἐς ἐκατέρους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ δυνάμενον: ἦν δ' ἀπειθῇ, τὸν σὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Σέλευκον ἐπιτέμπειν διὰ Θράκης, ἵνα καὶ ὅδε περισπώμενος οἰκείοις κακοῖς μηδὲν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμος.'

τοσάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας εἶπε, καὶ ἦν ἄριστα πάντων: ὑπὸ δὲ φθόνου τῆς τε δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἥσσον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη σφῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῇ στρατηγίᾳ προφέρειν, μηδὲ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκείνου γένοιτο, μεθῆκαν ἅπαντα, πλὴν ὅτι Πολυξενίδας ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέμφθη.

[14] Hannibal replied, "It is not difficult to reduce the Thessalians either now or at the end of winter, if you wish. Exhausted by much suffering they will change now to you, and again to the Romans, if any misfortune befalls you. We have come here without any army of our own, trusting to the Ætolians, who said that the Lacedæmonians and Philip would join us. Of these I hear that the Lacedæmonians are as hostile to us as the Achæans are, and as for Philip I do not see him here helping you, although he can turn the scale of this war for whichever side he favors. I hold the same opinion as before, that you should call in an army from Asia as quickly as possible and not put any reliance on Amynder or the Ætolians. When your army comes, carry the war into Italy so that they may be distracted by evils at home, and thus harm you as little as possible, and make no advance movement for fear of what may befall themselves. The plan I spoke of before is no longer available, but you ought to employ half of your fleet in ravaging the shores of Italy and keep the other half lying in wait for opportunities, while you station yourself with all your land forces at some point in Greece near to Italy, making a feint of invasion and invading it at any time if you can. Try by every means to make an alliance with Philip, because he can be of the greatest service to whichever side he espouses. If he will not consent, send your son Seleucus against him by way of Thrace so that Philip likewise may be distracted by troubles at home, and prevented from furnishing aid to the enemy." Such were the counsels of Hannibal, and they were the best of all that were offered; but, moved by jealousy of his reputation and judgment, the other counsellors, and the king himself no less, cast them all aside lest Hannibal should seem to excel them in generalship, and lest the glory of the exploits should be his — except that Polyxenidas was sent to Asia to bring an army. (Y.R. 563)

[15] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ

Δηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρέσεώς τε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπύθοντο, πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος, ἐκ πολλοῦ δι' ὑπονοίας ἀλλήλοις γενόμενος, τότε πρῶτον ἀπερρήγνυτο ἐς ἔργον: οἷα δ' Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, ὅλης ἐπικρατοῦντος, ἕς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβεβηκότες ἤδη, καὶ δόξαν ἐπιφοβὸν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν ἔχοντος, πολλὰ τε ἄλλα καθ' ἐτέρων ἐξειργασμένου λαμπρά, δι' ἃ καὶ μέγας ἦν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ, τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνιον σφίσι καὶ μέγαν ἔσσεσθαι προσεδόκων. φίλιππὸν τε τὸν Μακεδόνα δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον, ἄρτι ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπεπολεμημένον, καὶ Καρχηδονίους, μὴ οὐ πιστοὶ σφίσιν ὧσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις, Ἀννίβου συνόντος Ἀντιόχῳ. τοὺς τε ἄλλους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὑπονοοῦντες, μὴ καὶ παρὰ τούτων τι νεώτερον ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχου δόξαν γένοιτο, στρατιὰν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐφεδρεῖν εἰρηνικῶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, περιέπεμπον, οὓς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἐξαπελέκεας, ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων δωδέκα πελέκεσι καὶ δωδέκα ῥάβδοις, ὥσπερ οἱ πάλοι βασιλεῖς, χρωμένων, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔστι τοῖσδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τὰ ἥμισα παράσημα. ὥς δ' ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ, καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐδεύοντο, μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ σφίσιν ἦ πιστὴ ἢ βέβαιος ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ. πεζὸν δὲ πολλὸν ἐς Τάραντα διέπεμπον, ἐφεδρεῖν τοῖς ἐπιούσι, καὶ νεῶν στόλος τὴν παράλιον περιέπλει. τοσόνδε φόβος ἦν Ἀντιόχου τὰ πρῶτα. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνετετάχατο πάντα, ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιόχον ἤδη κατέλεγον ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐς δισυρίους ἄνδρος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ διπλάσιον, ὥς ἅμα τῷ ἦρι τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλοῦντες.

[15] When the Romans heard of the irruption of Antiochus into Greece and the killing and capture of Romans at Delium, they declared war. In this way the war between them, which had been smouldering a long time, first actually broke out. So great was the dominion of Antiochus, ruler of many powerful nations of upper Asia, and of all but a few on the sea-coast, who had now invaded Europe; so formidable was his reputation and so complete his preparation, so many and so famous had been his exploits against other peoples, from which he had earned the title of Great, that the Romans anticipated that this war would be long and severe for them. They had their suspicions also of Philip of Macedon, whom they had lately conquered, and of the Carthaginians also, lest they should prove false to the treaty because Hannibal was cooperating with Antiochus. Other subject peoples were under suspicion lest revolution should break out among them in consequence of the fame of Antiochus. For these reasons they sent forces into all the provinces to watch them without provoking hostilities. With them were sent commanders called six-axe men (prætors), so called because the consuls (B.C. 191) had twelve bundles of rods and axes (as the kings before them had), whereas the prætors had only half the dignity of the consuls and half the number of insignia of office. As in cases of great peril they showed their anxiety for Italy also, lest there should be some weakening or revolt against them there. They sent a large force of infantry to Tarentum to guard against an attack in that

quarter, and also a fleet to patrol the coast. So great was the alarm caused by Antiochus at first. When everything appertaining to the government at home was arranged, they raised an army to serve against Antiochus, 20,000 from the city and double that number from the allies, to cross the Adriatic in the early spring. Thus they employed the whole winter in making preparations for war.

[16] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Θετταλοὺς, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Κυνὸς κεφαλαῖς, ἔνθα τὸ παῖσμα τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγένητο, τὰ λείπανα τῶν τότε πεσόντων ἄταφα ἔτι ὄντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαπτε, δημοκοπὼν ἐς Μακεδόνας, καὶ Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς διαβάλλων οὐ θάψαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. ὢν πυθόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐνδοιάζων ἔτι καὶ περισκοπῶν ὁποτέρωσιν προσθοῖτο, αὐτίκα εἴλετο τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Βαίβιον τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν, ἄρχοντά τινος πλησίον στρατοῦ, καλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐς τι χωρίον, πίστεως αὐθις ἐδίδου Ῥωμαίοις ἀδόλως συμμαχήσῃν κατ' Ἀντίοχον. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαίβιος ἐπῆναι, καὶ θαρρήσας αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον μετὰ δισχιλίων πεζῶν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἄππιος ἀπὸ τῶν Τεμπῶν Ἀντίοχον Λαρίσῃ παρακαθ' ἡμενον ἰδὼν πῦρ πολλὸν ἤγειρεν, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ὀλιγότητα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ὡς Βαίβιου καὶ Φιλίππου παρόντων διαταραχθεὶς, ἐξέλειπε τὴν πολιορκίαν, πρόφασιν τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενος, καὶ ἐς Χαλκίδα παρῆλθεν, ἔνθα κόρης εὐπρεποῦς ἔρωτι ἀλούς, ὑπὲρ ἔτη πεντήκοντα γεγονῶς καὶ τοσόνδε πόλεμον διαφέρων, ἔθυε γάμους καὶ πανηγύρεις ἤγε, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐς πᾶσαν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἀνῆκεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος ἐμβαλὼν ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἦσθετο μὲν τῆς ἀργίας τοῦ στρατοῦ δυσέργου πρὸς ἅπαντα ὄντος, καὶ τότε τῶν γάμων αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως μετέμελεν: ὑπαγαγόμενος δ' ὁμῶς τινὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολιορκῶν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπύθετο περᾶν τὸν Ἴόνιον, ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀνεξεύγνυ.

[16] Antiochus marched against the Thessalians and came to Cynoscephalæ, where the Macedonians had been defeated by the Romans, and finding the remains of the dead still unburied, gave them a magnificent funeral. Thus he curried favor with the Macedonians and accused Philip before them of leaving unburied those who had fallen in his service. Until now Philip had been wavering and in doubt which side he should espouse, but when he heard of this he joined the Romans at once. He invited Bæbius, their nearest general, to a rendezvous and gave pledges anew of faithful alliance against Antiochus. Bæbius praised him for this, and felt emboldened to send Appius Claudius straightway with 2000 foot through Macedonia into Thessaly. When Appius arrived at Tempe and from that point saw Antiochus besieging Larissa, he kindled a large number of fires to conceal the smallness of his force. Antiochus thought that Bæbius and Philip had arrived, and became panic-stricken, abandoned the siege on a pretext of bad weather, and retreated to Chalcis. There he fell in love with a pretty girl, and, although he was above fifty years of age and was supporting the burden of so great a war, he celebrated his nuptials with her, gave a public festival, and allowed his army

to spend the whole winter in idleness and luxury. When spring came he made a descent upon Acarnania, where he perceived that idleness had unfitted his army for every kind of duty. Then he repented himself Of his marriage and his public festival. Nevertheless he reduced a part of Acarnania and was besieging the rest of its strongholds when he learned that the Romans were making a passage of the Adriatic. Then at once he returned to Chalcis.

CHAPTER IV

The Romans cross the Adriatic — Antiochus occupies Thermopylæ — Battle at Thermopylæ — Antiochus defeated — Flees to Asia — The two Scipios sent against him

[17] Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῖς τότε ἐτοίμοις ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις καὶ πεζοῖς δισφυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφασί τισιν, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Ἀκιλίου Μανίου Γλαβρίωνος, ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαβαλόντες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐβάδιζον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξέλυον τῶν πολιορκιῶν, ἐν ὅσαις δ' ἦσαν ἤδη Ἀθαμάνων φρουραί, τὰς φρουράς ἐξέβαλλον. καὶ τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Φίλιππον αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον, ἐλπίζοντα ἔτι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. εἶλον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐς τρισχιλίους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Μάνιος εἰργάζετο, καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐς Ἀθαμανίαν ἐμβαλὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἔλαβεν, Ἀμυνάνδρου φυγόντος ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν. ὧν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθανόμενός τε, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῶν γιγνομένων καταπλαγείς, ἔδεισεν ὥς ἐπὶ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ταχεῖα μεταβολῇ, καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας Ἀννίβου τότε ἦσθετο, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπεν ἐπισπέρχειν Πολυξενίδαν ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὅσους εἶχε, πανταχόθεν συνεκάλει. γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινῶν συμμάχων, Θερμοπύλας κατέλαβεν ὥς τὴν δυσχωρίαν προβαλούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναμενῶν. δίοδος δ' ἐστὶν αἱ Θερμοπύλαι στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, καὶ αὐτὴν περιέχει τῇ μὲν θάλασσα τραχεῖα καὶ ἀλίμενος, τῇ δὲ ἔλος ἄβατόν τε καὶ βαραθρῶδες. κορυφαί τε εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ὁρῶν ἀπόκρημνοι, καὶ τούτων μὲν Τειχιοῦντα καλοῦσι τὴν δὲ Καλλιδρομον. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς, καὶ Θερμοπύλαι ἀπὸ τοῦδ' ἐπικλήζονται.

[17] The Romans crossed hastily from Brundisium to Apollonia with the forces that were then ready, being 2000 horse, 20,000 foot, and a few elephants, under the command of Acinius Manius Glabrio. They marched to Thessaly and relieved the besieged cities. They expelled the enemy's garrisons from the towns of the Athamanes and made a prisoner of that Philip of Megalopolis who was still expecting the throne of Macedonia. They also captured about 3000 of the soldiers of Antiochus. While Manius was doing these things, Philip made a descent upon Athamania and brought the whole of it under subjection, King Amynder fleeing to Ambracia. When Antiochus learned these facts, he was terrified by the rush of events and by the suddenness of the change of fortune, and he now perceived the wisdom of Hannibal's advice. He sent messenger after messenger to Asia to hasten the coming of Polyxenidas. Then from all sides he drew in what forces he had. These amounted to 10,000 foot and 500 horse of his own, besides some allies, with which he occupied Thermopylæ in order to put this difficult pass between himself and the enemy while waiting for the arrival of his army from Asia. The passage at Thermopylæ is long and narrow, flanked on the one side

by a rough and inhospitable sea and on the other by a deep and impassable morass. It is overhung by two mountain peaks, one called Tichius and the other Callidromus. The place also contains some hot springs, whence comes the name Thermopylae (the Hot Gates).

[18] τεῖχος οὖν ἐνταῦθα διπλοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὤκοδομήσατο, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέθηκεν. ἔς τε τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρων Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνέπεμψε, μὴ τις λάθοι κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἀτραπὸν περιελθὼν, ἥ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα Ἐβέρξης ἐπέθετο, ἀφυλάκτων τότε τῶν ὄρων ὄντων. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ χιλίους μὲν ἐκάτέρω τῶνδε τῶν ἄκρων ἐπέστησαν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευήν, σημεῖον ἔδωκεν ἐς ἔω μάχης· καὶ δύο τῶν χιλιάρχων, Μάρκον Κάτωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον, ἐκέλευσε νυκτός, ἐπιλεξαμένους ἐκάτερον ὁπόσους ἐθέλοι, τὰ ὄρη περιελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, βιάσασθαι. τούτων ὁ μὲν Λεύκιος ἀπεκρούσθη τοῦ Τειχιοῦντος, ἀγαθῶν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν γενομένων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων τῷ Καλλιδρόμῳ παραστρατοπεδεύσας, κοιμωμένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπέπεσε περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, καὶ πολὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγίγνετο ἄγων, βιαζόμενον ἐς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα κωλύοντων τῶν πολεμίων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ Μάνιος ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀντιόχῳ κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους διηρημένην· ὧδε γὰρ μόνως ἐν στενοῖς ἐδύνατο. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν ψιλούς καὶ πελταστὰς προμάχεσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὴν δ' ἔστησε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ δ' αὐτῆς τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ τὸ στίφος ὃ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ συνετάσσετο, παρὰ τῇ θαλάσῃ.

[18] There Antiochus built a double wall on which he placed engines. He sent Ætolian troops to occupy the summits of the mountains to prevent anybody from coming around secretly by way of the hill called Atropos, as Xerxes had come upon the Spartans under Leonidas, the mountain paths at that time being unguarded. One thousand Ætolians occupied each mountain. The remainder encamped by themselves near the city of Heraclea. When Manius saw the enemy's preparations he gave the signal for battle on the morrow and ordered two of his tribunes, Marcus Cato and Lucius Valerius, to select such forces as they pleased and to go around the mountains by night and drive the Ætolians from the heights as best they could. Lucius was repulsed from Mount Tichius by the Ætolians, who at that place fought well, but Cato, who moved against Mount Callidromus, fell upon the enemy while they were still asleep, about the last watch. Nevertheless there was a stiff fight here, as he was obliged to climb over high rocks and precipices in the face of an opposing enemy. Meantime Manius was leading his army against Antiochus' front in straight lines, as this was the only way possible in the narrow pass. The king placed his light-armed troops and peltasts in front of the phalanx, and drew up the phalanx itself in front of the camp, with the archers and slingers on the right hand next to the foot-hills, and the elephants, with the guard that always

accompanied them, on the left near the sea.

[19] γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὸν Μάνιον οἱ ψιλοὶ πανταχόθεν περιτρέχοντες ἐλύπουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοπόνως δεχόμενός τε καὶ ἀναχωρῶν καὶ αὐθις ἐπιὼν ἐτρέψατο, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς ἢ φάλαγξ ἢ τῶν Μακεδόνων διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐν τάξει πυκνὰς προὐβάλλοντο, ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου κατεπλήσσοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀντίοις δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς οὐ τολμῶντας πελάζειν. αἰφνίδιον δ' ὥφθη τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καλλιδρόμου φυγὴ καὶ βοή, καταλλομένων ἐς τὸ Ἀντιόχου στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκατέροις ἄγνοιά τε τοῦ γιγνομένου καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ· ὡς δὲ ὁ Κάτων ἐπεφάνετο διώκων αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐγίγνετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀντιόχου, ἔδεισαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων μάχης ἐπιφόβως ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ σφᾶς εἰδότες ὑπὸ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς δι' ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς δυσεργίαν διεφθαρμένους. τοὺς τε σὺν τῷ Κάτωνι σαφῶς μὲν οὐ καθορῶντες ὅποσοι τινὲς εἶεν ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου πλείους νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δέισαντες, ἀκόσμως ἐς αὐτὸ κατέφυγον ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνοῦμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς παραθέοντες συνεσέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἦν ἄλλη φυγὴ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκεῖθεν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος μέχρι μὲν ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν ἐδίωκεν αὐτοὺς κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σκαρφείας ἐπανιὼν διήρπαξε τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπιδραμόντας τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐξήλασεν ἐπιφανείς.

[19] Battle being joined, the light-armed troops assailed Manius first, rushing in from all sides. He received their onset bravely, first yielding and then advancing and driving them back. The phalanx opened and let the light-armed men pass through. It then closed and pushed forward, the long pikes set densely together in order of battle, with which the Macedonians from the time of Alexander and Philip have struck terror into enemies who have not dared to encounter the thick array of long pikes presented to them. At this juncture the Ætolians were seen fleeing from Callidromus with loud cries, and leaping down into the camp of Antiochus. At first neither side knew what had happened, and there was confusion among both in their uncertainty but when Cato made his appearance pursuing the Ætolians with shouts of victory and was already close above the camp of Antiochus, the king's forces, who had been hearing for some time back fearful accounts of the Roman style of fighting, and who knew that they themselves had been enervated by idleness and luxury all winter, took fright. Not knowing how large Cato's force was, it was magnified to their minds by terror. Fearing for the safety of their camp they fled to it in disorder, with the intention of defending it against the enemy. But the Romans were close at their heels and entered the camp with them. Then there was another flight of the Antiocheans as disorderly as the first. Manius pursued them as far as Scarphia, killing and taking prisoners.

Returning thence he plundered the king's camp, and by merely showing himself drove out the Ætolians who had broken into the Roman camp during his absence.

[20] ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἅμφι τοὺς διακοσίους, Ἀντιόχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς ληφθεῖσιν, ἅμφι τοὺς μυρίους. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τροπῆς μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων ἐς Ἐλάτειαν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διέδραμεν, ἀπὸ δ' Ἐλατείας ἐς Χαλκίδα καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον μετ' Εὐβοίας τῆς νεογάμου· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔφυγεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπασῶν· ἀγορὰν γάρ τινας αὐτῶν διαφερούσας ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ἐπαναχθεὶς διεφθάρκει. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης πυθόμενοι, ταχέας τε οὕτω σφίσι καὶ εὐχεροῦς φανείσης, ἔθουν, ἐκ φοβερᾶς τῆς Ἀντιόχου δόξης τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ἀσπασάμενοι. Φίλιππόν τε τῆς συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενοι, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον, ὀμηρεύοντα ἔτι παρὰ σφίσι, ἔπεμψαν.

[20] The Romans lost about 200 in the battle and the pursuit; Antiochus about 10,000, including prisoners. The king himself, at the first sign of defeat, fled precipitately with 500 horse as far as Elateia, and from Elateia to Chalcis, and thence to Ephesus with his bride Eubœa, as he called her, with his ships; but not all of them, for the Roman admiral made an attack upon some that were bringing supplies, and sunk them. When the people of Rome heard of this victory, so swiftly and easily gained, they offered sacrifice, being satisfied with their first trial of the formidable reputation of Antiochus. To Philip, in return for his services as an ally, they sent his son Demetrius, who was still a hostage in their hands.

[21] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἐν ἄστει, Μάνιος δὲ Φωκέας μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, δεομένους ἀπέλυσε τοῦ δέους, τὴν δ' Αἰτωλίαν αὐτὸς τε καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδήρουν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπολιόρκουν. Δαμόκριτόν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μάνιος ἔλαβε κρυπτόμενον, ὃς Φλαμινίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν ἠπειλεῖ στρατοπεδεύσειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάνιος ἐπὶ Καλλιπόλεως διώδευε τὸ ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσι Κόρακα, ὑψηλότατόν τε ὄρων καὶ δυσόδευτον καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, μετὰ στρατοῦ βαρυτάτου τε καὶ λαφύρων καταγόμενος· πολλοὶ δ' ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσοδοίας ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, καὶ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπλοις κατεφέροντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντες ἂν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συνταράξαι οὐδὲ ὥφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκάλει, καὶ τὰς ναὺς ἐπεσκεύαζε, ναυαρχοῦντος αὐτῷ Πολυξενίδου Ῥοδίου φυγάδος. ἔς τε Χερρόνησον διαπλεύσας πάλιν αὐτὴν ὠχύρου, καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον ἐκρατύνετο, δι' ὧν ἔδει τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁδεῦσαι τε καὶ περᾶσαι. Λυσιμάχειαν δὲ ταμειὸν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ποιούμενος, ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐς αὐτὴν συνέφερεν, ἡγούμενος αὐτίκα οἱ Ῥωμαίους πεζῶ τε πολλῶ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Μανίῳ μὲν αἰροῦνται διάδοχον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς τότε αὐτοῖς ὑπατος ἦν, ἀπράκτῳ δ' ὄντι καὶ ἀπειροπολέμῳ σύμβουλον αἰροῦνται τὸν ἀδελφόν

Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντα Ἀφρικανόν.

[21] While these things were going on in the city, Manius received the supplications of the Phoceans, the Chalcideans, and others who had coöperated with Antiochus, and he relieved their fears. He and Philip ravaged Ætolia and reduced its cities. He captured, in hiding, Democritus, the general of the Ætolians, who had threatened Flamininus that he would pitch his camp on the banks of the Tiber. Manius, with an army laden with baggage and spoils, made his way to Callipolis over Mount Corax, the highest, rockiest, and most difficult in that region. Many soldiers, by reason of the badness of the road, fell over precipices and were dashed in pieces with their arms and accoutrements. Although the Ætolians might have punished them severely, they were nowhere to be seen, having sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. In the meantime Antiochus ordered the satraps of upper Asia to send their army down to the coast in all haste, and he fitted out a fleet which he put under the command of Polyxenidas, an exile from Rhodes. He crossed over to Chersonesus and again fortified it. He also strengthened Sestos and Abydos, through which the Roman legions would be obliged to pass if they should invade Asia. He made Lysimacheia his principal magazine for the present war and accumulated large supplies of arms and provisions in it, believing that the Romans would presently attack him with large land and sea forces. The latter appointed Lucius Scipio as the successor of Manius in the command, as he was then consul, but as he was inexperienced in war they appointed as his lieutenant his brother, Publius Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power and who first bore the title of Africanus.

CHAPTER V

The Romans win a Naval Victory — The Scipios march to the Hellespont — A Roman Fleet captured by Stratagem — Fighting at Pergamus — The Naval Battle of Myonessus

[22] καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκιπίωνες ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ, Λίουιος δ' ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν αἰρεθεὶς Ἀτιλίῳ διάδοχος, αὐτίκα ταῖς τε ἰδίαις ναυσὶν, αἷς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπλει, καὶ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τισὶ δοθείσαις καὶ συμμαχίσιν ἄλλαις ἐς Πειραιᾶ κατήχθη, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' Ἀτιλίῳ στόλον παραλαβὼν ἔπλει καταφράκτοις ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ μιᾷ, ἐπομένου καὶ Εὐμένους πεντήκοντα ἰδίαις· καὶ ἦν κατάφρακτον καὶ τῶνδε τὸ ἥμισυ. ἔς τε Φώκαιαν ὑπήκοον μὲν Ἀντιόχου, ὑπὸ δ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς δελομένην κατήγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀνέπλεον. ἀντανήγετο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ναύαρχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου Πολυξενίδας διακοσίαις ναυσί, κουφοτέραις τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ πολὺ· ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προύλαβε τοῦ πελάγους ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἀναπειρωμένων. καὶ δύο τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναῦς ἰδὼν προπλευούσας, τρεῖς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιπέμψας εἴλε τὰς δύο κενάς, ἐξαλομένων τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. Λίουιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἐφέρετο πρῶτος ὑπ' ὀργῆς τῇ στρατηγίδι νηί, πολὺ προύχων τοῦ στόλου. αἱ δ', ὥς μιᾷ, σὺν καταφρονήσει χεῖράς τε σιδηρᾶς ἐπέβαλον, καὶ συνεσθηκόντων τῶν σκαφῶν ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. πολὺ δὲ κρείσσους ὄντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς εὐτολμίαις, ἐπιβάντες ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐκράτουν, καὶ μιᾷ νηὶ δύο ὁμοῦ φέροντες ἐπανήεσαν. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς ναυμαχίας προαγώνισμα ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στόλοι συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκράτει, διὰ δὲ βαρύτητα τῶν σκαφῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν κούφαις ναυσὶν ὑποφεύγοντας, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ὀξέως κατέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐς Χίον ἀπῆραν, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς Ῥοδίων νῆες συμμαχίδες ἦλθον ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν. Ἀντιόχος δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ναυμαχίας πυθόμενος, Ἀννίβαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐς νεῶν ἄλλων ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας παρασκευήν.

καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐπανιόντα Ῥόδιοι κατέκλεισαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν, καὶ τινὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν εἴλον, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐφύλασσον:

[22] While the Scipios were still making their preparations, Livius, who had charge of the coast defence of Italy and who had been chosen the successor of Atilius, with his own coast-guard ships and some contributed by the Carthaginians and other allies, sailed for the Piræus. Receiving there the fleet from Atilius he set sail with eighty-one decked ships, Eumenes following with fifty of his own, one-half of which had decks. They put in at Phocæa, a place belonging to Antiochus, but which received them from fear, and on the following day they sailed out for a naval engagement. Polyxenidas, commanding the fleet of Antiochus, met them with 200 ships much lighter than those opposed to him, which was a great advantage to him, since the

Romans were not yet experienced in nautical affairs. Seeing two Carthaginian ships sailing in front, he sent three of his own against them and took them, but found them empty, the crews having leaped overboard. Livius dashed angrily at the three with his flag-ship, much in advance of the rest of the fleet. The enemy being three to one grappled him contemptuously with iron hooks, and when the ships were fastened together the battle was fought as though it were on land. The Romans, being much superior in valor, sprang upon the enemy's ships, overpowered them, and returned, bringing back two ships captured simultaneously by one. This was the prelude to the naval engagement. When the fleets came together the Romans had the best of it by reason of their bodily strength and bravery, but on account of the unwieldy size of their ships they could not capture the enemy, who got away with their nimble craft, and, by rapid flight, took refuge in Ephesus. The Romans repaired to Chios, where twenty-seven Rhodian ships joined them as allies. When Antiochus received the news of this naval fight, he sent Hannibal to Syria to fit out another fleet from Phœnicia and Cilicia. When he was returning with it the Rhodians drove him into Pamphylia, captured some of his ships, and blockaded the rest. (Y.R. 564)

[23] Πόπλιος δὲ Σκιπίων ἀφικόμενος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν μετὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τὸν Μανίου στρατὸν παραλαβὼν, τὰς μὲν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πολιορκίας ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς δεομένοις ἐπέτρεψεν αὐθις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ σφῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἠπείγετο πρὶν ἐκβῆναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν. διὰ δὲ Μακεδόνων ὥδευε καὶ Θρακῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, δυσχερῇ καὶ χαλεπῇ ὁδὸν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἄν, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὁδοποιεῖ καὶ ὑπεδέχετο καὶ παρέπεμπεν ἐξευγμένοις τε ποταμοῖς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἐτοίμοις· ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν οἱ Σκιπίωνες αὐτίκα τῶν ὑπολοίπων χρημάτων ἀπέλυσαν, ἐπιτετραμμένοι τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ πρόθυμον εὖροιεν. ἐπέστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν βασιλέα, καταλέγοντες ὅσοις βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι συμμαχήσασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπηύξησαν· Φίλιππον δέ, φασί, τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἄρχειν ἐῷσι, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῷ τῆς ὀμηρείας ἀπελύσαμεν, καὶ τὸ ἔτι ὄφλημα τῶν χρημάτων. οἷς ὁ Προυσίας ἡσθεὶς συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον.

Λίσιος δ' ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπεὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν Σκιπιώνων ἐπύθετο, Πανσίμαχον μὲν τὸν Ῥόδιον μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατέλιπε, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἰδίου στόλου, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔπλει τὸν στρατὸν ὑποδεξόμενος. καὶ Σηστὸς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥοίτειον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καὶ τινα ἄλλα προσέθετο, Ἀβυδὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦσαν ἐπολιόρκει.

[23] In the meantime Publius Scipio arrived in Ætolia with the consul and received the command of the army from Manius. He scorned the siege of the Ætolian towns as small business, and allowed the imploring people to send a new embassy to Rome, while he hastened against Antiochus before his brother's consulship should expire. He moved by way of Macedonia and

Thrace to the Hellespont, and it would have been a very hard march for him had not Philip of Macedon repaired the roads, entertained him, escorted him, bridged the streams some time before, and furnished him provisions. In return for this the Scipios immediately relieved him from the payment of the remaining money indemnity, having been authorized to do so by the Senate if they should find him zealous. They also wrote to Prusias, king of Bithynia, reminding him that the Romans were in the habit of augmenting the possessions of the kings in alliance with them. They said that, although they had conquered Philip of Macedon, they had allowed him to retain his kingdom, had released his son whom they had held as a hostage, and had remitted the money payment still due. Thereupon Prusias willingly entered into (B.C. 190) alliance with them against Antiochus. Livius, the commander of the fleet, when he learned that the Scipios were on the march, left Pausimachus, the Rhodian, with the Rhodian ships and a part of his own, in Æolis, and himself sailed with the greater part to the Hellespont to assist the army. Sestos and Rhæteum, and the harbor of the Achæans, and several other places surrendered to him. Abydos refused and he laid siege to it.

[24] Πausίμαχος δ' οἰχομένου Λιουίου πείρας τε πυκνὰς καὶ μελέτας τῶν ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ μηχανὰς ποικίλας συνεπήγγνυτο, πυρφόρα τε ἄγγεῖα σιδηρὰ ἐξῆπτε κοντῶν μακρῶν, αἰωρεῖσθαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἰδίων σκαφῶν πολλὴ προύχῃ, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσιοῦσιν ἐμπύπτῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν τάδε φιλοπονούμενον Πολυξενίδας ὁ Ἀντιόχου ναύαρχος, Ῥόδιός τε ὢν καὶ ὁδε καὶ τισιν αἰτίαις ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐνήδρευεν, ὑπισχνούμενος τὸν Ἀντιόχου στόλον ἐγχειριεῖν, εἰ συνθοῖτο συμπράξειν ἐς κάθοδον αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἐπὶ κλοπὴν ἄνδρα καὶ πανοῦργον, καὶ ἐς πολὺ καλῶς ἐφυλάσσετο: γράψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Πολυξενίδου περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναζεύξαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑποκριθέντος ἐς χορτολογίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὁ Πausίμαχος τὴν τε ἀνάζευξιν ὀρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἂν τινα περὶ προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα πέμψαι, πάγχυ πιστεύσας ἐξέλυσε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐς σιτολογίαν καὶ αὐτὸς περιέπεμπεν. ὁ δὲ Πολυξενίδας ἐπεὶ κατεῖδεν αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευμένον, αὐτίκα τὴν παρασκευὴν συνῆγε, καὶ Νίκανδρον τὸν πειρατὴν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐς τὴν Σάμον περιέπεμπε, κατὰ τὴν γῆν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Πausιμάχου θορυβοποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐπέπιπτεν ἔτι κοιμωμένῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ κακῷ καὶ ἄδοκῇ τῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε, τὰς ναῦς ἐκλιπόντας, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. προσπεσόντος δ' ὀπισθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νικάνδρου, νομίσας καὶ τὴν γῆν προειληφθαι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωραμένων μόνων ἀλλ', ὥς ἐν νυκτί, πολλὴ πλειόνων, πάλιν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐνέβαινε θορυβούμενος, πρῶτός τε ἐς μάχην ἀνήγετο, καὶ πρῶτος ἔπιπτε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντο. καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑπτὰ μὲν αἱ τὸ πῦρ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς αὐταῖς διὰ τὴν φλόγα προσιόντος ἔφυγον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἵκοσιν ὁ Πολυξενίδας ἀναδησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον κατήχθη.

[24] After the departure of Livius, Pausimachus trained his sailors by repeated exercises, and constructed machines of various kinds. He attached iron pans containing fire to long poles and suspended them over the sea, so as to clear his own ships and fall upon those of the enemy when they approached. While he was thus engaged Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, who was also a Rhodian, but had been banished for crime, laid a trap for him. He promised to deliver the fleet of Antiochus to him if he would agree to help him in securing readmittance to his own country. Pausimachus suspected the wily rascal and took special pains to guard against him. But after Polyxenidas had written him an autograph letter on the subject of the betrayal and in accord therewith had sailed away from Ephesus on the pretence of procuring corn for the army, Pausimachus, observing the movement and thinking that no one would put his own signature to a letter proposing a betrayal unless he was speaking the truth, felt entire confidence, relaxed his vigilance, and sent his own fleet away to procure corn. Polyxenidas, seeing that his stratagem was successful, reassembled his ships, and sent the pirate Nicander to Samos with a few men to create confusion by getting in the rear of Pausimachus on the land, and himself sailed at midnight, and about daybreak fell upon him while still asleep. Pausimachus, in this sudden and unexpected catastrophe, ordered his men to abandon their ships and defend themselves on land. When Nicander attacked him in the rear he thought that the land had been taken possession of by night not merely by those who were visible, but by a much larger number. So he made another confused rush for his ships. He was foremost in the encounter and the first to fall, fighting bravely. The rest were all captured or killed. Seven of the ships, which were provided with the fire-apparatus, escaped, as no one dared approach them for fear of conflagration. The remaining twenty Polyxenidas towed to Ephesus.

[25] καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ νίκῃ Φώκαια αὐθις καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κύμη πρὸς Ἀντίοχον μετετίθεντο. δεισας δ' ὁ Λίουιος περὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν, ἃς ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατελελοίπει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπανήει. καὶ Εὐμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο, Ῥόδιοί τε Ῥωμαίοις ναῦς ἑτέρας εἴκοσιν ἔπεμπον. μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπόντες ἅπαντες ἀνεθάρρησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἔπλεον ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐσκευασμένοι. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιπλέοντος, τὸ μὲν ἡμῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἔστησαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ταῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν καταθέντες ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Νικάνδρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς μεσογείας ἐπιτεσὼν τὴν τε λείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς κατεδίωξεν.

[25] Upon the news of this victory Phocæa again changed sides to Antiochus, as did also Samos and Cuma. Livius, fearing for his own ships, which he had left in Æolis, returned to them in haste. Eumenes hastened to join him, and the Rhodians sent the Romans twenty new ships. In a short time they were all in good spirits and they sailed toward Ephesus prepared for another engagement. As no enemy appeared they divided their naval force into two parts, one half for a long time showing itself on the high sea, while the other landed on the

enemy's coast and ravaged it until Nicander attacked them from the interior, took away their plunder, and drove them back to their ships. Then they withdrew to Samos, and Livius' term of office as admiral expired.

[26] οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Σάμον ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἔληγε Λιουίῳ τῆς ναυαρχίας: τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Εὐμένους γῆν ἐδήου καὶ Περγάμῳ παρεκάθητο, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατακλείσας. ὅθεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐς Ἐλαίαν, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίνειον, διέπλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥηγίλλος ὁ Λιουίου τὴν ναυαρχίαν παραδεδεγμένος. ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Εὐμένει σύμμαχοι χίλιοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑκατὸν ἐπίλεκτοι, ὧν Διοφάνης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδὼν τοὺς Σελευκεῖους παίζοντάς τε καὶ μεθύοντας ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, ἔπειθε τοὺς Περγαμηνοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνεκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐχ ὑφισταμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὥπλισε τοὺς ἰδίους χιλίους καὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας. καὶ προαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔστησεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς ἐς πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀλίγους τε καὶ οὐ τολμῶντας ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀριστοποιουμένοις ἐπιδραμὼν ἐθορύβησέ τε καὶ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς προφύλακας, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀναπηδόντων, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιχαλινούντων ἢ φεύγοντας διωκόντων ἢ δυσχερῶς ἀναβαινόντων οὐκ εὐσταθούντας, ἐκράτει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, ἐπιβοώντων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Περγαμηνῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε προελθεῖν ὑφισταμένων. κτείνας δ' ὅσους ἐδύνατο ὡς ἐν ἐπιδείξει ταχεῖα, καὶ τινὰς αἰχμάλωτους ἐλὼν ἄνδρας τε καὶ ἵππους, ἐπανήει κατὰ σπουδὴν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης αὐθις ἴσθη τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Περγαμηνῶν αὐτῷ συνεξιόντων. Σέλευκος δ' ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς αὐτῷ προσεπέλαξε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξῃει, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐστῶς, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάσσετο: ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σέλευκος παραμείνας ἐς μεσημβρίαν, καμνόντων οἱ ἤδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐέστρεφε καὶ ἐπανήει, τοῖς τελευταίοις αὐτοῦ ὁ Διοφάνης ἐπιθέμενος καὶ θορυβοποιήσας, καὶ βλάνας ὅσα καὶ τότε δυνατὸς ἦν, εὐθὺς ἐπανήει πάλιν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον συνεχῶς ἐν τε χορτολογίαις καὶ ξυλείαις ἐνεδρεῦων καὶ αἰεὶ τι ἐνοχλῶν ἀπὸ τε Περγάμου τὸν Σέλευκον ἀνέστησε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐμένους χώρας ἐξήλασεν.

[26] About this time Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, ravaged the territory of Eumenes and laid siege to Pergamus, shutting up the soldiers in it. On account of this Eumenes sailed with haste to Elæa, the naval station of his kingdom, and with him L. Æmilius Regillus, the successor of Livius as admiral. One thousand foot-soldiers and 100 picked horse had been sent by the Achæans as allies to Eumenes. When their commander, Diophanes, from the wall saw the soldiers of Seleucus sporting and drinking in a contemptuous way, he urged the Pergameans to join him in a sally against the enemy. As they would not agree to this he armed his 1000 foot and his 100 horse, led them out of the city under the wall, and stood there quietly. The enemy derided him for a long time on account of the smallness of his force and because he did not dare to fight, but he fell upon them while they were taking their dinner, threw them into confusion, and put their advance guard to flight. While some sprang for

their arms, and others tried to bridle their horses or to catch those that ran away or to mount those that would not stand, Diophanes won a most glorious victory, the Pergameans cheering vociferously from the walls, but even then not venturing out. Having killed as many as he could in a brief demonstration and taken a certain number of prisoners with their horses, he quickly returned. The following day he again stationed the Achæans under the wall, the Pergameans again not going out with him. Seleucus approached him with a large body of horse and challenged him to battle, but Diophanes did not accept the challenge. He kept his station close under the wall and watched his opportunity. Seleucus remained till midday, when he turned and led his tired horsemen back. Then Diophanes fell upon his rear and threw it into confusion, and after doing all the damage he could, returned forthwith to his place under the wall. By continually stealing upon the enemy in this way whenever they were collecting forage or wood, and inflicting losses upon them, he compelled Seleucus to move away from Pergamus, and finally drove him out of Eumenes' territory altogether.

[27] Πολυξενίδα δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' οὐ πολὺ γίνεται ναυμαχία περὶ Μυόννησον, ἐς ἣν συνήεσαν Πολυξενίδας μὲν ναυσὶν ἐνενήκοντα καταφράκτοις, Λεύκιος δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ὀγδοήκοντα τρισί: τούτων ἦσαν ἐκ Ῥόδου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐδωρος ἐτέτακτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα Πολυξενίδαν πολὺ προύχοντα Ῥωμαίων, ἔδεισέ τε μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ περιπλεύσας ὀξέως ἅτε κούφαις ναυσὶ καὶ ἐρέταις ἐμπείροις θαλάσσης, τὰς ναῦς τὰς πυρφόρους τῷ Πολυξενίδᾳ πρώτας ἐπήγε, λαμπομένας τῷ πυρὶ πάντοθεν. οἱ δ' ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐτόλμων διὰ τὸ πῦρ, κύκλῳ δ' αὐτὰς περιπλέοντες ἐνέκλινόν τε καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐτύπτοντο, μέχρι Ῥοδίας νεὼς ἐς Σιδονίαν ἐμβαλοῦσης, καὶ τῆς πληγῆς εὐτόνου γενομένης, ἄγκυρα ἐκπίπτουσα τῆς Σιδονίας ἐς τὴν Ῥοδίαν ἐπάγῃ τε καὶ συνέδησεν ἅμφω πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν ἀτρεμούντων τῶν σκαφῶν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. καὶ προσιουσῶν ἄλλων ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἐκατέρᾳ πολλῶν, φιλονεικία τε παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἐγίγνετο λαμπρά, καὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν Ἀντιόχου νεῶν ἔρημον ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον αἱ Ῥωμαίων νῆες διέπλεον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντας ἐκύκλουν, ὥς δ' ἔμαθόν ποτε, ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ καὶ τροπὴ, καὶ διεφθάρησαν Ἀντιόχου νῆες μιᾶς δέουσαι τριάκοντα, ὧν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἀπώλοντο μόναι δύο. καὶ ὁ Πολυξενίδας τὴν Ῥοδίαν ναῦν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον κατήχθη.

[27] Not long afterward Polyxenidas and the Romans had a naval engagement near Myonnesus, in which the former had ninety decked ships, and Regillus, the Roman admiral, eighty-three, of which twenty-five were from Rhodes. The latter were ranged by their commander, Eudorus, on the left wing. Seeing Polyxenidas on the other wing extending his line much beyond that of the Romans, and fearing lest it should be surrounded, he sailed rapidly around there with his swift ships and experienced oarsmen, and brought his fire-ships

against Polyxenidas first, scattering flames everywhere. The ships of the latter did not dare to meet their assailants on account of the fire, but, sailing round and round, tried to keep out of the way, shipped much water, and were exposed to ramming behind the bows. Presently a Rhodian ship struck a Sidonian, and the blow being severe the anchor of the latter was dislodged and stuck in the former, fastening them together. The two ships being immovable the contest between the crews became like a land fight. As many others hastened to the aid of each, the competition on both sides became spirited, and the Roman ships broke through the Antiochean line of battle, which was exposed in this way, and surrounded the enemy before they knew it. When they discovered it there was a flight and a pursuit. Twenty-nine of the Antiochean ships were lost, thirteen of which were captured with their crews. The Romans lost only two vessels. Polyxenidas captured the Rhodian ship and brought it to Ephesus.

CHAPTER VI

Consternation of Antiochus — Antiochus sends Proposals to the Scipios — Both Armies prepare for Battle — The Roman Formation — Antiochus draws up his Forces — The Battle of Magnesia — The Macedonian Phalanx broken — Total Defeat of Antiochus

[28] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν Μυόννησον ἦν τέλος: οὐπω δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθόμενος Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐπιμελῶς ὠχύρου, μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ δυσόδευτον αὐτοῖς ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ δύσβατον, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος διέφερεν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κουφόνους ἀεὶ καὶ ταχὺς ἐς μεταβολήν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἥσσης ἐπύθετο τῆς περὶ Μυόννησον, ἅμπαν ἐξεπλάγη, νομίσας αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιβουλεύειν: παρὰ γὰρ λόγον ἕκαστα χωρεῖν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κρατούντων, ἐν ἧ πολὺν προὔχειν αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζε, Ῥοδίων δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν κατακεκλεικώτων, Φιλίππου δὲ Ῥωμαίους παραπέμποντος ἀβάτους ὁδοῦς, ὃν μάλιστα μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς ὢν ἔπαθεν ὑπελάμβανεν. ὑπὸ δὴ τῶνδε πάντων ἐκταρασσόμενός τε, καὶ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμούς, ὅπερ ἅπασι προσιόντων ἀτυχημάτων ἐπιγίγνεται, Χερρόνησον ἐξέλιπεν ἀλογίστως, πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὔτε μετενεγκὼν ὅσος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ σῖτος σεσωρευμένος πολὺς ἢ ὅπλα ἢ χρήματα ἢ μηχαναί, οὔτε ἐμπρήσας, ἀλλ' ὑγίεις ἀφορμὰς τοσάσδε τοῖς πολεμίοις καταλιπών. Λυσιμαχέας τε αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐκ πολιορκίας συμφεύγοντας μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις, ὑπερεώρα, μόνου τοῦ διάπλου τοῦ περὶ Ἀβυδὸν εἶρξαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπινοῶν, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἔτι ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐν τούτῳ τιθέμενος. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὸν διάπλου ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἡπείχθη ἐπανελθεῖν, φθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέ τινα φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ κατέλιπεν.

[28] Such was the result of the naval engagement at Myonnesus. Before Antiochus heard of it he was fortifying the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with the greatest care, thinking, as was the fact, that this was very important as a defence against the Romans, who would have found it very difficult to pass, or to get through the rest of Thrace, if Philip had not conducted them. But Antiochus, who was generally fickle and light-minded, when he heard of his defeat at Myonnesus was completely panic-stricken, and thought that his evil genius had conspired against him. Everything had turned out contrary to his expectations. The Romans had beaten him on the sea, where he thought he was much superior. The Rhodians had shut Hannibal up in Pamphylia. Philip was helping the Romans over the impassable roads, whereas Antiochus supposed that he would have a lively remembrance of what he had suffered from them. Everything unnerved him, and the deity took away his reasoning powers (as is usually the case when misfortunes multiply), so that he

abandoned the Chersonesus without cause, even before the enemy came in sight, neither carrying away nor burning the great stores which he had collected there of grain, arms, money, and engines, but leaving all these sinews of war in good condition for the enemy. He paid no attention to the Lysimacheans who, as though after a siege, with lamentations accompanied him in his flight, together with their wives and children. He was intent only upon preventing the enemy from crossing at Abydos, and rested his last hope of success wholly on that. Yet he was so beside himself that he did not even defend the crossing, but hastened to reach the interior in advance of the enemy, not even leaving a guard at the straits.

[29] οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπύθοντο, Λυσιμάχειάν τε δρόμῳ κατέλαβον, καὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ θησαυρῶν τε καὶ ὅπλων κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔρημον ὄντα φυλακῆς εὐθὺς ἐπέρων μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἔφθασάν τε Ἀντίοχον ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντα ἐν Σάρδεσι γενόμενοι. ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐβαρυνθύμει, καὶ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτήματα ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνατιθείς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Βυζάντιον ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἐπὶ διαλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, Σμύρναν τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ καὶ Λάμψακον, δι' ἧς ἤρξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δαπάνης τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. ἐνετέλλετο δέ, εἰ δέοι, καὶ τῶν Ἰάδων πόλεων δοῦναι καὶ τῶν Αἰολίδων ὅσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι εἴλοντο, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο αἰτοῖεν οἱ Σκιπίωνες. ταῦτα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς τὸ φανερόν λέγειν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔφερε παρ' Ἀντιόχου χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεις καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀφέσεις. ἡρήκει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ἐς Δηματριάδα ἐκ Χαλκίδος διαπλέοντα· καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἐλὼν τε καὶ κατασκάψας, καὶ δεῦτερος ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Σκιπίωνι Ἀφρικανὸς ὀνομασθεὶς, Παύλου μὲν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐλόντος, Σκιπίωνος δὲ τῷ γένει θυγατρίδους καὶ θέσει παῖς. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκιπίωνες τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ τήνδε ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐὰν ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰρήνης δέηται, μὴ τῶν Ἰάδων μηδὲ τῶν Αἰολίδων αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι πόλεων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε Ταύρου, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐσενεγκεῖν, δι' αὐτὸν γενομένου. ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ Πόπλιος ἔφη τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὲν ἔτι Χερρονήσου καὶ Λυσιμαχείας κρατῶν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ταῦτα προὔτεινεν, ἀσμένως ἂν λαβεῖν· τάχα δ' εἰ καὶ μόνον ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσε· νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς ἤδη περάσαντάς τε καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους, καὶ τὸν χαλινόν, φασίν, ἐνθέντας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάντας, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι διαλύσεων ἐπ' ὀλίγοις. αὐτὸς δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς προαιρέσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴσεσθαι λαβὼν τὸν υἱόν· ἀμείβεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ συμβουλευεῖν δέχεσθαι τὰ προτεινόμενα πρὶν ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν μειζόνων ἐπιταγμάτων.

[29] When the Scipios learned of his flight they took Lysimacheia on their march, possessed themselves of the treasure and arms in the Chersonesus, crossed the unguarded Hellespont in haste in order to arrive at Sardis before Antiochus, who did not yet know that they had crossed. The panic-stricken

king, charging his own faults to the score of fortune, sent Heraclides the Byzantine to the Scipios to treat for peace. He offered to give them Smyrna, Alexandria on the Granicus, and Lampsacus, on account of which cities the war had been begun, and to pay them half the cost of the war. He was authorized if necessary to surrender the Ionian and Æolian cities which had sided with the Romans in the fight and whatever else the Scipios might ask. These things Heraclides was to propose publicly. He was authorized to promise Publius Scipio privately a large sum of money and the surrender of his son, whom the king had taken prisoner in Greece as he was sailing from Chalcis to Demetrias. This son was the Scipio who afterwards took and destroyed Carthage, and was the second to bear the name of Scipio Africanus. He was the son of Paulus, who conquered Perseus, king of Macedon, and of Scipio's daughter, and had been adopted by Scipio. The Scipios in council gave this answer to Heraclides, "If Antiochus wishes peace he must surrender not only the cities of Ionia and Æolia, but all of Asia this side of Mount Taurus, and pay the whole cost of the war incurred on his account." Privately Publius said to Heraclides, "If Antiochus had offered these conditions while he still held the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia they would have been gladly accepted; perhaps so if he were only still guarding the passage of the Hellespont. But now that we have crossed in safety and have not merely bridled the horse (as the saying is), but mounted him, we cannot consent to such light conditions. I thank the king for his proposal and shall thank him still more after receiving my son. I will repay him now with good advice, that he accept the terms offered instead of waiting for severer ones."

[30] ὁ μὲν δὴ Πόπλιος ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐς Ἑλαίαν νοσηλευόμενος ὑπεχώρει, σύμβουλον τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γναῖον Δομίτιον καταλιπών· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος, οἶόν τι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδών, οἰηθεὶς τῶνδε τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, συνέτασσε ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων, καὶ Σκιπίωνι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ἑλαίαν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἄγουσι συνεβούλευε μὴ μάχεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. καὶ τῷδε πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σίτυλον, τεῖχος τε καρτερὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιτείχιζε, καὶ τὸν Φρύγιον ποταμὸν ἐν προβολῇ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐτίθετο, ἵνα μὴδ' ἄκων ἀναγκάζοιτο πολεμεῖν. Δομίτιος δὲ φιλοτιμούμενος τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κριθῆναι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρα μάλα θρασέως, καὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀπ' Ἀντιόχου διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν. τέσσαρσί τε ἡμέραις ἐφεξῆς ἐξέτασσαν ἑκάτεροι παρὰ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατήρχον. τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐξέτασεν αὖθις καὶ ἐπέβαινε σοβαρῶς. οὐκ ἀντεπιόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, τότε μὲν ἐγγυτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευσε, μίαν δὲ ἄλλην διαλιπὼν ἐκήρυσσεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν πολέμιων ἐς αὔριον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἄκοντι πολεμήσειν. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς αὖθις μεθίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐστάναι μόνον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ καλῶς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἀπομάχεσθαι μέχρι ραῖσειεν ὁ Πόπλιος, αἰσχροὺς ἡγεῖτο μετὰ πλείονων φυγομαχεῖν· ὅθεν ἐς μάχην παρέτασεν.

[30] After this conference Publius was taken sick and withdrew to Elæa, leaving Gnæus Domitius as his brother's counsellor. Antiochus thinking, as Philip of Macedon did, that nothing worse than these terms could befall him if he were vanquished in war, drew his forces together near the plain of Thyatira not far from the enemy, and sent Scipio's son to him at Elæa. Scipio advised those who brought his son that Antiochus should not fight until he himself should return to the army. Antiochus, acting on this advice, transferred his camp to Mount Sipylus and fortified it with a strong wall. He also interposed the river Phrygius between himself and the enemy, so that he should not be compelled to fight against his will. Domitius, however, in a spirit of ambition, wanted to decide the war himself. So he boldly crossed the river and established a camp at a distance of twenty stades from Antiochus. Four days in succession they both drew up their forces in front of their own fortifications, but neither of them began a battle. On the fifth day Domitius did the same again and haughtily advanced. As Antiochus did not meet him he moved his camp nearer. After an interval of one day he announced by herald in the hearing of the enemy that he would fight Antiochus on the following day whether he was willing or not. The latter was perplexed and again changed his mind. Although he would have ventured heretofore only to make a stand under the wall or to repel the enemy from the wall, till Scipio should regain his health, he now thought that with superior numbers it would be disgraceful to decline an engagement. So he prepared for battle.

[31] καὶ ἐξῆγον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἄμφω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, διεκόσμει δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ὥδε. τὸ μὲν λαιὸν εἶχον ὀπλῖται Ῥωμαίων μύριοι, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτόν· καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν Ἰταλῶν ἔτεροι μύριοι, τρεῖς ἑκατέρων τάξεις ἐπὶ βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ὁ Εὐμένους στρατὸς ἐτάσσετο, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πελτασταὶ περὶ τρισχιλίουσ. ὧδε μὲν εἶχε τὸ λαιόν, τὸ δεξιὸν δ' ἦν ἱππεῖς, οἱ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν καὶ Εὐμένους, οὐ πλείους οὐδ' οὗτοι τρισχιλίων. ἀνεμεμίχато δ' ἅπασι φιλοὶ τε καὶ τοξόται πολλοί, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δομίτιον αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἱππέων ἱλαὶ τέσσαρες. οὕτω μὲν ἐγίνοντο πάντες ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἐπεστάται δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Δομίτιος αὐτός, καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἴσθη τὸν ὕπατον, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμένει. τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων, οὓς εἶχεν ἐκ Λιβύης, οὐδένα νομίζων ἔσεσθαι χρήσιμον ὀλιγωτέρων τε ὄντων καὶ βραχυτέρων οἷα Λιβύων 'δεδίασι δ' οἱ μικρότεροι τοὺς μείζονας', ἔστησεν ὀπίσω πάντας.

[31] Both marched out about the last watch, just before daylight. The ordering of the troops on either side was as follows. The Roman legionaries, to the number of 10,000, formed the left wing resting on the river. Behind these were 10,000 Italian allies, and both these divisions were in files in triple line of battle. Behind the Italians came the army of Eumenes and about 3000 Achæan peltasts. Thus stood the left, while on the right wing were the Roman and Italian cavalry and those of Eumenes, not more than 3000 in all. Mingled with all these were light-armed troops and bowmen, and around Domitius himself were four troops of horse. Altogether they were about 30,000 strong.

Domitius took his station on the right wing and placed the consul in the centre. He gave the command of the left wing to Eumenes. Considering his African elephants of no use, being few in number and of small size, as those of Africa usually are (and the small ones are afraid of the larger), he placed them in the rear of all. Such was the Roman line of battle.

[32] ὧδε μὲν δὴ διετετάχατο Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἦν μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐπτακισμῦριοι, καὶ τούτων τὸ κράτιστον ἦν ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδόνων, ἄνδρες ἐξακισχίλιοι καὶ μῦριοι, ἐς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τρόπον ἐτι κοσμούμενοι: ἴσθη δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, διελὼν ἀνὰ χιλίους καὶ ἐξακοσίους ἐς δέκα μέρη, καὶ τούτων ἐκάστου μέρους ἦσαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μετώπου πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες, ἐς δὲ τὸ βάθος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἐκάστου μέρους ἐλέφαντες δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. ἡ δ' ὄψις ἦν τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος οἷα τείχους, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων οἷον πύργων. τοιοῦτον μὲν ἦν τὸ πεζὸν Ἀντιόχῳ, ἵππεῖς δ' ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ παρετετάχατο Γαλάται τε κατάφρακτοι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἄγῃμα τῶν Μακεδόνων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἶδε ἵππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἄγῃμα λέγεται. τάδε μὲν ἔξ ἴσου τῆς φάλαγγος ἦν ἐκατέρωθεν: ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον ἐν μὲν δεξιᾷ ψιλοί τέ τινες καὶ ἕτεροι ἵππεῖς ἀργυράσπιδες καὶ ἵπποτοξόται διακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ λαῖον Γαλατῶν τ' ἔθνη, Τεκτοσάγαι τε καὶ Τρόκμοι καὶ Τολιστόβοιοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι τινὲς οὓς ἐπεμψεν Ἀριαράθης, καὶ μιγάδες ἄλλοι ξένοι, κατάφρακτός τε ἵππος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἑτέρα, καὶ ἦν ἐκάλουν ἵππον ἐταιρικὴν, ὥπλισμένη κούφως. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀντιόχος ἐξέτασεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν ἐλπίδα λαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσιν, οὓς πολλοὺς ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν ἐς ὀλίγον συναγαγεῖν ἀπειροπολέμω, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔδει θαρρεῖν πάντῳ ἡσκημένῃ. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν λιθοβόλων τε καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ πελταστῶν, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ Πισιδῶν Κρητῶν τε καὶ Τραλλιανῶν καὶ Κιλικίων ἐς τὸν Κρητῶν τρόπον ἐσκευασμένων. ἵπποτοξόται τε ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἕτεροι, Δᾶαι καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Ἑλυμαῖοι καὶ Ἀραβες, οἱ καμήλους ὀξυτάτας ἐπικαθήμενοι τοξεύουσί τε εὐμαρῶς ἀφ' ὕψηλοῦ, καὶ μαχαίραις, ὅτε πλησιάζοιεν, ἐπιμήκεσι καὶ στεναῖς χρῶνται. δρεπανηφόρα τε ἄρματα ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ, προπολεμεῖν τοῦ μετώπου, ἐτετάχατο: καὶ εἰρητο αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πείραν ὑποχωρεῖν.

[32] The total force of Antiochus was 70,000 and the strongest of these was the Macedonian phalanx of 16,000 men, still arrayed after the fashion of Alexander and Philip. These were placed in the centre, divided into ten sections of 1600 men each, with fifty men in the front line of each section and thirty-two deep. On the flanks of each section were twenty-two elephants. The appearance of the phalanx was like that of a wall, of which the elephants were the towers. Such was the arrangement of the infantry of Antiochus. His horse were stationed on either wing, consisting of the mail-clad Galatians and the Macedonian corps called the Agema, so named because they were picked horsemen. An equal number of these were stationed on either side of the phalanx. Besides these the right wing had certain light-armed troops, and

other horsemen with silver shields, and 200 mounted archers. On the left were the Galatian bands of the Tectosagi, the Trocmi, the Tolistoboi, and certain Cappadocians furnished by King Ariarthes, and a mingling of other tribes. There was another body of horse, mail-clad but light-armed, called the Companion cavalry. In this way Antiochus drew up his forces. He seems to have placed most reliance on his cavalry, whom he stationed in large numbers on his front. The serried phalanx, in which he should have placed most confidence, on account of its high state of discipline, was crowded together unskilfully in a narrow space. Besides the forces enumerated there was a great multitude of slingers, archers, javelin throwers, and peltasts from Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Crete, Tralles, and Cilicia, armed after the Cretan fashion. There were also other mounted archers from the Dahæ, Mysia, Elymaïs, and Arabia, riding on swift camels, who shot arrows with dexterity from their high position, and used very long thin knives when they came to close combat. Antiochus also placed scythe-bearing chariots in the space between the armies to begin the battle, with orders to retire after the first onset.

[33] ὅψις τε ἦν ὥσπερ δύο στρατῶν, τοῦ μὲν ἀρχομένου πολεμεῖν, τοῦ δ' ἐφεδρεύοντος· ἑκάτερος δ' αὐτῶν ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκεύαστο δεινῶς πλήθει τε καὶ κόσμῳ. ἐφειστήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν δεξιοῖς ἵππευσιν Ἀντίοχος αὐτός, τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντίοχου, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης καὶ τοῖς προμάχοις Μύνδις τε καὶ Ζεῦξις. ἀχλυῶδους δὲ καὶ ζοφερᾶς τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης, ἥ τε ὅψις ἔσβεστο τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἀμβλύτερα ἦν ὥς ἐν ἀέρι ὑγρῷ καὶ σκοτεινῷ. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ κατείδεν Εὐμένης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνησε, τὴν δὲ ρύμην τῶν ἀρμάτων τεταγμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα δείσας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ σφενδονῆται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ ἕτεροι κούφοι, συναγαγὼν προσέταξε, τὰ ἄρματα περιθέοντας, ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀκοντίζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν· ἵππου γὰρ ἐν ἄρματι ζυγομαχοῦντος ἀχρεῖον τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρμα γίνεταί, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐταξίας παραλύεται, τὰ δρέπανα τῶν φιλίων δεδιότων. ὁ καὶ τότε συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι· πληγέντων γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἀθρόως, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφερόντων, αἱ τε κάμηλοι πρῶται τῆς ἀταξίας ἡσθάνοντο, πλησίον τοῖς ἄρμασι παρατεταγμένοι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οὐ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τὰ δρέπανα ἐκφεύγειν δυναμένη. θόρυβός τε ἦν ἤδη πολὺς καὶ τάραχος ποικίλος, ἀρξάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε μάλιστα, χωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ὅλον τὸ μεταίχιμον, καὶ μείζων ὑπόνοια τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· ὥς γὰρ ἐν διαστήματι μακρῷ καὶ πλήθει πυκνῷ καὶ βοῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ φόβῳ πολλῷ, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῶν πασχόντων καταληπτὸν ἦν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόνοιαν μειζόνως ἐς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἕκαστοι μετέφερον.

[33] The appearance of his formation was like that of two armies, one to begin the fight, the other held in reserve. Each was arranged in a way to strike terror into the enemy both by numbers and equipment. Antiochus commanded the horse on the right wing in person; his son Seleucus commanded the left.

Philip, the master of the elephants, commanded the phalanx, and Mendis and Zeuxis the skirmishers. The day was dark and gloomy so that the sight of the display was obscured and the aim of the missiles of all kinds impaired by the misty and murky atmosphere. When Eumenes perceived this he disregarded the remainder of the enemy's force, and fearing only the onset of the scythe-bearing chariots, which were mostly ranged against him, he ordered the slingers, archers, and other light-armed under his command to circle around the chariots and aim at the horses, instead of the drivers, for when a horse becomes unmanageable in a chariot all the chariot becomes useless. He often breaks the ranks of his own friends, who are afraid of the scythes. So it turned out. The horses being wounded in great numbers charged with their chariots upon their own ranks. The camels were thrown into disorder first, as they were next in line to the chariots, and after them the mail-clad horse who could not easily dodge the scythes on account of the weight of their armor. Great was the tumult and various the disorder started chiefly by these runaways and spreading along the whole front, the apprehension being even worse than the fact. For, as by reason of distance and multitude, discordant cries and manifold fears, the truth was not clearly grasped even by those near the danger, so these transmitted the alarm constantly magnified to those beyond.

[34] ὁ δ' Εὐμένης, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ μεταίχιμιον, ὅσον αἱ τε κάμηλοι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐπεῖχεν, ἐγεγύμνωτο, τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας, καὶ ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰταλῶν παρετετάχατο, ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντικρὺ Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνοδον τῶν ξένων, μέγα κεκραγῶς καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ἀπείρους τε μάχης καὶ γεγυμνωμένους τῶν προπολεμούντων. οἱ δ' ἐπέιθοντο, καὶ βαρείας σφῶν τῆς ἐμβολῆς γενομένης τρέπονται τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς παρεξυγμένους αὐτοῖς ἱππέας τε καὶ καταφράκτους, ἐκ πολλοῦ ταρασσομένους διὰ τὰ ἄρματα: οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, διὰ τὸ βάρος ὑποφεύγειν ἢ ἀναστρέφειν εὐμαρῶς οὐ δυναμένους, κατελάμβανόν τε καὶ συνέκοπτον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαιὸν τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων: ἐν δεξιᾷ δέ, ἥπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐτέτακτο, διακόνας τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγος ἀπέσπασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων.

[34] Eumenes, having succeeded admirably in his first attempt and cleared the ground held by the camels and chariots, led his own horse and those of the Romans and Italians in his division against the Galatians, the Cappadocians, and the other collection of mercenaries opposed to him, cheering loudly and exhorting them to have no fear of these inexperienced men who had been deprived of their advance supports. They obeyed him and made so heavy a charge that they put to flight not only those, but the adjoining squadrons and the mail-clad horse, who were already thrown into disorder by the chariots. The greater part of these, unable to turn and fly quickly, on account of the weight of their armor, were captured or killed. While this was the state of affairs on the left of the Macedonian phalanx, Antiochus, on the right, broke through the Roman line of battle, dismembered it, and pursued a long

distance.

[35] καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τεταγμένη μὲν, ὥς μεθ' ἱππέων, ἐπὶ στενοῦ τε καὶ τετραγώνου, γεγυμνωμένη δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐκατέρωθεν, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σφῶν ἔτι προπολεμοῦντας διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ πάλιν συνήει, Δομιτίου δ' αὐτὴν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς εὐμαρῶς, οἷα πλινθίων πυκνόν, κυκλώσαντος, οὐτ' ἐκδραμεῖν ἔτι ἔχουσα οὐτ' ἐξελίξαι βάθος οὕτω πολύ, μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκακοπάθει. καὶ ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις εὐβλητοὶ καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς πανταχόθεν ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐκ τετραγώνου προβαλλόμενοι πυκνὰς προῦκαλοῦντο Ῥωμαίους ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, καὶ δόξαν ἐπιβαινόντων αἰετὶ παρεῖχον. οὐ μὴν τι προεπῆδον, πεζοὶ τε καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ ἵππων ὀρῶντες, μάλιστα δὲ ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς τάξεως πυκνὸν ἐκλύσειαν: μετατάξασθαι γὰρ ἐτέρως οὐκ ἔφθανον. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ προσεπέλαζον μὲν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἦεσαν, δεδιότες ἀνδρῶν ἡσκημένων ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ πυκνότητα καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐσηκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐσετόξευον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀχρεῖον ὥς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν συνεστώτων. οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτε ἐκκλῖναι τὰ βαλλόμενα οὔτε φερομένοις διαστήναι. ὅθεν ἤδη πολλὰ κάμνοντες ἐνεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, καὶ βάδην ὑπεχώρουν σὺν ἀπειλῇ, πάντῃ εὐσταθῶς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφόβως: οὐδὲ γὰρ τότε προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ περιθέοντες ἐβλαπτον, μέχρι, τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν τῇ Μακεδόνων φάλαγγι συνταραχθέντων τε καὶ οὐχ ὑπακουόντων ἔτι τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, ὁ κόσμος ὁ τῆς φυγῆς συνεχεῖτο.

[35] The Macedonian phalanx, which had been stationed between the two bodies of horse in a narrow space in the form of a square, when denuded of cavalry on either side, had opened to receive the light-armed troops, who had been skirmishing in front, and closed again. Thus crowded together, Domitius easily enclosed them with his numerous light cavalry. Having no opportunity to charge or even to deploy their dense mass, they began to suffer severely; and they were indignant that military experience availed them nothing, exposed as they were on all sides to the weapons of the enemy. Nevertheless, they presented their thick-set pikes on all four sides. They challenged the Romans to close combat and preserved at all times the appearance of being about to charge. Yet they did not advance, because they were foot-soldiers and heavily armed, and saw that the enemy were mounted. Most of all they feared to relax their close formation lest they might not readily bring it together again. The Romans did not come to close quarters nor approach them because they feared the discipline, the solidity, and the desperation of this veteran corps ; but circled around them and assailed them with javelins and arrows, none of which missed their mark in the dense mass, who could neither turn the missiles aside nor dodge them. After suffering severely in this way they yielded to necessity and fell back step by step, but with a bold front, in perfect order and still formidable to the Romans. The latter kept their distance and continued to circle around and wound them, until the elephants inside the

Macedonian phalanx became excited and unmanageable. Then the phalanx broke into disorderly flight.

[36] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Δομίτιος ἐκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἀντίοχου φθάσας ἐβιάζετο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ φυλάσσοντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐς πολὺ διώκων παρ' οὗς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ἐτέτακτο, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἱππέων ἢ ψιλοῦ παρόντος ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· οὐ γὰρ παρετετάχει Δομίτιος, ἡγούμενος οὐ δεήσεισθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν, μέχρι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος ἦλθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τε χιλιάρχος ὁ τοῦ χάρακος φύλαξ, ἀκμῇσι τοῖς φύλαξιν ὑπαντιάσας, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοῖς ἀναμιχθεῖσι θαρροῦντες ἐπεστρέφοντο, ἐπανήει σοβαρὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πεπυσμένων. Ἄτταλος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ Εὐμένους ἀδελφός, ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάζει. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν εὐμαρῶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος διακόψας διέδραμε, καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἔτι καὶ μικρὰ λυπούντων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν· ὡς δὲ κατεῖδε τὴν ἦτταν καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἅπαν νεκρῶν ἰδίων πληρὲς, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων, τό τε στρατόπεδον εἰλημμένον ἤδη κατὰ κράτος, τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔφυγεν ἀμεταστρεπτί, καὶ μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐς Σάρδεις παρῆλθεν. παρῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐς Κελαινάς, ἣν Ἀπάμειαν καλοῦσιν, οἳ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπυνθάνετο συμφυγεῖν. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐς Συρίαν ἐκ Κελαινῶν ἀνεξεύγνυ, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐν Κελαιναῖς καταλιπὼν ὑποδέχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς διαφυγόντας. περὶ τε καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρέσβεις ἔπεμπε πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθαπτε, καὶ ἐσκύλευε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα συνῆγεν. ἐφάνησαν δὲ νεκροὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ πεζοὶ τριακόσιοι μάλιστα, οὗς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔκτεινεν, Εὐμένους δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα ἱππεῖς μόνοι. Ἀντίοχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εἰκάζοντο ἀπολέσθαι περὶ πεντακισμυρίους· οὐ γὰρ εὐμαρὲς ἦν ἀριθμῆσαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρηντο, πεντεκαίδεκα δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγεγένητο.

[36] After he had gained this success, Domitius hastened to the camp of Antiochus and overpowered the forces guarding it. In the meantime Antiochus, after pursuing for a long distance that part of the Roman legionaries opposed to him, came to the Roman camp, where he found no guard, either of cavalry or light-armed troops (for Domitius, thinking that the river afforded sufficient protection, had not provided any). But a military tribune, the prefect of the camp, hastened to meet him with a body of fresh troops and checked his advance, and the fugitives took new courage from their comrades and rallied. The king returned haughty as one who had gained a victory, knowing nothing of what had taken place elsewhere. When Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, with a large body of horse, threw himself in his way, Antiochus easily cut through them, but he disregarded the enemy, who took to flight before they had received much damage. When he discovered his defeat and saw the field of battle strewn with the bodies of his own men, horses, and elephants, and his camp already captured, he fled precipitately, arriving at Sardis about mid-night. From Sardis he went to the town Ceænæn, which they

call Apamea, whither he had been informed that his son had fled. On the following day he retreated to Syria, leaving officers in Celænæ to collect the remains of his army. He also sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. The latter was engaged in burying his own dead, stripping those of the enemy, and collecting prisoners. Of the Roman dead there were found twenty-four knights and 300 foot-soldiers from the city, being mostly those whom Antiochus had slain. Eumenes lost only fifteen of his horse. It is believed that the loss of Antiochus, including prisoners, was 50,000. It was not easy to number them on account of their multitude. Some of his elephants were killed and fifteen were captured.

CHAPTER VII

Antiochus sues for Peace — Scipio's Reply — Treaty ratified — Accusations against Scipio — A Similar Accusation against Epaminondas — Manlius succeeds Scipio — A Disaster in Thrace — Rewards to Eumenes

[37] ὥς δ' ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ παραλόγως τισὶ δοκούσῃ γενέσθαι 'οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐνόμιζον ὀλιγωτέρους πολὺ πλειόνων ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ παρὰ τοσόνδε κρατῆσαι, καὶ μάλιστα φάλαγγος Μακεδόνων, εὖ γεγυμνασμένης καὶ εὐανδρούσης τότε μάλιστα, καὶ δόξαν ἅμαχόν τε καὶ φοβερὰν ἐχούσης', οἱ μὲν Ἀντιόχου φίλοι τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους διαφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἀβουλίαν ἐπεμέμφοντο, Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοσῆδε παρασκευῇ μεθέντος ἐκ χειρῶν πρὶν καὶ ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόντος, Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἂν εὐμαρῶς ἐλπισάντων βιάσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. κατεμέμφοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφροσύνην, ἀχρεῖον ἐν στενῷ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πεποιηκότος, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα θεμένου ἐν πλῆθει συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν ἀρτιπολέμων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσι διὰ μελέτην καὶ χρόνον ἐργάταις τε οὔσι πολέμου καὶ ἐκ τοσῶνδε πολέμων τὸ φρόνημα ἐς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρσος ἠϋξημένοις. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ περὶ Ἀντιόχου λογοποιούμενα, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐπῆρτο τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δυσεργές ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ θεῶν ἐπικουρίας: καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς δόξαν εὐτυχίας ἔφερεν ὅτι οὕτω γε ὀλίγοι τε πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ἐν πρώτῃ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ μισθοφόρων ἀρετῆς, καὶ δόξης Μακεδόνων, καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τε ἀρχὴν κεκτημένου καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν μεγάλου, κεκρατηκότες ἦσαν ἡμέρα μιᾷ. πολὺ τε σφίσιν ἦν τὸ ἔπος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, 'ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ μέγας.'

[37] After this brilliant victory, to many people quite unexpected (for it did not seem at all likely that the smaller force, fighting in a strange land, would overcome a much larger one so completely, and especially the Macedonian phalanx which was then in a high state of discipline and valor, and had the reputation of being formidable and invincible), the friends of Antiochus began to blame him for his rashness in quarrelling with the Romans and for his want of skill and his bad judgment from the beginning. They blamed him for giving up the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with their arms and apparatus without making any defence against the enemy, and for leaving the Hellespont unguarded, when even the Romans would not have expected to force a passage easily. They accused him of his latest blunder in rendering the strongest part of his army useless by its cramped position, and for putting his reliance on the promiscuous multitude of raw recruits rather than on men who had become skilled in military affairs by long training, and had been hardened by many wars to the highest state of valor and endurance. While these discussions were going on among the friends of Antiochus, the Romans were

in high spirits and considered no tasks too hard for them now, under favor of the gods and their own courage, for it brought them great confidence in their own good fortune that such a small number, meeting the enemy on the march, in the first battle, in a foreign country, should have overcome a much greater number, composed of so many peoples, with all the royal preparations, including valiant mercenaries and the renowned Macedonian phalanx, and the king himself, ruler of this vast empire and surnamed the Great, — all in a single day. It became a common saying among them, “There was a king — Antiochus the Great!”

[38] τοιαύδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ σφῶν ἐμεγαλύνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ὕπατος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ῥαΐσας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πόπλιος ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλαίας, ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ μαθεῖν ἠξίουσαν ὅ τι ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἔσται Ῥωμαίοις φίλος· ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο·

αἴτιος μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ πλεονεξίαν Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν νῦν καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγονότων, ὃς ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἔχων τε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἐόντων ἔχειν, Πτολεμαίου συγγενοῦς ἰδίου καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλου Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἀφείλετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐμβαλὼν Θράκην κατεστρέφετο καὶ Χερρόνησον ὠχύρου καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἡγείρεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα διελθὼν ἐδουλοῦτο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι αὐτονόμους ἀφειμένους, μέχρι περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἠττήθη μάχη· καὶ φυγὰν οὐδ' ὥς ἔληξε τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ πολλάκις ἐλαττωθεὶς σπονδῶν μὲν, ἄρτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἡμῶν πεπερακότων, ἐδεήθη, διὰ δὲ ὑπεροψίαν τὰ προτεινόμενα ὑπερεΐδε, καὶ στράτευμα αὐθις πολὺ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄπειρον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συναγαγὼν ἐπολέμει, βιαζόμενος ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, μέχρι συνηνέχθη μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μείζονα τὴν ζημίαν ἐπιθεῖναι, βιασαμένῳ πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζομεν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, οὐδ' ἐπιβαροῦμεν τοῖς ἐτέρων ἀτυχήμασιν. δίδομεν δὲ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ προὔτεινομεν, μικρὰ ἅττα προσθέντες, ὅσα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔσται χρήσιμα καὶ αὐτῷ λυσιτελεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅλης καὶ Ἀσίας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τούτοις ὅροι τεθήσονται, παραδοῦναι δ' ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχει καὶ ναῦς ὅσας ἂν ἐπιτάξωμεν, ἐς τε λοιπὸν ἐλέφαντας μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, ναῦς δὲ ὅσας ἂν ὀρίσωμεν, δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄμηρα, ἃ ἂν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγράψῃ, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, δι' αὐτὸν γενομένου, τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἥδη πεντακόσια, καὶ ὅταν τάσδε τὰς σπονδὰς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, δώδεκα δ' ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις ἔτερα μύρια καὶ δισχίλια, τὸ μέρος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέροντα ἐς Ῥώμην· ἀποδοῦναι δ' ἡμῖν αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα πάντα, καὶ Εὐμένει ὅσα λοιπὰ τῆς πρὸς Ἀτταλὸν τὸν Εὐμένους πατέρα συνθήκης ἔχει. ταῦτα Ἀντιόχῳ πράττοντι ἀδόλως δίδομεν εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν, ὅταν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ.

[38] While the Romans were thus congratulating themselves the consul gave

audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus, his brother, Publius, having recovered his health and returned from Elæ. These wanted to know on what terms Antiochus could be a friend of the Roman people. To them Publius made the following reply: “The grasping nature of Antiochus has been the cause of his present and past misfortunes. While he was the possessor of a vast empire, which the Romans did not object to, he seized Cœle-Syria, which belonged to Ptolemy, his own relative and our friend. Then he invaded Europe, which did not concern him, subjugated Thrace, fortified the Chersonesus, and rebuilt Lysimacheia. He passed thence into Greece and took away the liberty of the people whom the Romans had lately freed, and kept on this course till he was defeated in battle at Thermopylæ, and put to flight. Even then he did not forego his grabbing propensity, for, although frequently beaten at sea, he did not seek peace until we had crossed the Hellespont. Then he scornfully rejected the conditions offered to him, and, again collecting a vast army and uncounted supplies, he continued the war against us, determined to come to an engagement with his betters, until he plunged into this great calamity. We might properly impose a severer punishment on him for his obstinacy in fighting us so persistently, but we are not accustomed to abuse our own prosperity or to aggravate the misfortunes of others. We will offer him the same conditions as before, adding a few which will be equally for our own and his future advantage. He must abandon Europe altogether and all of Asia this side of the Taurus, the boundaries to be fixed hereafter; he shall surrender all the elephants he has, and such number of ships as we may prescribe, and for the future keep no elephants and only so many ships as we allow; must give twenty hostages, whom the consul will select, and pay for the cost of the present war, incurred on his account, 500 Euboïc talents down and 2500 more when the Senate ratifies the treaty; and 12,000 more during twelve years, each yearly installment to be delivered in Rome. He shall also surrender to us all prisoners and deserters, and to Eumenes whatever remains of the possessions he acquired by his agreement with Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If Antiochus accepts these conditions without guile we will grant him peace and friendship subject to the Senate’s ratification.”

[39] τοσάδε προύτεινεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πάντα ἐδέχοντο οἱ πρέσβεις. το τε μέρος αὐτίκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰ εἰκοσιν ὄμηρα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀντίοχος ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε Σκιπίωνες καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἐγράφοντο συνθήκαι τοὺς Σκιπίωνος λόγους βεβαιοῦσαί τε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἐπιλέγουσαι, καὶ βραχέα ἅττα προσεπιλαμβάνουσαι, ὅρον μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι δύο ἄκρας, Καλύκαδόν τε καὶ Σαρπηδόνιον, καὶ τάσδε μὴ παραπλεῖν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ναῦς δὲ καταφράκτους ἔχειν δώδεκα μόνας, αἷς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολέμου κατάρχειν: πολεμούμενον δὲ καὶ πλεόσι χρῆσθαι: μηδένα δ’ ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὄμηρα διὰ τριετίας ἐναλλάσσειν, χωρὶς γε τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου. ταῦτα συγγραψάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐς δέλτους χαλκᾶς

ἀναθέντες, οὗ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνθήκας ἀνατιθέασιν, ἐπεμπον ἀντίγραφα Μαλλίῳ Οὐούλσωνι τῷ διαδεδεγμένῳ τὴν Σκιπίωνος στρατηγίαν. ὁ δ' ὦμνυ τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσι περὶ Ἀπάμειαν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμφθέντι Θέρμῳ χιλίῳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Ἀντιόχῳ μεγάλῳ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου τέλος ἦν. καὶ ἐδόκει μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν μόνου διὰ χάριν τὴν ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν Σκιπίωνος Ἀντιόχῳ γενομένην:

[39] All the terms offered by Scipio were accepted by the ambassadors. That part of the money which was to be paid down, and the twenty hostages, were furnished. Among the latter was Antiochus, the younger son of Antiochus. The Scipios and Antiochus both sent messengers to Rome. The Senate ratified their acts, and a treaty was written carrying out Scipio's views, a few things being added or made plain that had been left indefinite. The boundaries of the dominions of Antiochus were to be the two promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedonium, beyond which he should not sail for purposes of war. He should have only twelve war-ships for the purpose of keeping his subjects under control, but he might have more if he were attacked. He should not recruit mercenaries from Roman territory nor entertain fugitives from the same, and the hostages should be changed every third year, except the son (Y.R. 565) of Antiochus. This treaty was engraved on brazen tablets (B.C. 189) and deposited in the Capitol (where it was customary to deposit such treaties), and a copy of it was sent to Manlius Vulso, Scipio's successor in the command. He administered the oath to the ambassadors of Antiochus at Apamea in Phrygia, and Antiochus did the same to the tribune, Thermus, who was sent for this purpose. This was the end of the war between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, and some thought that it was by reason of the favor extended by Antiochus to Scipio's son that it went no farther. (Y.R. 567)

[40] καὶ τινες τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανελθόντα διέβαλλον ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ δῆμαρχοι δύο δωροδοκίας αὐτὸν ἐγράψαντο καὶ προδοσίας. ὁ δὲ ἀδοξῶν καὶ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθε τὸ δικαστήριον ἧς ἡμέρας ποτὲ Καρχηδόνα παρεστήσατο, θυσίαν προὔπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ σχήματος ἀντὶ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε πάντας ἐκπλήξαι τε καὶ ἐς εὖνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ δὴ συνειδότη μεγαλοφρονούμενον, προσαγαγέσθαι. λέγειν δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς μὲν κατηγορίας οὐδ' ἐπεμνήσθη, τὸν δὲ βίον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἔργα πάντα ἐπεξῆει, καὶ πολέμους ὅσους ἐπολέμησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπολέμησεν, ὅσας τε ἐνίκησεν, ὡς ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις τι καὶ ἡδονῆς διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς σεμνολογίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε προῆλθεν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα, ἐξάρας ἐς φαντασίαν τάδε μάλιστα, καὶ ὁρμῆς αὐτός τε ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμπλήσας, εἶπεν ὅτι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγὼ τάδε ἐνίκων καὶ Καρχηδόνα ὑμῖν, ὃ πολῖται, περιεποιοῦν, τὴν τέως ὑμῖν ἐπιφοβωτάτην. ἅπειμι δὴ θύσων τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον: καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι φιλοπόλιδες, τῆς θυσίας μοι, γιγνομένης ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συνάψασθε. ταῦτα ἔφη, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθει, μηδὲν τῆς δίκης φροντίσας. εἶπετο δ'

αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ πλέονες τῶν δικαστῶν σὺν εὐφήμῳ βοῇ, καὶ θύοντι ὅμοια ἐπεφώνουν. οἱ κατήγοροι δὲ ἠποροῦντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην αὐθις ὥς ἀτέλεστον ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιγράψαι, οὔτε μέμνησθαι δημοκοπίας, δυνατώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον εἰδότες ὑπονοίας τε καὶ διαβολῆς.

[40] When Scipio returned, some persons accused him of this, and two tribunes of the people brought a charge of corruption and betrayal of the public interest against him. He made light of it and scorned the accusation, and as his trial was set for the day which happened to be the anniversary of his victory over Carthage, he sent victims for sacrifice to the Capitol in advance of his coming, and then made his appearance in court clad in festive garments instead of the mournful and humble garb customary to those under accusation, whereby he made a profound impression on all and predisposed them favorably as to a high-minded citizen conscious of his own rectitude. When he began to speak he made no mention of the accusation against him, but detailed the events of his life, what he had done, the (B.C. 187) wars he had waged for his country, how he had carried on each, and how often he had been victorious. It delighted the listeners to hear this grand discourse. When he came to the overthrow of Carthage he was roused to the highest pitch of eloquence and filled the multitude, as well as himself, with noble rage, saying, "On this very day, O citizens, I won the victory and laid at you feet Carthage, that had lately been such an object of terror to you. Now I am going up to the Capitol to offer the sacrifice appointed for the day. As many of you as love your country join me in the sacrifice, which is offered for your own good." Having finished his speech he went to the Capitol, having made no allusion to the charge against him. The crowd followed him, including most of the judges, with joyful acclamations, which were continued while he was performing the sacrifice. The accusers were nonplussed and did not dare to call him to trial again, as that was to no purpose, or to charge him with demagogism, because they knew that his whole life had been above the reach of suspicion or calumny.

[41] ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ὧδε ἐγκλήματος ἀναξίου τῶν βεβιωμένων οἱ κατεφρόνησε, σοφώτερον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Ἀριστείδου περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ Σωκράτους περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο οὐδὲν εἰπόντων ὑπ' ἀδοξίας ὁμοίας, ἢ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος ἃ δοκεῖ Πλάτωνι, μεγαλοφρονέστερον δὲ ἄρα καὶ Ἑπαμεινώνδου, ὃς ἐβιοιτάρχει μὲν ἅμα Πελοπίδα καὶ ἐτέρῳ, ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, στρατὸν ἐκάστῳ δόντες, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀρκάσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Λακόνων, οὕτω δ' ὅσα ἐπενόουν ἐργασαμένους ἐπὶ διαβολῇ μετεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς διαδόχοις σφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑξ οὐ μεθῆκαν, ἕως τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρούρια καθεῖλον καὶ ἐπέστησαν αὐθις ἕτερα τῶν Ἀρκάδων, Ἑπαμεινώνδου τοὺς συστρατῆγους ἐς τοῦτο ἀναγκάζοντός τε, καὶ ὑποδεχομένου τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἀξίμιον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανελθοῦσιν οἱ κατήγοροι, καθ' ἓνα διώκοντες, ἐτιμῶντο θανάτου ἰθανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐξημίου τὸν ἐκ βίας ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα ἀλλοτρίαν,

οἱ μὲν ἕτεροι διέφυγον οἴκῳ τε χρώμενοι καὶ λόγοις πλείοσι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἀναφέροντες, αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγειν ὑποθέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγουσιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα: ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος τελευταῖος ‘ὁμολογῶ,’ ἔφη, ‘παρανόμως ἄρξαι τόνδε τὸν χρόνον, καὶ οὕς ἀπελύσατε νῦν, ἐγὼ συναναγκάσαι. καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον παρανομήσας. αἰτῶ δ’ ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων μοι κατὰ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι: ‘οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ Λεῦκτρα νικήσας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐχ ὑπομένουσαν, οὐδ’ εἴ τις ξένος ἔχοι Λακωνικὸν πῖλον, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν προαγαγών. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνήρηται, παρανομήσας ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν κατέβη τε τοῦ βήματος, καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαγαγεῖν. οἱ δικάσται δὲ τῷ τε ὄνειδει τοῦ λόγου καὶ θαύματι τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου, τὰς ψήφους οὐχ ὑποστάντες λαβεῖν, ἐξέδραμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου.

[41] In this way Scipio disdained to notice an accusation unworthy of his career, being wiser, as I think, than Aristides when charged with theft, or Socrates when accused as he was. Each of these under a like calumny made no reply, unless Socrates said what Plato makes him say. Scipio was more lofty-minded than Epaminondas, too, when he held the office of Bæotarch with Pelopidas and one other. The Thebans gave each of them an army and sent them to assist the Arcadians and Messenians, in war against the Lacedæmonians, but recalled them on account of certain calumnies, before they had accomplished what they intended to do. Yet they did not turn over the command to their successors for six months, nor until they had driven out the Lacedæmonian garrisons and substituted Arcadians in their places. Epaminondas had compelled his colleagues to take this course and had undertaken that they should be held guiltless. When they returned home the prosecuting officers put them on trial for their lives, separately (for the law made it a capital offence to withhold by force a command which had been assigned to another), (Y.R. 385) but the other two escaped punishment by exciting pity and (B.C. 369) by long speeches, putting the blame on Epaminondas, who had authorized them to say this and who so testified while they were speaking. He was tried last. “I acknowledge,” he said, “that I retained the command beyond my time, contrary to law, and that I coerced those whom you have just acquitted. Nor do I deprecate the death penalty, since I have broken the law. I only ask, for my past services, that you inscribe on my tomb, ‘Here lies the victor of Leuctra. Although his country had not dared to face this enemy, or even a stranger that wore the Doric cap, he led his fellow-citizens to the very doors of Sparta. His country put him to death for violating the laws for her own good.’” After saying this he stepped down from the rostrum and offered to surrender his person to those who wished to drag him to punishment. The judges, moved to shame by the speech, and to admiration of the defence, and to reverence for the man who had spoken, did not wait to take the vote, but ran out of the court-room. The reader may compare these cases together as he likes. (Y.R. 565)

[42] τάδε μὲν δὴ τις, ὥς ἐθέλοι, συγκρίνειν ἔχει: Μάλλιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος διάδοχος τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν Ἀντιόχου γῆν ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχησάντων Τολιστοβοίους, ἀναφυγόντας ἐς τὸν Μύσιον Ὀλυμπον, ἐπιμόχθως τοῦ ὄρους ἐπιβὰς ἐτρέπετο φεύγοντας, ἕως ἔκτεινε καὶ κατεκρήμνισεν ὅσους ἀριθμήσασθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐγένετο, αἰχμαλώτους δ' ἔλαβεν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ὧν τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέκαυσε, τὰ δὲ σώματα, οὐ δυνάμενος τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἐν πολέμοις περιάγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐγγὺς βαρβάροις ἀπέδοτο. ἐν δὲ Τεκτοσάγαις τε καὶ Τρόκμοις ἐκινδύνευσεν μὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἔφυγεν: ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς αὐλιζομένους τε καὶ βεβυσμένους ὑπὸ πλῆθους περιέστησε τοὺς ψιλοὺς αὐτοῖς, καὶ περιτρέχων ἐκέλευεν ἐσακοντίζειν μήτε προσπλεκομένους μήτε πλησιάζοντας. οὐδενὸς δὲ βέλους ἀτυχοῦντος διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πολεμίων, ἔκτεινεν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐδίωξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ Ἄλυν ποταμόν. Ἀριαράθου δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦδε συμμάχους πέμψαντος Ἀντιόχῳ, δεδιότος τε καὶ δεομένου καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τῇ δεήσει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπανῆλθε σὺν γάζῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ χρήμασιν ἀπείροις καὶ λεία βαρυτάτῃ καὶ στρατῷ καταγόμενῳ.

[42] Manlius, who succeeded Scipio as consul, went to (B.C. 189) the countries taken from Antiochus and regulated them. The Tolistoboi, one of the Galatian tribes in alliance with Antiochus, had taken refuge on Mount Olympus in Mysia. With great difficulty Manlius ascended the mountain and pursued them as they fled until he had killed and hurled over the rocks so large a number that it was impossible to count them. He took 40,000 of them prisoners and burned their arms, and as it was impossible to take about with him so many captives while the war was continuing, he gave them to the neighboring barbarians. Among the Tectosagi and the Trocmi he fell into danger by ambush and barely escaped. He came back against them, however, and found them packed together in a great crowd in camp. He enclosed them with his light-armed troops and rode around ordering his men to shoot them at a distance, but not to come in contact with them. The crowd was so dense that no dart missed its mark. He killed 8000 of them and pursued the remainder beyond the river Halys. Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, who had sent military aid to Antiochus, became alarmed and sent entreaties, and 200 talents (Y.R. 566) in money besides, by which means he kept Manlius out of (B.C. 188) his country. The latter returned to the Hellespont with vast treasures, uncounted money, and an army laden with spoils.

[43] τάδε μὲν καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο τῷ Μαλλίῳ: τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀλόγως πάμπαν ὥρα θέρους πλεῦσαι μὲν ὑπερεῖδεν, οὔτε τὸ βάρος ὧν ἐπήγετο ποιησάμενος ἐνθύμιον, οὔτ' ἐπειγόμενος διαπονεῖν ἢ γυμνάζειν ὁδοιπορίαις ἔτι στρατὸν οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον ὁρμῶντα ἀλλ' ἐς οἰκείαν μετὰ λαφύρων ἐπανιόντα, διὰ δὲ Θράκης ὤδευε, στενὴν καὶ μακρὰν καὶ δύσβατον ὁδόν, πνίγους ὥρα, οὔτ' ἐς Μακεδονίαν Φιλίππῳ προεπιστείλας ἀπαντάν, ἵνα παραπέμψειεν αὐτόν, οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διελὼν, ἵνα κουφότερον βαδίζοι καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα

εὐμαρέστερα ἔχοι, οὐτε τὰ σκευοφόρα συντάξας ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους, ἢν' εὐφυλακτότερα ἦ. ἀλλ' ἀθρόως ἦγεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ μῆκος πολύ, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα εἶχεν ἐν μέσῳ, μήτε τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς δυναμένων ἐπικουρεῖν μήτε τῶν ὀπισθεν ὀξέως διὰ μῆκος ὁμοῦ καὶ στενότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπικειμένων, πολὺ μέρος ἀπώλεσε τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ στρατοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεσώθη. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγένετο καταφανὲς ὅσον ὤνησε παραπέμπων τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ὅσον ἤμαρτεν Ἀντίοχος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Χερρόνησον. ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐκ τε Μακεδονίας Θεσσαλίαν διελθὼν καὶ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Ἥπειρον ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρα, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιάν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφεῖς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

[43] Manlius had done well so far, but he managed very badly afterward. He scorned to go home by water in the summer time. He made no account of the burden he was carrying. He neglected to keep the army in good discipline while on the march, because it was not going to war, but returning home with its spoils. He marched by a long, narrow, and difficult road through Thrace in a stifling heat. Nor did he send word to Philip of Macedonia to meet and escort him. He did not divide his army into parts, so that it might move more lightly and have what was needed more handy. Nor did he keep his baggage in good order for easy defence. He led his army higgledy-piggledy, all strung out, with the baggage in the centre of the line, so that neither the vanguard nor the rear-guard could render assistance quickly by reason of the length and narrowness of the road. So, when the Thracians attacked him in flank from all directions, he lost a large part of the spoils, and of the public money, and of the army itself. He escaped into Macedonia with the remainder — by which means it became very plain how great a service Philip had rendered by escorting the Scipios, and how Antiochus had blundered in abandoning the Chersonesus. Manlius passed from Macedonia into Thessaly, and thence into Epirus, crossed to Brundisium, dismissed what was left of his army to their homes, and returned to Rome.

[44] Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ Περγάμου βασιλεὺς μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' Ἀντιόχου συμμαχίᾳ, Εὐμένης μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐστέλλετο, Ῥόδιοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ Ῥοδίοις μὲν ἔδωκε Λυκίους τε καὶ Κᾶρας, οὓς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν ὡς Περσεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνι μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι πολεμοῦσι τῷ Περσεῖ προθυμότερων γενομένων, Εὐμένει δὲ παρέσχον ὅσα λοιπὰ ἀφήρηντο Ἀντιόχον, χωρὶς Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀττάλῳ τῷ πατρὶ Εὐμένους ἐτέλουν φόρους, ἐκέλευσαν Εὐμένει συμφέρειν, ὅσοι δ' Ἀντιόχῳ πρῶτον ἐτέλουν, ἀπέλυσαν τῶν φόρων καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν.

[44] The Rhodians and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, were very proud of their share in the alliance against Antiochus. Eumenes set out for Rome in person and the Rhodians sent envoys. The Senate gave to the Rhodians Lycia and

Caria, which they took away from them soon afterward, because in the war with Perseus, king of Macedonia, they showed themselves rather favorable to him. They bestowed upon Eumenes all the rest of the territory taken from Antiochus, except the Greek cities in Asia. Of the latter, those that were formerly tributary to Attalus, the father of Eumenes, were ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes, while those which formerly paid to Antiochus were released from tribute altogether and made independent. In this way the Romans disposed of the lands they had gained in the war.

CHAPTER VIII

The Successors of Antiochus the Great — Antiochus Epiphanes — Antiochus Eupator — Demetrius Soter — Tigranes, King of Armenia, conquers Syria — Pompey seizes it for the Romans — Also Phœnicia and Palestine — Later History of Syria

(Y.R. 567)

[45] ὧδε μὲν Ρωμαῖοι διέθεντο τὰ δορίκτητα, Ἀντιόχου δ' ὕστερον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος γίγνεται Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς διάδοχος· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὧδε Ἀντίοχον ἐξέλυσε τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ὀμηρείας, ἀντιδοὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Δημήτριον. Ἀντιόχου δ' ἐπανιόντος ἐκ τῆς ὀμηρείας καὶ ὄντος ἔτι περὶ Ἀθήνας, ὁ μὲν Σέλευκος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸν δ' Ἡλιοδώρον Εὐμένης καὶ Ἄτταλος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν βιαζόμενον ἐκβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐς αὐτὴν κατάγουσιν, ἐταιριζόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τινῶν προσκρουμάτων ἤδη καὶ οἶδε Ῥωμαῖοις ὑπεβλέποντο. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου Συρίας ἐπεκράτησεν· ὅτω παρὰ τῶν Σύρων ἐπόνυμον ἦν ἐπιφανής, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρπαζομένης ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὤφθη. συνθέμενος δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν Εὐμένει, Συρίας καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε, σατράπην μὲν ἔχων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τίμαρχον, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις Ἡρακλείδην, ἀδελφῶ μὲν ἀλλήλοιν, ἅμφω δὲ αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ παιδικά. ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα.

[45] Afterward, on the death of Antiochus the Great, his (B.C. 187) son Seleucus succeeded him. He gave his son Demetrius as a hostage in place of his brother Antiochus. When the latter arrived at Athens on his way home, Seleucus was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy of a certain Heliodorus, one of the court officers. When Heliodorus sought to possess himself of the government he was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, who installed Antiochus therein in order to secure his good-will; for, by reason of certain bickerings, they had already grown suspicious of the Romans. Thus Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the Great, ascended the throne of Syria. He was called Epiphanes (the Illustrious) by the Syrians, because when the government (Y.R. 579) was seized by usurpers he showed himself to be their (B.C. 175) true sovereign. By cementing the friendship and alliance of Eumenes he governed Syria and the neighboring nations with a firm hand. He appointed Timarchus as satrap of Babylon and Heraclides as treasurer, two brothers, both of whom had been his favorites. He made an expedition against Artaxias, king of Armenia, and took him prisoner. (Y.R. 590)

[46] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐνναετὲς παιδίον ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον, ᾧ προσέθηκαν ὄνομα εὐπάτωρ οἱ Σύροι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετὴν. καὶ τὸ

παιδίον ἔτρεφε Λυσίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἥσθη φανέντος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου γεννικοῦ καὶ ταχέως ἀποθανόντος. Δημήτριόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς ἀδελφιδοῦν, υἱωνὸν δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα τῷδε τῷ παιδίῳ, ὁμηρεύοντα ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔτος ἄγοντα τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταχθῆναι παρακαλοῦντα ὡς αὐτῷ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, οὐ κατῆγον, οὐ συμφέρειν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τελειότερον ἄρχειν Σύρων ἀντὶ παιδὸς ἀτελοῦς. πυνθανόμενοι δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ στρατόν τ' ἐλεφάντων εἶναι καὶ ναῦς πλείονας τῶν ὀρισμένων Ἀντιόχῳ, πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συγκόψειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσειν. οἰκτρὰ δὲ ἡ ὄψις ἦν ἀναιρουμένων θηρίων ἡμέρων τε καὶ σπανίων, καὶ νεῶν ἐμπιπραμένων· καὶ τις ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Λεπτίνης τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκών, Γναῖον Ὀκτάουιον τὸν τῶνδε τῶν πρέσβεων ἡγεμόνα, ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, διεχρήσατο.

καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάουιον ἔθαπτεν ὁ Λυσίας,

[46] Epiphanes died, leaving a son, Antiochus, nine years of age, to whom the Syrians gave the name of Eupator, in commemoration of his father's bravery. The boy was educated by Lysias. The Senate was glad that this Antiochus, who had early shown himself high spirited, died young. When Demetrius, the son of Seleucus and nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes (grandson of Antiochus the Great and first cousin of this boy), at this time a hostage at Rome, and twenty-three years old, asked that he should be installed in the kingdom as belonging to him rather than to the boy, the Senate would not allow it. They thought that it would be more for their advantage that Syria should be governed (B.C. 164) by an immature boy than by a full-grown man. Learning that there were many elephants in Syria and more ships than had been allowed to Antiochus in the treaty, they sent ambassadors thither, who killed the elephants and burned the ships. It was a pitiful sight, the killing of these rare and tame beasts and the burning of the ships. A certain Leptines of Laodicea was so exasperated by the sight that he stabbed Gnæus Octavius, the chief of this embassy, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium at that place, and Lysias buried him.

[47] Δημήτριος δὲ αἰθὺς ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τῆς γοῦν ὁμηρείας μόνης ἀπολυθῆναι, ὡς Ἀντιόχου μὲν ἀντιδοθεῖς, Ἀντιόχου δ' ἀποθανόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν οὐδὲ τοῦδε, λαθὼν ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν Σύρων ἦρχε, τὸν τε Λυσίαν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διαφθείρας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ Τίμαρχον ἐπανιστάμενον ἀνελών, καὶ τᾶλλα πονηρῶς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἡγούμενον· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ σωτήρ, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὠνομάσθη. κρατυνόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Δημήτριος στέφανόν τε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων, χαριστήριον τῆς ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμηρείας, καὶ Λεπτίνην τὸν ἀνδροφόνον Ὀκταουίου. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἐδέχοντο, Λεπτίνην δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὡς δὴ τι τοῦτ' ἔγκλημα τοῖς Σύροις ταμιευόμενοι. Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχῆς Ἀριαράθην ἐκβαλὼν,

Ὀλοφέρνην ἐπὶ χιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγεν, ἀδελφὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα Ἀριαράθου. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει μὲν, ὥς ἀδελφούς, Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ὀλοφέρνην βασιλεῦειν ὁμοῦ.

[47] Demetrius came before the Senate again and asked at all events to be released as a hostage, since he had been given as a substitute for Antiochus, who was now dead. When his request was not granted he escaped secretly by (Y.R. 592) boat. As the Syrians received him gladly, he ascended the (B.C. 162) throne after having put Lysias to death and the boy with him. He removed Heraclides from office and killed Timarchus, who rebelled and who had administered the government of Babylon badly in other respects. For this he received the surname of Soter (the Protector), which was first bestowed upon him by the Babylonians. When he was firmly established in the kingdom he sent a crown valued at 10,000 pieces of gold to the Romans as the gift of their former hostage, and also delivered up Leptines, the murderer of Octavius. They accepted the crown, but not Leptines, because they intended to hold the Syrians responsible (Y.R. 595) for that crime. Demetrius took the government of (B.C. 159) Cappadocia away from Ariarthes and gave it to Olophernes, who was supposed to be the brother of Ariarthes, receiving 1000 talents therefor. The Romans, however, decided that as brothers both Ariarthes and Olophernes should reign together.

[48] ἐκπεσόντων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνου μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μιθριδάτειος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἤρξατο συνίστασθαι, μέγιστός τε καὶ πολυτροπώτατος ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς γενόμενος, καὶ παρατείνας ἐς ἔτη μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ Σύροις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ὀλιγοχρόνιοι πάμπαν ἐγένοντο, πολλαὶ δὲ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Παρθυαῖοί τε προαποστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐς ἑαυτοὺς περιέσπασαν, ἣ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουεν. καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας Τιγράνης ὁ Τιγράνους ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν περιόικων ἰδίοις δυνάσταις χρώμενα ἐλὼν, βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλέων ἠγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ἐπεστράτευσεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπακούειν. οὐχ ὑποστάντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, ὁ Τιγράνης ἤρχε Συρίας τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην, ὅσα γένη Σύρων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἤρχε δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ Κιλικίας 'καὶ γὰρ ἦδε τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουε, Μαγαδάτην στρατηγὸν ἐπιτάξας ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

[48] These princes were deprived of the kingdom — and their successor, Ariobarzanes, also, a little later — by Mithridates, king of Pontus. The Mithridatic war grew out of this event, among others, — a very great war, full of vicissitudes to many nations and lasting nearly forty years. During this time Syria had many kings, succeeding each other at brief intervals, but all of the royal lineage, and there were many changes and revolts from the dynasty. The Parthians, who had previously revolted from the rule of the Seleucidæ, seized Mesopotamia, which had been subject to that house. Tigranes, the son of

Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had annexed many neighboring principalities, and from these exploits had acquired the title of King of Kings, attacked the Seleucidæ because they would not acknowledge his supremacy. Antiochus Pius was not able (Y.R. 671) to withstand him. Tigranes conquered all of the Syrian (B.C. 83) peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt. He took Cilicia at the same time (for this was also subject to the Seleucidæ) and put his general, Magadates, in command of all these conquests for fourteen years. (Y.R. 685)

[49] Λευκόλλου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Μιθριδάτην διώκοντος ἐς τὸν Τιγράνην ὑποφεύγοντα, ὁ Μαγαδάτης ἦει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ Τιγράνη βοηθήσων, καὶ ἐν τῷδε παραδύς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντίοχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἦρχε τῶν Σύρων ἐκόντων. καὶ αὐτῷ Λεύκολλος μὲν, ὁ Τιγράνη πρῶτός τε πολέμησας καὶ τῆς ἐπικτήτου γῆς αὐτὸν ἐξέλασας, οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀρχῆς πατρῶας· Πομπήιος δέ, ὁ ἐπὶ Λευκόλλῳ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελών, Τιγράνη μὲν Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀμαρτόντα, ἔργῳ μὲν ὅτι ἦν εὐκολον αὐτῷ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι, πολλὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνοπλον ἀφελέσθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὅτι τοὺς Σελευκίδας, ὑπὸ Τιγράνους ἐκπεσόντας, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι Συρίας ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίους Τιγράνην νενικηκότας.

[49] When the Roman general, Lucullus, was pursuing (B.C. 69) Mithridates, who had taken refuge in the territory of Tigranes, Magadates went with his army to Tigranes' assistance. Thereupon Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, entered Syria clandestinely and assumed the government with the consent of the people. Nor did Lucullus, who first made war on Tigranes and wrested his newly acquired territory from him, object to Antiochus exercising his ancestral (Y.R. 688) authority. But Pompey, the successor of Lucullus, (B.C. 66) when he had overthrown Mithridates, allowed Tigranes to reign in Armenia and expelled Antiochus from the government of Syria, although he had done the Romans no wrong. The real reason for this was that it was easy for Pompey, with an army under his command, to rob an unarmed king, but the pretence was that it was unseemly for the Seleucidæ, whom Tigranes had dethroned, to govern Syria, rather than the Romans who had conquered Tigranes.

[50] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Κιλικίας τε καὶ Συρίας τῆς τε μεσογείου καὶ κοίλης καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Συρίας ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Αἰγύπτου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ἀμαχί Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον. ἐν δὲ γένος ἔτι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐνιστάμενον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξεῖλε κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς κατέσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθηρῆκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιοικίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν

ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστω. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τῶνδε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς Σελευκίδαϊς γενομένων ἐθνῶν τοῖς μὲν ... ἐπέστησεν οἰκείους βασιλέας ἢ δυνάστας, καθὰ καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς τέσσαρσι δυνάσταις ἐβεβαίωσε τὰς τετραδαρχίας, συμμαχήσασιν οἱ κατὰ Μιθριδάτου. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ τάδε περιήλθεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ Καίσαρος μάλιστα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κατὰ μέρος.

[50] In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia and both inland Syria and Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea. The Jewish nation still resisted, and Pompey conquered them, sent their king, Aristobulus, to Rome, and destroyed their greatest, and to them holiest, city, Jerusalem, as Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, had formerly done. It was afterward rebuilt and Vespasian destroyed it again, and Hadrian did the same in our time. On account of these rebellions the tribute imposed upon all Jews is heavier per capita than upon the generality of taxpayers. The annual tax on the (Y.R. 691) Syrians and Cilicians is one per cent. of the valuation of (B.C. 63) the property of each. Pompey put the various nations that had belonged to the Seleucidæ under kings or chiefs of their own. In like manner he confirmed the four chiefs of the Galatians in Asia, who had coöperated with him in the Mithridatic war, in their tetrarchies. Not long afterward they all came gradually under the Roman rule, mostly in the time of Augustus.

[51] Συρίας δ' εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήιος Σκαῦρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑαυτῷ γεγόμενον ταμίαν ἔταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ Σκαύρῳ τὸν Μάρκιον, καὶ Μαρκελλῖνον Λέντλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἄμφω στρατηγικοὺς κατ' ἀξίωσιν. ἀλλὰ τῶνδε μὲν ἑκατέρῳ διετὴς ἐτρίφθη χρόνος, τοὺς γειτονας ἐνοχλοῦντας Ἀραβας ἀμυνομένῳ. καὶ τοῦδε χάριν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο Συρίας στρατηγοὶ τῶν τὰ ἐπὶ πόνῳ ἀρξάντων ἐν ἄστει, ἵνα ἔχοιεν ἐξουσίαν καταλόγου τε στρατιᾶς καὶ πολέμου οἷα ὕπατοι. καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπέμφθη Γαβίνιος μετὰ στρατιᾶς. καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ὀρμῶντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς, ἐξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπ' Ὀρώδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μετήγεν ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ αὐτόν, ὁ ἐνδέκατος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ὁδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀντὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας ὀρμῆσαι. καὶ κατήγαγε μὲν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Γαβίνιος, Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔφηνεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαισίῳ νομιζομένῳ: ἦν γάρ τι Σιβύλλειον αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεῦδον. ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ μοι δοκεῖ Κράσσος ἄρξαι Σύρων, ὅτ' πολεμοῦντι Παρθυαίοις ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὰ γίνεταί. καὶ ἐπὶ Λευκίου Βύβλου μετὰ Κράσσον στρατηγοῦντος Συρίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐσέβαλον οἱ Παρθυαῖοι. Σάξα δὲ μετὰ Βύβλον ἡγουμένου καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον, ἀσχολουμένων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὰ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλια.

[51] Pompey now put Scaurus, who had been his quæstor in the war, in charge

of Syria, and the Senate afterward appointed Marcius Philippus as his successor and Lentulus Marcellinus as the successor of Philippus, both being of prætorian rank. Much of the biennial term of each was consumed in warding off the attacks of the neighboring Arabs. It was on account of these events in Syria that Rome began to appoint for Syria proconsuls, so-called, with power to levy troops and engage in war like consuls. The first of these sent out with an army was Gabinius. As he (Y.R. 699) was in readiness to begin the war, Mithridates, king of the (B.C. 55) Parthians, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his brother, Orodes, persuaded Gabinius to turn his forces from the Arabs against the Parthians. At the same time Ptolemy XI., king of Egypt, who likewise had lost his throne, prevailed upon him by a large sum of money to turn his arms from the Parthians against Alexandria. Gabinius overcame

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the Alexandrians and restored Ptolemy to power, but (B.C. 54) was himself banished by the Senate for invading Egypt without their authority, and undertaking a war considered ill-omened by the Romans; for it was forbidden by the Sibylline books. I think that Crassus succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria — the same who met with a great disaster when waging war against the Parthians. While (Y.R. 703) Lucius Bibulus was in command of Syria after Crassus, the (B.C. 51) Parthians made an incursion into that country. While the (Y.R. 714) government was in charge of Saxa, the successor of Bibulus, (B.C. 40) they overran the country as far as Ionia, the Romans being then occupied by the civil wars. I shall deal with these events more particularly in my Parthian history.

CHAPTER IX

Syria at the Death of Alexander the Great — Seleucus Nicator — The Extent of the Emplire — Oracles and Prodigies concerning Seleucus — Cities founded by him — Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

[52] ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐντελῶς ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ συγγραφῇ λέξω: τῆς δὲ βίβλου τῆσδε οὔσης Συριακῆς, ὅπως μὲν ἔσχον Συρίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συνέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, εἴρηται, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐπιδραμεῖν. οἱ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων Συρίας ἐβασίλευον.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐπὶ Πέρσαις Σύρων, ὁ καὶ πάντων βασιλεὺς ὄσων εἶδεν: Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ παισὶ τῷ μὲν βραχεῖ πάνυ τῷ δὲ ἔτι κυῖσκομένῳ, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, πόθῳ τοῦ Φιλίππειου γένους, εἴλοντο σφῶν βασιλεύειν Ἀριδαῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, καίπερ οὐκ ἔμφρονα νομιζόμενον εἶναι, μετονομάσαντες δὴ Φίλιππον ἀντὶ Ἀριδαίου, τρεφομένον ἔτι τῶν παίδων Ἀλεξάνδρου ἑφύλαξαν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν κύουσαν, οἱ φίλοι δ' ἐς σατραπείας ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη, Περδίκκου διανέμοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθανόντων βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ σατράπαι. Σύρων δὴ πρῶτος γίγνεται σατράπης Λαομέδων ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἔκ τε Περδίκκου καὶ ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκαν προστατεύσαντος τῶν βασιλέων. Λαομέδοντα δ' ἐπιπλεύσας Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπης ἔπειθε πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐγχειρίσαι οἱ τὴν Συρίαν, προβολὴν τε οὔσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ Κύπρου. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον συλλαμβάνει: ὁ δὲ τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείρας πρὸς Ἀλκétαν ἔφυγεν ἐς Καρίαν. καὶ τινα χρόνον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἦρχε Συρίας, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλιπὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέπλει.

[52] In this book of Syrian history I have told how the Romans came into possession of Syria, and how they brought it to its present condition. It will not be amiss to tell how the Macedonians, who ruled Syria before the Romans, acquired the same country. After the Persians, Alexander became the sovereign of Syria as well as of all other peoples whom he found. He died leaving one son very small and

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another yet unborn. The Macedonians, who were loyal to (B.C. 323) the race of Philip, chose Ardiæus, the brother of Alexander, as king during the minority of Alexander's sons, although he was considered to be hardly of sound mind, and they changed his name from Ardiæus to Philip. They also kept careful guard over the wife, who was enceinte. Meanwhile Alexander's friends continued in charge of the conquered nations, divided into satrapies, which Perdiccas parcelled among them by the authority of King Philip. Not long afterward, when the true kings died, these satraps became kings. The first

satrap of Syria was Laomednon of Mitylene, who derived his authority from Perdikkas and from Antipater, who succeeded the latter as prime minister. To this Laomedon, Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, came with a fleet and offered him a large sum of money if he would hand over Syria to him, because it was well situated for defending Egypt and for attacking Cyprus. When Laomedon refused Ptolemy seized him. Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. Thus Ptolemy ruled Syria for a while, left a garrison there, and returned to Egypt.

Y.R.433

[53] Ἀντίγονος δ' ἦν Φρυγίας μὲν καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας σατράπης, ἐπίσκοπος δ' εἶναι τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου περῶντος ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπολελειμμένος Εὐμένην τὸν Καππαδοκίας σατράπην, ψηφισαμένων εἶναι πολέμιον τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφεύγει, καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκρατύνετο ἑαυτῷ. ἀλλ' Εὐμένη μὲν κτείνει καταλαβὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ ἐπανιῶν ὑπεδέχθη λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου σατραπεύοντος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. ὕβρισαντος δέ τινα τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντος Ἀντιγόνῳ παρόντι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἤτει λογισμοὺς χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀσθενέστερος ὢν Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑπεχώρει. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ Σελεύκου Βλίτορά τε, Μεσοποταμίας ἡγούμενον, παρέλυσσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι Σέλευκον μεθῆκεν ἀπιόντα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐκ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔθνη, καθίστατο ἑαυτῷ, ἥδη καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου τεθνεώτος. ἐπίφθονός τε εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις σατράπαις ἐγίνετο, γῆς ἄρχων τοσῆσδε. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Σελεύκῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέθεντο Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Θράκης σατράπης καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου, Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἡγούμενος· καὶ ὁμοῦ πρεσβευσάμενοι τὸν Ἀντιγόνον ἠξίουσαν τὴν ἐπίκτητον αὐτῷ γενομένην γῆν τε καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τε σφᾶς νείμασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρους Μακεδόνας, οἱ τῶν σατραπειῶν ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν. ἐπιχλευάσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου οἱ μὲν ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο κοινόν, ὁ δὲ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐξέβαλλε τὰς φρουράς ὅσαι ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς λεγομένης κοίλης τὰ ἔτι ὑπήκοα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθρόως περιέσπα.

[53] Antigonus was satrap of Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. (B.C. 321) Having been left as overseer of all Asia when Antipater went to Europe, he besieged Eumenes, the satrap of Cappadocia, who had been publicly declared an enemy of the Macedonians. The latter fled and brought Media under his power, but Antigonus afterward captured and killed him. When he returned he was received magnificently (Y.R. 438) by Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon. One day Seleucus (B.C. 316) punished one of the governors without consulting Antigonus, who was present, and the latter became angry and demanded an accounting of his money and possessions. As Seleucus was inferior to Antigonus in power he fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Thereupon

Antigonus removed Blitor, the governor of Mesopotamia, from office, because he allowed Seleucus to escape, and took upon himself the government of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and all the countries from Media to the Hellespont, Antipater having died in the meantime. The other satraps at once became envious of his possession of so large a share of the territory; for which reason chiefly, and at the instance of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, the satrap of Thrace, and Cassander, the son of Antipater and leader of the Macedonians after his father's death, entered into a league with each other. They sent a joint embassy to Antigonus and demanded that he should share with them and with the other Macedonians who had lost their satrapies, his newly acquired lands and money. Antigonus treated their demand with scorn, and they jointly made war against him. Antigonus prepared to meet them. He drove out all of Ptolemy's garrisons in Syria and stripped him of all the possessions that he still retained in Phoenicia and Cœle-Syria.

[54] χωρῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς Κιλικίους πύλας, Δημήτριον τὸν υἱόν, ἀμφὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότα, ἐν Γάζῃ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς Πτολεμαίου τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τοῦτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνίκα περὶ τὴν Γάζαν μάχῃ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸ μεираκίον ἐς τὸν πατέρα ἐχώρει. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτίκα τὸν Σέλευκον ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα πέμπει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναληψόμενον· καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χιλίους, καὶ τριακοσίους ἱππέας. καὶ σὺν οὕτως ὀλίγοις ὁ Σέλευκος τὴν τε Βαβυλωνίαν, προθύμως αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκδεχομένων, ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς μέγα προήγαγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος Πτολεμαῖον ἡμύνετο, καὶ ναυμαχία περὶ Κύπρον ἐνίκα περιφανεῖ, Δημητρίου τοῦ παιδὸς στρατηγοῦντος· ἐφ' ὅτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ στρατὸς ἀνείπεν ἄμφω βασιλέας, Ἀντίγονόν τε καὶ Δημήτριον, ἥδη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τεθνεώτων, Ἀριδαίου τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἀνείπε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ στρατὸς βασιλέα, ὥς μὴ τι διὰ τὴν ἥσσαν μειονεκτοίῃ τῶν νενικηκότων. τοῖσδε μὲν δὴ τυχεῖν ὁμοίων συνηνέχθη κατ' ἐναντίας αἰτίας, εἶποντο δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς οἱ λοιποί, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκ σατραπῶν ἐγίνοντο.

[54] Then he marched beyond the Cilician gates, leaving his son Demetrius, who was about twenty-two years of age, at Gaza with an army to meet Ptolemy, who was coming from Egypt, but the latter defeated the young man badly in a battle near Gaza and compelled him to fly to his father. Ptolemy immediately sent Seleucus to Babylon to resume the government and gave him 1000 foot-soldiers and 300 horse for the purpose. With this small force Seleucus took Babylon, the inhabitants receiving him with enthusiasm, and within a short time he augmented his power greatly. Nevertheless Antigonus warded off the attack of Ptolemy and gained a splendid naval victory over him near Cyprus, in which his son Demetrius was the commander. On account of this very notable exploit the army began to call both Antigonus and Demetrius kings, as their own kings (Ardiaeus, the son of Philip and Olympias, and the two sons of Alexander) were now dead. Ptolemy's army also (Y.R. 442)

saluted him as king lest by inferiority of rank he should be (B.C. 312) deemed less lofty than the victors in the late battle. Thus for these men similar consequences followed contrary events. All the others followed suit, and all the satraps became kings.

[55] οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Μηδίας, Νικάτορα κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου Μηδίας σατραπεύειν ἀπολελειμμένον. πολέμους δ' ἐπολέμησε πολλοὺς Μακεδόσι καὶ βαρβάροις, καὶ τούτων Μακεδόσι μὲν δύο μεγίστους, τὸν μὲν ὕστερον Λυσιμάχῳ βασιλεύοντι Θράκης, τὸν δὲ πρότερον Ἀντιγόνῳ περὶ Ἴψον τῆς Φρυγίας, αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦντι καὶ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ, καίπερ ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότι. πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅσοι βασιλεῖς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἅμα τῷ Σελεύκῳ καθηγήκεσαν, τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γῆν διενέμοντο. καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος τότε τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς ἀνὰ τὸ μεσόγειον ἄρχειν διέλαχεν. ἐφεδρεύων δὲ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς ἔθνεσι, καὶ δυνατὸς ὢν βιάσασθαι καὶ πιθανὸς προσαγαγέσθαι, ἤρξε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας τῆς Σελευκίδος λεγομένης καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Ταπύρων καὶ τῆς Σογδιανῆς καὶ Ἀραχωσίας καὶ Ὑρκανίας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα ἔθνη μέχρι Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγεγένητο δορίληπτα, ὥς ὥρισθαι τῷδε μάλιστα μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ πλεόν: ἀπὸ γὰρ Φρυγίας ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄνω πάντα Σελεύκῳ κατήκουεν. καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο. καὶ τῶνδε τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου τελευτῆς, τὰ δὲ μετ' Ἀντίγονον ἐποίησεν.

[55] In this way Seleucus became king of Babylonia. He also acquired the kingdom of Media, slaying with his own hand in battle Nicator whom Antigonus had left as satrap of that country. He afterward waged many wars with Macedonians and barbarians. The two principal ones were with Macedonians, the second with Lysimachus, king of Thrace, the first with Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus commanded in person and fought in person although he was above eighty years of age. Antigonus (Y.R. 453) was killed in battle, and then all the kings who had been (B.C. 301) in league with Seleucus against him divided his territory among themselves. At this division all Syria from the Euphrates to the sea, also inland Phrygia, fell to the lot of Seleucus. Always lying in wait for the neighboring nations, strong in arms and persuasive in council, he acquired Mesopotamia, Armenia, the so-called Seleucid Cappadocia, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyri, Sogdiani, Arachotes, Hyrcanians, and other adjacent peoples that had been subdued by Alexander, as far as the river Indus, so that the boundaries of his empire were the most extensive in Asia after that of Alexander. The whole region from Phrygia to the Indus was subject to Seleucus. He crossed the Indus and waged war with Androcottus, king of the Indians, who dwelt on the banks of that stream, until they came to an understanding with each other and contracted a marriage relationship. Some of these exploits were performed

before the death of Antigonus and some afterward.

[56] λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ, στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐπομένῳ, χρησμὸν ἐν Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου, 'μὴ σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ'. Ἀσίῃ τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.' καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν ἐστίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρίαν, οὐδενὸς ἄψαντος, ἐκλάμψαι πῦρ μέγα. καὶ ὄναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἂν εὗροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύσειν ἔνθα ἂν ὁ δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἡῦρεν ἄγκυραν ἐν σιδήρῳ κεχαραγμένην, ὃ δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τήνδε ἀπώλεσε κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην. λέγεται καὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπionτα ὕστερον προσκόψαι λίθῳ, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἀνασκαφέντα ἄγκυραν ὀφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὥς ἐπὶ συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου παραπέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ κατοχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα ἦν, δοκεῖ δὲ τισι καὶ περιόντος ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἕτερον τῷ Σελεύκῳ σημεῖον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπανελθόντι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ λίμνας ἐπὶ χρεῖα τοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἀρδεύειν περιπλέοντι, ἄνεμος ἐμπεσὼν ἤρπασε τὸ διάδημα, καὶ φερόμενον ἐκρεμάσθη δόνακος ἐν τάφῳ τινὸς ἀρχαίου βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσήμαινε μὲν ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τότε, ναύτην δὲ φασιν ἐκκολυμβήσαντα περιθέσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν ἄβροχον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ λαβεῖν τῆς προθυμίας αὐτίκα δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: τῶν δὲ μάντεων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖν κελυόντων οἱ μὲν πεισθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖπεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τάδε πάντα ὑπερελθόντες, οὐ ναύτην ὅλως φασὶν ἀλλὰ Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκολυμβῆσαι, καὶ περιθέσθαι Σέλευκον αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἢν' ἄβροχον εἶη. καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐς τέλος ἀμφοῖν ἀπαντήσai. Ἀλέξανδρόν τε γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μεταστῆναι τοῦ βίου, καὶ Σέλευκον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γῆς, ὅτι πλείστης μάλιστα τόνδε τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων, βασιλεῦσαι.

[56] It is said that while he was still serving under Alexander and following him in the war against the Persians he consulted the Didymæan oracle to inquire about his return to Macedonia and that he received for answer: —

“Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you.”

It was said also that in Macedonia a great fire burst forth on his ancestral hearth without anybody lighting it; also that his mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to carry, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said that at a later period, when he was returning to recover Babylon, he stumbled against a stone and that when he caused this stone to be dug up an anchor was found under it. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition,

said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay. For this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring. Some say that while Alexander was still alive and looking on, another omen of the future power of Seleucus was made manifest in this wise. After Alexander had returned from India to Babylon and while he was sailing around the Babylonian lagoons with a view to the irrigation of the Assyrian fields from the Euphrates, (Y.R. 431) a wind struck him and carried away his diadem (B.C. 323) and hung it on a bunch of reeds growing on the tomb of an ancient king. This of itself signified the early death of Alexander. They say that a sailor swam after it, put it on his own head, and, without wetting it, brought it to Alexander, who gave him at once a silver talent as a reward for his kind service. The soothsayers advised putting the man to death. Some say that Alexander followed their advice. Others say the contrary. Other narrators skip that part of the story and say that it was no sailor at all, but Seleucus who swam after the king's diadem, and that he put it on his own head to avoid wetting it. The signs turned out true as to both of them in the end, for Alexander departed from life in Babylon and Seleucus became the ruler of a larger part of his dominions than any other of Alexander's successors.

[57] τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν Σελεύκῳ προμαντευθέντων ἐπυθόμην· γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταστάntος ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἧς δὴ καὶ Ἑφαιστίων ἡγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἑφαιστίῳ Περδίκκας, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον σατράπης τε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ σατραπείᾳ. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς πολέμους ἐπιτυχεστάτῳ Νικάτωρ ἐπώνυμον γίγνεται· τῷδε γὰρ ἀρέσκομαι μᾶλλον τοῦ Νικάτορα κτεῖναι. καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι εὐρώστῳ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ταῦρον ἄγριον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρου θυσίᾳ ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατειργασμένῳ, προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κέρατα. πόλεις δὲ ὥκισεν ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἑκκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, πέντε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ Λαοδικείας, ἑννέα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ, τέσσαρας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν, τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατονίκειαν μίαν. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ νῦν Σελεύκειαι μὲν ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, Λαοδικεῖαι δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει καὶ ἢ τῆς Συρίας Ἀπάμεια. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Μακεδονίας ὀνόμαζεν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἐαυτοῦ τισιν, ἢ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως· ὅθεν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ δὲ Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὀνόματα, Βέρροια, Ἐδεσσα, Πέρινθος, Μαρώνεια, Καλλίπολις, Ἀχαΐα, Πέλλα, Ὠρωπός, Ἀμφίπολις, Ἀρέθουσα, Ἀστακός, Τεγέα, Χαλκίς, Λάρισα, Ἡραία, Ἀπολλωνία, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθυγηνῇ Σώτεια, Καλλιόπη, Χάρις, Ἐκατόμυλος, Ἀχαΐα, ἐν δ' Ἰνδοῖς Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις Ἀλεξανδρέσχατα. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου νίκαις ἔστι Νικηφόριον τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Νικόπολις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καπαδοκίᾳ.

[57] Such are the prophecies I have heard of concerning Seleucus. Directly

after the death of Alexander he became the leader of the Companion cavalry, which Hephæstion, and afterwards Perdiccas, commanded during the life of Alexander. After commanding the horse he became satrap of Babylon, and after satrap, king. As he was very successful in war he acquired the surname of Nicator. At (Y.R. 442)-474

least that seems more probable than that he received it (B.C. 312)-280

from the killing of Nicator. He was of such a large and 28 powerful frame that once when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his ropes, Seleucus held him alone, with nothing but his hands, for which reason his statues are ornamented with horns. He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the two most renowned at the present time are the two Seleucias, one on the sea and the other on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phœnicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apamea in Syria. To others he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits, or in honor of Alexander; whence it comes to pass that in Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names, such as Berrhœa, Edessa, Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaia, Pella, Orophus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heræa, and Apollonia; in Parthia also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylos, Achaia; in India Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata. From the victories of Seleucus come the names of Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in Armenia very near Cappadocia.

[58] φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς Σελευκείας οἰκίζοντι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ, διοσημίαν ἡγήσασθαι κεραυνοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκευοῦσι καὶ ὕμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν κεραυνόν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἡμέραν ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς μάγους κελευομένους, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ἣ τῶν θεμελίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἔδει, ψεύσασθαι τὴν ὥραν τοὺς μάγους, οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτείχισμα τοιόνδε σφίσι γενέσθαι. καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὴν δεδομένην ὥραν ἀνέμενεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἔτοιμος, ἀτρεμῶν ἔστε σημήνειεν ὁ Σέλευκος, ἄφνω κατὰ τὴν αἰσιωτέραν ὥραν δόξαντές τινα κελεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεπήδησαν, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν κηρύκων ἐρυκόντων ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξετετέλεστο, Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους αὐθις ἀνακρίνοντι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἄδειαν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον οἱ μάγοι· ‘τὴν πεπρωμένην ὧ βασιλεῦ μοῖραν, χεῖρόνα τε καὶ κρεῖσσονα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως ἐναλλάξαι. μοῖρα δέ τις καὶ πόλεω ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τήνδε χρονιωτάτην μὲν ἐδόκει τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀρχομένην ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας ἧς ἐγένετο· δειμαίνοντες δ’ ἡμεῖς ὥς ἐπιτείχισμα ἡμῖν ἐσομένην, παρεφέρομεν τὸ πεπρωμένον. τὸ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἦν καὶ μάγων πανουργούντων καὶ βασιλεῶς ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτό. τοιγάρτοι τὸ

δαιμόνιον τὰ αἰσιώτερα τῷ στρατῷ προσέταξεν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐνι σοι καταμαθεῖν ὧδε, ἵνα μὴ τι καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔτι τεχνάζειν ὑπονοῆς. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺ τῷ στρατῷ παρεκάθητο, καὶ τὸ κέλευσμα αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκεις ἀναμένειν: καὶ ὁ εὐπειθέστατος ὢν σοι πρὸς κινδύνους καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο νῦν οὐδὲ ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ' ἀνέθορεν, οὐδὲ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀλλ' ἀθρόως, ἐπιστάταις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐνόμιζε κεκελεύσθαι. καὶ ἐκεκέλευστο δῆ: διόπερ οὐδὲ σοῦ κατερύκοντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. τί ἂν οὖν βασιλέως ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἴη καρτερώτερον ἄλλο θεοῦ; ὃς τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἡγεμόνευσέ σοι τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, δυσμεναίων ἡμῖν τε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῷ περιόικῳ. ποῦ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἰσχύσει, δυνατωτέρου γένους παρῳκισμένου; ἢ μὲν δὴ πόλις σοι γέγονε σὺν τύχῃ καὶ μεγιστεύσει καὶ χρόνιος ἔσται: σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν, ἐξαμαρτοῦσιν ὑπὸ δέους οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, τὴν συγγνώμην βεβαίου.' ταῦτα τῶν μάγων εἰπόντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥσθη καὶ συνέγνω.

[58] They say that when he was about to build the two Seleucias a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea, for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place. Accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day. They say, also, that when the Magi were ordered to indicate the propitious day and hour for beginning the foundations of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris they falsified as to the hour because they did not want to have such a stronghold built against themselves. While the king was waiting in his tent for the appointed hour, and the army, in readiness to begin the work, stood quietly till Seleucus should give the signal, suddenly, at the true hour of destiny, they seemed to hear a voice ordering them on. So they sprang to their work with such alacrity that the heralds who tried to stop them (Y.R. 442)-474

were not able to do so. When the work was brought to an (B.C. 312)-280

end Seleucus, being troubled in his mind, again made inquiry of the Magi concerning his city, and they, having first secured a promise of impunity, replied, "That which is fated, O King, whether it be for better or worse, neither man nor city can change, for there is a fate for cities as well as for men. It pleases the gods that this city shall endure for ages, because it was begun on the hour on which it was begun. We feared lest it should be a stronghold against ourselves, and falsified the appointed time. Destiny is stronger than crafty Magi or an unsuspecting king. For that reason the deity announced the more propitious hour to the army. It is permitted you to know these things so surely that you need not suspect us of deception still, for you were presiding over the army yourself, as king, and you had yourself ordered them to wait; but the army, ever obedient to you in facing danger and toil, could not now be restrained, even when you gave them the order to stop, but sprang to their work, not a part of them merely, but all together, and their officers with them, thinking that the order had been given. In fact it had been given. That was the reason why not even you could hold them back. What can

be stronger in human affairs than a king, unless it be a god, who overcame your intention and supplanted us in giving you directions about the city; for the god is in hostility to us and to all the people round about? What can our resources avail hereafter with a more powerful race settled along side of us? This city of yours has had a fortunate beginning, it will be great and enduring. We beg that you will confirm your pardon of our fault which we committed from fear of the loss of our own prosperity.” The king was pleased with what the Magi said and pardoned them. This is what I have heard about Seleucia.

CHAPTER X

Seleucus, Antiochus, and Stratonice — Seleucus divides his Kingdom — Death of Seleucus — Death of Lysimachus

(Y.R. 461)

[59] τοιαῦδε μὲν ἐπυθόμην περὶ Σελευκείας· ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, περιὼν ἔτι, τῆς ἄνω γῆς βασιλεῦειν ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ εἴ τῳ μεγαλόφρον εἶναι τόδε φαίνεται καὶ βασιλικόν, μεγαλοφρονέστερον ἔτι καὶ σοφώτερον ἦνεγκε τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην. ἦρα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος Στρατονίκης τῆς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου γυναικός, μητρὸς οἱ γενομένης καὶ παῖδα ἤδη τῷ Σελεύκῳ πεποιημένης, συγγιγνώσκων δὲ τὴν ἀθεμιστίαν τοῦ πάθους οὔτε ἐπεχείρει τῷ κακῷ οὔτε πρῶφερον, ἀλλ' ἐνόσει καὶ παρεῖτο καὶ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸν θάνατον συνήργει. οὐδ' ὁ περιώνυμος ἰατρός Ἐρασίστρατος, ἐπὶ μεγίσταις συντάξεισι Σελεύκῳ συνὼν, εἶχε τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ πάθους, μέχρι φυλάξας καθαρὸν ἐκ πάντων τὸ σῶμα, εἵκασεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν νόσον, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐρρωμένη καὶ νοσοῦση τὸ σῶμα συναίσθεται. λύπας μὲν οὖν καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἄλλας ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἔρωτα δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τῶν σωφρόνων. οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ Ἀντίοχου φράζοντος αὐτῷ λιπαροῦντι μαθεῖν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, παρεκαθέζετο καὶ ἐφύλασσε τὰς τοῦ σώματος μεταβολάς, ὅπως ἔχοι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐσιόντων. ὥς δὲ ἤρυν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων σβεννύμενον αἰεὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαραινόμενον ὁμαλῶς, ὅτε δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη παρῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκευομένη, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καὶ συνειδότος τότε μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούμενον καὶ σιωπῶντα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ θαλερώτερόν τε γιγνόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ζωτικώτερον, καὶ αὐθις ἀπιούσης ἀσθενέστερον, ἔφη τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν αὐτῷ. ὑπεραλγῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐκβοήσαντος εἶπεν· 'ἔρωσ ἔστι τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἔρωσ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατος.'

[59] Seleucus, while still living, appointed his son, Antiochus, (B.C. 293) king of upper Asia in place of himself. If this seems noble and kingly on his part, even nobler and wiser was his behavior in reference to his son's falling in love, and his self-restraint in suffering; for Antiochus was in love with Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus, his own stepmother, who had already borne a child to Seleucus. Recognizing the wickedness of this passion, Antiochus did nothing wrong, nor did he show his feelings, but he fell sick, took to his bed, and longed for death. Nor could the celebrated physician, Erasistratus, who was serving Seleucus at a very high salary, form any diagnosis of his malady. At length, observing that his body was free from all the symptoms of disease, he conjectured that this was some condition of the mind, through which the body is often strengthened or weakened by sympathy. Grief, anger, and other passions disclose themselves; love only is concealed by the modest. As Antiochus would confess nothing when the physician asked him in

confidence, he took a seat by his side and watched the changes of his body to see how he was affected by each person who entered his room. He found that when others came the patient was all the time weakening and wasting away at a uniform pace, but when Stratonice came to visit him his mind was greatly agitated by the struggles of modesty and conscience, and he remained silent. But his body in spite of himself became more vigorous and lively, and when she went away he became weaker again. So the physician told Seleucus that his son had an incurable disease. The king was overwhelmed with grief and cried aloud. Then the physician added, "His disease is love, love for a woman, but a hopeless love."

[60] Σελεύκου δὲ θαυμάσαντος εἴ τινα μὴ δύναίτο πείσαι Σέλευκος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ γάμῳ τοιοῦδε παιδός, ἱκεσία τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ τοσσηδε βασιλείᾳ, περιούση μὲν ἐς τόνδε τὸν κάμνοντα βασιλέα, δοθησομένη δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰ ἤδη τις ἐθέλοι, καὶ μόνον ἀξιοῦντος μαθεῖν τίς ἔστι τὸ γύναιον, ὁ Ἑρασίστρατος ἔφη· 'τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἐρᾶ.' καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος, 'εἴτ' ὧ ἡ γαθή,' ἔφη, 'φιλίας μὲν οὕτω καὶ χαρίτων ἔχων ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ σοφίας ἐν ὀλίγοις, οὐ σώσεις μοι νέον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικόν, φίλου καὶ βασιλέως υἱόν, ἀτυχοῦντα καὶ σωφρονοῦντα καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπικρύπτοντα καὶ προτιμώμενον αὐτῷ θανάτου, ἀλλ' ὑπερόψει μὲν οὕτως Ἀντιόχον, ὑπερόψει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σέλευκον,' ὁ δ' ἀπομαχώμενος εἶπε λόγον ὡς ἄφυκτον, ὅτι μηδ' ἂν σύ, καίπερ ὢν πατήρ, τῆς σῆς Ἀντιόχος εἰ ἦρα γυναικός, μεθῆκας ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα. ἐνθα δὴ πάντας ὤμνυ τοὺς βασιλείους θεοὺς ὁ Σέλευκος, ἥ μὴν ἐκὼν ἂν καὶ χαίρων μεθεῖναι καὶ διήγημα γενέσθαι καλὸν εὐνοίας ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἐς παῖδα σώφρονα καὶ ἐγκρατὴ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς συμφορᾶς. πολλὰ τε ὅμοια ἐπενεγκὼν, ἥρξατο ἄχθεσθαι ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἱατρὸς ἀτυχοῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δέοιτο Ἑρασιστράτου.

[60] Seleucus was astonished that there could be any woman whom he, king of Asia, could not prevail upon to marry such a son as his, by entreaties, by gold, by gifts, by the whole of this great kingdom, the eventual inheritance of the sick prince, which the father would give to him even now, if he wished it, in order to save him. Desiring to learn only one thing more, he asked, "Who is this woman?" Erasistratus replied, "He is in love with my wife." "Well then, my good fellow," rejoined Seleucus, "since you are so bound to us by friendship and favors, and are a model of goodness and wisdom in matters of small moment, will you not save this princely young man for me, the son of your friend and king, unfortunate in love but virtuous, who has concealed his sinful passion and prefers to die rather than confess it? Do you so despise Antiochus? Do you despise his father also?" Then Erasistratus changed his tactics, and, as though he were giving him a knock-down argument, said, "You would not give Antiochus your wife if he were in love with her, although you are his father." Seleucus swore by all the gods of his royal house that he would willingly and cheerfully give her, and make himself an

illustrious example of a kind and good father to a chaste son who controlled his passion and did not deserve such suffering. Much more he added of the same sort, and, finally, began to lament that he could not himself be the physician to his unhappy boy, but must needs depend on Erasistratus in this matter also.

[61] ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον ὑποφαίνουσας, οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν, ἀνεκάλυπτε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸ εὖροι κρυπτόμενον διηγεῖτο. Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἡσθέντι ἔργον μὲν ἐγένετο πείσαι τὸν υἱόν, ἔργον δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα: ὥς δ' ἔπεισε, τὴν στρατιὰν συναγαγόν, αἰσθομένην ἴσως ἤδη τι τούτων, κατελογίζετο μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι διὰ μάλιστ' ἅλ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐπὶ μήκιστον προαγάγοι: διὸ καὶ γηρῶντι ἤδη δυσκράτητον εἶναι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. 'ἐθέλω δέ,' ἔφη, 'διελεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμεριμνίαν, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἤδη δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλτατοις. δίκαιοι δ' ἐστέ μοι πάντες ἐς πάντα συνεργεῖν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἠυξήθητε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. φίλτατοι δ' εἰσὶ μοι καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι τῶν τε παίδων ὁ τέλειος ἤδη καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδες, ὥς νέοις, γένοιντο ταχέως, καὶ πλείονες φύλακες ὑμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἶεν. ἀρμόζω σφίσιν ἀλλήλους ἐφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πέμπω βασιλέας εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤδη τῶν ἄνω. καὶ οὐ Περσῶν ὑμῖν ἔθνη καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τόνδε τὸν κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἐπιθήσω νόμον, ἀεὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸ πρὸς βασιλέως ὀριζόμενον.' ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ ὥς βασιλέα τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μέγιστον καὶ πατέρα ἄριστον ἠυφήμεν καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος Στρατονίκη καὶ τῷ παιδί τὰ αὐτὰ προστάξας ἐξεύγνυ τὸν γάμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἔργον ἀοίδιμον τόδε καὶ δυνατώτερον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐργασάμενος.

[61] When Erasistratus saw that the king was in earnest and not hypocritical, he told the whole truth. He related how he had discovered the nature of the malady, and how he had detected the secret passion. Seleucus was overjoyed, but it was a difficult matter to persuade his son and not less so to persuade his wife; but he succeeded finally. Then he assembled his army, which was perhaps expecting something of the kind, and told them of his exploits and of the extent of his empire, showing that it surpassed that of any of the other successors of Alexander, and saying that as he was now growing old it was hard for him to govern it on account of its size. "I wish," he said, "to divide it, and so at the same time to provide for your safety in the future and give a part of it now to those who are dearest to me. It is fitting that all of you, who had advanced to such greatness of dominion and power under me since the time of Alexander, should coöperate with me in everything. The dearest to me, and well worthy to reign, are my grownup son and my wife. As they are young, I pray they may soon have children to be an ample guarantee to you of the permanency of the dynasty. I will join them in marriage in your presence and will send them to be sovereigns of the upper provinces now. And I charge you that none of the customs of the Persians and other nations is more worthy of

observance than this one law, which is common to all of them, ‘That what the king ordains is always right.’” When he had thus spoken the army shouted that he was the greatest king of all the successors of Alexander and the best father. Seleucus laid the same injunctions on Stratonice and his son, then joined them in marriage, and sent them to their kingdom, showing himself even stronger in this famous act than in his deeds of arms.

[62] Σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς. καὶ τὴν πλείονα τῷ παιδί παραδούς, ἤρχε τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Εὐφράτην μόνων. καὶ πόλεμον τελευταῖον Λυσιμάχῳ περὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πολεμῶν, Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἐκράτει πεσόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐπέρα. καὶ ἐς Λυσιμάχειαν ἀναβαίνων κτείνεται. Πτολεμαῖος δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν, ὅτῳ κεραυνὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶς. υἱὸς δ’ ἦν ὁ κεραυνὸς ὅδε Πτολεμαίου τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου: καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα Αἰγύπτου διὰ δέος, ὅτι νεωτάτῳ παιδί ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπενόει δοῦναι, ὁ Σέλευκος οἷα φίλου παῖδα ἀτυχοῦντα ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἔφερβε καὶ ἐπήγετο πάντῃ φονέα ἑαυτοῦ.

[62] Seleucus had seventy-two satraps under him, so extensive was the territory over which he ruled. The greater part he had transferred to his son, but he continued to reign over the country which lies between the Euphrates and the sea. The last war that he waged was with Lysimachus, for the possession of Phrygia on the Hellespont. Lysimachus (Y.R. 473) was defeated and slain in battle. Then Seleucus crossed (B.C. 281) the Hellespont in order to possess himself of Lysimacheia, but he was killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus who accompanied him. This Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Euridice, the daughter of Antipater. He had left Egypt from fear, because his father had decided to leave the kingdom to his youngest son. Seleucus had received him as the unfortunate son of his friend, and thus he supported, and took around with himself everywhere, his own murderer. (Y.R. 474)

[63] καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν οὕτω τελευτᾷ, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, καὶ βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνενεχθῆναι τὸ αὐτὸ λόγιον, ‘μὴ σπεῦδ’ Εὐρώπηνδ’: Ἀσίῃ τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.’ ἡ γὰρ Λυσιμάχεια τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐστί, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διεπέρα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ λόγιον προαγορευθῆναι “Ἄργος ἀλευόμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτος ἥξει: εἰ δ’ Ἄργει πελάσας, τότε κεν παρὰ μοῖραν ὅλοιο.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄργος τὸ Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστεΐᾳ ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες” καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον, καὶ εἰ τί που γῆς ἄλλο Ἄργος ἐκαλεῖτο, πάντα ἀνεζήτει καὶ ἐφυλάσσετο: ἀναβαίνοντι δ’ ἐς τὴν Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου βωμὸς ἦν ἐν ὧνι μέγας τε καὶ περιφανής, καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας στήσασθαι παραπλέοντας ἐς Κόλχους ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύοντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι τὸν βωμὸν τοὺς

περιχώρους Ἄργος καλεῖν, ἥ διὰ τὴν ναῦν διαφθείροντας τὸ ὄνομα ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν, κτείνεται, ταῦτα ἔτι μανθάνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος ὀπισθεν. καὶ Σέλευκον μὲν ἔκαιε Φιλέταιρος ὁ Περγάμου δυναστεύσας, πολλῶν χρημάτων τὸ σῶμα τὸν κεραυνὸν αἰτήσας, καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἔπεμπεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ πρὸς θαλάσῃ ἀπέθετο, καὶ νεὼν αὐτῷ ἐπέστησε καὶ τέμενος περιέθηκε· καὶ τὸ τέμενος Νικατόρειον ἐπικληῖται.

[63] Thus Seleucus died at the age of seventy-three, (B.C. 280) having reigned forty-two years. It seems to me that the oracle hit the mark in his case when it said to him, "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you," for Lysimacheia is in Europe, and he then crossed over to Europe for the first time after leaving it with the army of Alexander. It is said also that once when he consulted an oracle in reference to his own death he received this answer: —

"If you keep away from Argos you will reach your allotted year, but if you approach that place you will die before your time."

There is an Argos in Peloponnesus, another in Amphilochia, another in Orestea (whence come the Macedonian Argeadæ), and the one on the Ionian sea, said to have been built by Diomedes during his wanderings, — all these, and every place named Argos in every other country, Seleucus inquired about and avoided. While he was advancing from the Hellespont to Lysimacheia a splendid great altar presented itself to his view, which he was told had been built either by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis, or by the Achæans who besieged Troy, for which reason the people in the neighborhood still called it Argos, either by a corruption of the name of the ship Argo, or from the native place of the sons of Atreus. While he was learning these things he was killed by Ptolemy, who stabbed him in the back. Philetzerus, the prince of Pergamus, bought the body of Seleucus from Ceraunus for a large sum of money, burned it, and sent the ashes to his son Antiochus. The latter deposited them at Seleucia-by-the-Sea, where he erected a temple to his father on consecrated ground, to which ground he gave the name of Nicatoreum.

[64] Λυσίμαχον δὲ πυνθάνομαι, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὄντα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρατροχᾶσαι ποτὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτῷ, καὶ καμόντα, τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ βασιλέως ἵππου λαβόμενον, ἔτι συντρέχειν, πληγέντα δὲ ἐς τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τὴν φλέβα τῷ τέλει τοῦ βασιλείου δόρατος αἱμορροεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπορία τελαμῶνος, τῷ διαδήματι αὐτοῦ τὸ τραῦμα περιδῆσαι, καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι μὲν αἵματος τὸ διάδημα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μάντιν Ἀρίστανδρον φερομένῳ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐπειπεῖν ὅτι βασιλεύσει μὲν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ, βασιλεύσει δ' ἐπιπόνως. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μάλιστα σὺν οἷς ἐσατράπευσε, καὶ ἐπιπόνως ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐβδομηκοντούτης ὢν στρατευόμενος καὶ μαχόμενος ἔπεσεν. εὐθὺς δ' ἐπαναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Σελεύκου, κείμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου κύων οἰκεῖος, ἐς πολὺ

ὑπερμαχῶν, ἀλύμαντον ἐξ ὀρνέων καὶ θηρίων διεφύλασσε, μέχρι Θώραξ ὁ Φαρσάλιος εὐρὼν ἔθαψεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν φασι θάψαι, τὸν αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου παῖδα, φυγόντα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους πρὸς Σέλευκον ὅτε Λυσίμαχος Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀνεῖλεν, ἐρευνησάμενον δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυνὸς μάλιστα ἀνευρόντα ἤδη διεφθαρμένον. τὰ δὲ ὅσῃα τοὺς Λυσιμαχεῖας ἐνθέσθαι τῷ σφετέρῳ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λυσιμάχειον προσαγορεῦσαι.

τοιόνδε μὲν δὴ τέλος ἑκατέρῳ τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων συνηνέχθη, ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ τὰ σώματα μεγίστων γενομένων, τοῦ μὲν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, τοῦ δὲ ἐς πλείονα τούτων ἔτι ἄλλα τρία, μεμαχημένων ἐκ χειρὸς οἰκείας ἀεὶ μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου.

[64] I have heard that Lysimachus, who was one of the armor-bearers of Alexander, was once running by his side for a long distance, and, being fatigued, took hold of the tail of the king's horse and continued to run; that he was struck in the forehead by the point of the king's spear, which opened one of his veins from which the blood flowed profusely; that Alexander, for want of a bandage, bound up the wound with his own diadem which was thus saturated with blood; and that Aristandrus, Alexander's soothsayer, when he saw Lysimachus carried away wounded in this manner, said, "That man will be a king, but he will reign with toil and trouble." He reigned nearly forty years, counting those in which he was satrap, and he did reign with toil and trouble. He fell in battle, while still commanding his army, at the age of seventy. Seleucus did not long survive him. Lysimachus' dog watched his body lying on the ground for a long time, and kept it unharmed by birds or beasts until Thorax of Pharsalia found and buried it. Some say that he was buried by his own son, Alexander, who fled to Seleucus from fear when Lysimachus put to death his other son, Agathocles; that he searched for the body a long time and found it at last by means of the dog, and that it was already partly decomposed. The Lysimacheians deposited the bones in their temple and named the temple itself the Lysimacheum. Thus did these two kings, the bravest and most renowned for bodily size, come to their end at nearly the same time, one of them at the age of seventy, the other three years older, and both fighting with their own hands until the day of their death.

CHAPTER XI

The Successors of Seleucus — Demetrius Soter — Palace Conspiracies — End of the Seleucidæ

[65] Σελεύκου δ' ἀποθανόντος διάδοχοι, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Ἀντίοχος μὲν πρῶτος ὃδε ὁ τῆς μητρυνῆς ἐρασθεὶς, ὃς καὶ σωτὴρ ἐπεκλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλόντας, ἐξελάσας, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὅτῳ θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίγνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν τὸν θεὸν ἔκτεινεν ἡ γυνὴ φαρμάκῳ. δύο δὲ εἶχε, Λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην, ἐξ ἑρωτός τε καὶ ἐγγύης, ... Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα: καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ φιλαδέλφου, ταῦτα τινύμενος, Λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασεν. καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἤρξαν ὡς τεταραγμένης τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς.

[65] After the death of Seleucus, the kingdom of Syria passed in regular succession from father to son as follows: the first was the same Antiochus who fell in love with his stepmother, to whom was given the surname of Soter (the Protector) for driving out the Gauls who had made an incursion into Asia from Europe. The second was another Antiochus, born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos (the Divine) from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant, Timarchus. This Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, Laodice and Berenice, the former a love-match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Laodice assassinated him and afterward Berenice and her child. Ptolemy, the son of Philadelphus, avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt, taking advantage of the confusion in the house of the Seleucidæ. (Y.R. 588)

[66] ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλεὺς γίγνεται Συρίας Σέλευκος, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τε καὶ Λαοδίκης, ᾧ καλλίνικος ἐπώνυμον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σελεύκῳ δύο παῖδες αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος. Σελεύκῳ μὲν δὴ ἀσθενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ πενομένῳ καὶ δυσπειθῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχοντι ἐπεβούλευσαν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ ἐς ἔτη δύο μόνῃ ἐβασίλευσεν: ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὃδε ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἐπὶ κλην, περὶ οὗ μοι πάλαι εἴρηται, Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῖν παῖδῳ προεῖπον ἀμφοῖν βεβασилευκότην, Σελεύκου τε καὶ Ἀντίοχου, Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν, Ἀντίοχου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρῃσιν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον εἶλε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ ἕκτον Πτολεμαῖον, ὀρφανευόμενον μετ' ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεύοντι περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Ποπίλιος

παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτῆς ἦκε, φέρων δέλτον ἐν ᾗ τάδε ἐγγράπτο, μὴ πολεμεῖν Πτολεμαίοις Ἀντίοχον. ἀναγνόντι δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι βουλεύσεσθαι, κύκλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ περιέγραψεν ὁ Ποπίλιος, καὶ εἶπεν: ‘ἐνταῦθα βουλεύου.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ καταπλαγείς ἀνέξευξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε, παιδίον ἐνναετὲς ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐπάτορα, ὥς μοι καὶ περὶ τοῦδε εἴρηται.

[66] Seleucus, the son of Theos and Laodice, surnamed (B.C. 246) Callinicus (the Triumphant), succeeded Theos as king of (Y.R. 528) Syria. After Seleucus his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, (B.C. 226) succeeded in the order of their age. As Seleucus was sickly and poor and unable to command the obedience of the army, he was poisoned by a court conspiracy in the (Y.R. 530) second year of his reign. His brother was Antiochus the (B.C. 224) Great, who went to war with the Romans, of whom I have

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written above. He reigned thirty-seven years. I have (B.C. 187) already spoken of his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, both of whom ascended the throne. The former reigned twelve years, but feebly and without success by reason of his father's misfortune. Antiochus (Epiphanes) reigned not quite twelve years, in the course of which he captured Artaxias the Armenian and made an expedition into Egypt (Y.R. 579) against Ptolemy VI., who had been left an orphan with one (B.C. 175) brother. While he was encamped near Alexandria, Popilius came to him as Roman ambassador, bringing an order in writing that he should not attack the Ptolemies. When he had read it he replied that he would think about it. Popilius drew a circle around him with a stick and (Y.R. 590) said, "Think about it here." He was terrified and withdrew (B.C. 164) from the country, and robbed the temple of Venus Elymais; then died of a wasting disease, leaving a son nine years of age, the Antiochus Eupator already mentioned. (Y.R. 592) *seq.*

[67] εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, ὃς ὠμήρευσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῆς ὀμηρείας ἐκφυγὼν ἐβασίλευσε, σωτὴρ καὶ ὃδε πρὸς τῶν Σύρων, δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷ Σελεύκου τοῦ νικατορος παιδί ὀνομασθείς. ἐπανίσταται δὲ αὐτῷ τις Ἀλέξανδρος, ψευδόμενος εἶναι τοῦ Σελευκείου γένους: καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς κατὰ μῖσος Δημητρίου συνελάμβανεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν διὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε: τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξέβαλε Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦδε τοῦ σωτῆρος υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὡς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἄνδρα νικήσας, νικάτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ὀνομάσθη, δεύτερος καὶ ὃδε μετὰ Σέλευκον. ἐπὶ τε Παρθυαίους καὶ ὃδε μετὰ Σέλευκον ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος δίαιταν εἶχεν ἐν Φραάτου βασιλείῳ, καὶ Ῥοδογούνην ἐξέυξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς.

[67] I have also spoken of Demetrius, his successor, who (B.C. 162) *seq.*

had been a hostage in Rome and who escaped and became king. He was also called Soter by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after the son of Seleucus Nicator. Against him a certain Alexander took up arms, falsely pretending to be of the family of the Seleucidæ, to whom Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave aid because he hated Demetrius. The latter was deprived of his kingdom by this means and died. His son, Demetrius, drove out Alexander. For his victory over this bastard of the family he was surnamed Nicator by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after Seleucus. Following the example of Seleucus he made an expedition against the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by them and lived in the palace of King Phraates, who gave him his sister, Rhodoguna, in marriage.

[68] παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν τήνδε δοῦλος τῶν βασιλέων Διόδωτος παῖδιον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ νόθου καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου θυγατρὸς, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἤγαγεν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐπετόλμησε τῇ ἀρχῇ, Τρύφων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετονομασθεῖς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου, πυθόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, κτείνει κατιῶν ἐς τὰ πατρῷα σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ. καὶ στρατεύει καὶ ὁδε ἐπὶ τὸν Φραάτην, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Φραάτης αὐτὸν ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐξέπεμψεν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος καὶ ὡς συνέβαλέ τε τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, καὶ ἡσώμενος ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανελθόντα ἢ γυνὴ Κλεοπάτρα, δολοφονήσασα διὰ ζῆλον τοῦ γάμου Ῥοδογούνης, δι' ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου προὔγεγάμητο. καὶ παῖδες ἦσαν αὐτῇ δύο μὲν ἐκ Δημητρίου, Σέλευκος τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ γρυπὸς ἐπὶ κλησις, ἐκ δὲ Ἀντιόχου Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Κυζικηνὸς ἐπὶ ὠνυμον. τούτων τὸν μὲν γρυπὸν ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸν δὲ Κυζικηνὸν ἐς Κύζικον ἐπέπομφει τρέφεσθαι.

[68] While the country was without a government Diodotus, a slave of the royal house, placed on the throne a young boy named Alexander, a son of Alexander the Bastard and of Ptolemy's daughter. Afterward he put the boy to death and undertook the government himself and assumed the name of Trypho. But Antiochus, the brother of the captive Demetrius, learning in Rhodes of his captivity, came home and, with great difficulty, put Trypho to death. Then he marched with an army against Phraates and demanded his brother. Phraates was afraid of him and sent Demetrius back. Antiochus nevertheless fought with the Parthians, was beaten, and committed suicide. When Demetrius returned to his kingdom he was killed by the craft of his wife, Cleopatra, who was jealous on account of his marriage with Rhodoguna, for which reason also she had previously married his brother Antiochus. She had (Y.R. 592) *seq.*

borne two sons to Demetrius, named Seleucus and Antiochus (B.C. 162) *seq.*

Grypus (the Hook Nosed); and to Antiochus one son, named Antiochus Cyzicenus. She had sent Grypus to Athens and Cyzicenus to Cyzicus to be

educated.

[69] Σέλευκον δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ τὸ διάδημα ἐπιθέμενον ἐπιτοξεύσασα ἔκτεινεν, εἴτε δεῖσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως, εἴτε καὶ μανιώδει πρὸς πάντα μίσει. μετὰ δὲ Σέλευκον ὁ γρυπὸς ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς, καὶ τὴν μητέρα οἱ φάρμακον κεράσασαν πιεῖν ἠνάγκασεν. ἡ μὲν δὲ δίκην ποτὲ ἔδωκεν, ἄξιος δὲ ἄρα τῆς μητρὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ γρυπὸς: ἐπεβούλευε γὰρ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καίπερ ὄντι ὁμομητρίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐπολέμησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτόν ἐξήλασε, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς Σύροις ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸνδε Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ γρυποῦ παῖς, ἐπιστρατεύσας ὄντι περ θείῳ, παρείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν. βίαιος δὲ καὶ τυραννικώτατος ὢν ἐν Ἑστίᾳ Μόψου τῆς Κιλικίας κατεπρήσθη κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο Ἀντίοχος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ: ὃν ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ οἱ μὲν Σύροι νομίζουσι περιωθῆναι δι' εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐσεβῇ παρωνόμασαν ἑταίρα δ' αὐτὸν ἔσωσεν, ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ κάλλους, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ γέλῳτι αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα οἱ Σύροι: ἔγχε γὰρ οὗτος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Σελήνην, ἣ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγάμητο τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καὶ τῷ γρυπῷ θείῳ γενομένῳ. τοιγάρτοι αὐτὸν θεοῦ μετιόντος ἐξήλασε τῆς ἀρχῆς Τιγράνης.

[69] As soon as Seleucus assumed the diadem after his brother's death his mother shot him dead with an arrow, either fearing lest he should avenge his father or moved by an insane hatred for everybody. After Seleucus, Grypus became king, and he compelled his mother to drink poison that she had mixed for himself. So justice overtook her at last. Grypus was worthy of such a mother. He laid a plot against Cyzicenus, his half-brother, but the latter found it out, made war on him, drove him out of the kingdom, and became king of Syria in his stead. Then Seleucus, the son of Grypus, made war on his uncle and took the government away from him. The new sovereign was violent and tyrannical and was burned to death in the gymnasium at the city of Mopsus in Cilicia. Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, succeeded him. The Syrians thought that he escaped a plot of his cousin Seleucus on account of his piety, for which reason they gave him the name of Antiochus Pius. He was really saved by a handsome prostitute with whom he was in love. I think that the Syrians must have given him this title by way of joke, for this Pius married Selene, who had been the wife of his father, Cyzicenus, and of his uncle, Grypus. For this reason the divine vengeance pursued him and he was expelled the kingdom by Tigranes.

[70] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκείνου τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφέντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπὶ κλην, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ὥς μοι λέλεκται, ὄντα μὲν ἑπτακαίδέκατον ἐκ Σελεύκου Σύρων βασιλεῖα ἑξαίρω γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα ὡς νόθους, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτῶν Διόδοτον, βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπήιου ἐπὶ ἓν μόνον ἔτος. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἐς τριάκοντα ἐπὶ

διακοσίους ἐνιαυτοὺς δῖκετο· καὶ εἴ τις ἐπισκοποίῃ τὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίους χρόνον ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, προσθετέον ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις τριάκοντα ἔτεσι τὰ Τιγράνους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν Συρίας βεβασιλευκότων εἶχον εἰπεῖν ὥς ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ συγγραφῇ.

[70] The son of Pius and Selene, who was brought up in Asia and was for that reason called Asiaticus, was deprived of the government of Syria by Pompey, as I have already mentioned. He was the seventeenth king of Syria, reckoning from Seleucus (for I leave out Alexander and his son as being illegitimate, and also their slave, Diodotus), and he reigned only one year, while Pompey was busy elsewhere. The dynasty of the Seleucidæ lasted 230 years. To compute the time from Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman domination there must be added fourteen years of the rule of Tigranes. So much, in the way of foreign history, concerning the Macedonian kings of Syria.

Μιθριδατειος — THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Θράκας Ἑλληνας ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἐς Ἴλιον μετὰ Ῥήσου στρατεύσαντας, Ῥήσου νυκτὸς ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀναιρεθέντος ὃν τρόπον Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι φράζει, φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ στόμα, ἧ στενώτατός ἐστιν ἐς Θράκην ὁ διάπλους, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτυχόντας πλοίων τῇδε καταμεῖναι καὶ τῆς γῆς κρατῆσαι Βεβρυκίας λεγομένης, οἱ δὲ περάσαντας ὑπὲρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐς τὴν Θρακῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν λεγομένων παρὰ Βιθύαν ποταμὸν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ λιμῶν πιεσθέντας ἐς Βεβρυκίαν αὖθις ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἀντὶ Βεβρυκίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρ' ὃν ὄκουν, ὀνομάσαι, ἣ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως σὺν χρόνῳ παρατραπῆναι, οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τὴν Βεβρυκίαν διαφερούσης. ὧδε μὲν ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ Βίθυν ἄρξαι πρῶτον αὐτῶν, παῖδα Διὸς τε καὶ Θράκης, οὓς ἐπωνύμους ἑκατέρᾳ γῇ γενέσθαι.

CHAPTER I

Prusias, King of Bithynia — His Attack upon Attalus — His Son Nicomedes — Conspiracy against Prusias — Death of Prusias

THE Greeks think that the Thracians who marched to the Trojan war with Rhesus, who was killed by Diomedes in the night-time in the manner described in Homer's poems, fled to the outlet of the Euxine sea at the place where the crossing to Thrace is shortest. Some say that as they found no ships they remained there and possessed themselves of the country called Bebrycia. Others say that they crossed over to the country beyond Byzantium called Thracian Bithynia and settled along the river Bithya, but were forced by hunger to return to Bebrycia, to which they gave the name of Bithynia from the river where they had previously dwelt; or perhaps the name was changed by them insensibly with the lapse of time, as there is not much difference between Bithynia and Bebrycia. So some think. Others say that their first ruler was Bithys, the son of Zeus and Thrace, and that the two countries received their names from them.

[2] τάδε μὲν οὖν μοι προλελέχθω περὶ Βιθυνίας: τῶν δὲ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῆς βασιλέων, ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφεξῆς γενομένων, ὅτου μοι μάλιστα μνημονεῦσαι προσήκει τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, Προυσίας ἦν ὁ κυνηγὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὃ Περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡγγύησεν. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον Περσέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰόντων, ὁ Προυσίας οὐδετέροις συνεμάχει. Περσέως δ' ἀλόντος ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς εἰμὰ τε Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀμπεχόμενος, ὃ καλοῦσι τήβεννον, καὶ ὑποδήματα ἔχων Ἰταλικά, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξυρμημένος καὶ πῖλον ἐπικείμενος, ὃ τρόπῳ τινὲς προΐασι τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἐλευθερωθέντων, αἰσχυρὸς ὢν καὶ τᾶλλα ὀφθῆναι καὶ βραχύς. ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔφη Ῥωμαῖστί τῷ ῥήματι 'Ῥωμαίων εἰμὶ λίβερτος,' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπελεύθερος. γέλωτα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐς Πώμην ἐπέμφθη, καὶ φανεῖς κἀνταῦθα γελοῖος ἔτυχε συγγνώμης.

[2] So much by way of preface concerning Bithynia. Of the forty-nine kings who successively ruled the country before the Romans, it does not concern me to make special mention in writing Roman history. Prusias, surnamed the Hunter, was the one to whom Perseus, king of Macedonia, gave his sister in marriage. When Perseus and the Romans, not long afterward, went to war with each other, Prusias did not take sides with either of them. When Perseus was taken prisoner Prusias went to meet the Roman generals, clad in a toga which they call the , shod in the Italian fashion, with his head shaved and wearing on it a in the manner of slaves who have been made free in their masters' wills, and making himself appear base and insignificant in other ways. When he met them he said in the Latin tongue, "I am the freedman of the Romans, which is to say 'emancipated.'" "They laughed at him and sent

him to Rome. As he appeared equally ridiculous there he obtained pardon. (Y.R. 600)

[3] χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀττάλῳ τι χαλεπήνας, τῷ Βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον, τὴν γῆν ἐδήου τὴν Ἀσιάδα. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ προσέπεμπε τῷ Προυσίᾳ μὴ πολεμεῖν Ἀττάλῳ, φίλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ. καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἔτι ἔχοντι οἱ πρέσβεις μετ' ἀνατάσεως προσέτασσον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου λεγομένοις, καὶ ἦκειν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων ἔς τι μεθόριον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλὸν ἔφασαν περιμένειν μετὰ τοσῶνδε ἐτέρων. ὁ δ' ὡς ὀλίγων τῶν σὺν Ἀττάλῳ καταφρονήσας, καὶ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεῦσειν, προὔπεμπε τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς μετὰ χιλίων ἐπόμενος, πάντα δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ὡς ἔς μάχην. Ἀττάλου δὲ καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων αἰσθομένων τε καὶ διαφυγόντων ἧ δυνατὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ἕκαστος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἥπτετο, καὶ χωρίον τι Νικηφόριον ἐξελὼν κατέσκαπτε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ νεῶς ἐνεπίμπρη, Ἀτταλὸν τε ἔς τὸ Πέργαμον συμφυγόντα ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι καὶ τῶνδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἔπεμπον, οἱ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευον Ἀττάλῳ τὰς βλάβας ἀποτίσαι. τότε οὖν καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Προυσίας ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ποιήν δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ὀρισάντων αὐτὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν Ἀττάλῳ ναῦς καταφράκτους εἴκοσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργυρίου σὺν χρόνῳ τάλαντα πεντακόσια, τὰς τε ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνέφερεν.

[3] Some time later, being incensed against Attalus, king (B.C. 154) of the Asiatic country about Pergamus, Prusias ravaged his territory. When the Roman Senate learned of this they sent word to Prusias that he must not attack Attalus, who was their friend and ally. As he was slow in obeying, the ambassadors laid stern commands upon him to obey the orders of the Senate and to go with 1000 horse to the boundary line to negotiate a treaty with Attalus, who, they said, was awaiting him there with an equal number. Despising the handful of men with Attalus and hoping to ensnare him, Prusias sent the ambassadors in advance to say that he was following with 1000 men, but actually put his whole army in motion and advanced as if to battle. When Attalus and the ambassadors learned of this they took to promiscuous flight. Prusias seized the beasts of burden belonging to the Romans that had been left behind, captured and destroyed the stronghold of Nicephorium, burned the temples in it, and besieged Attalus, who had fled to Pergamus. When these things became known in Rome a fresh embassy was sent, ordering Prusias to make compensation to Attalus for the damage done to him. Then Prusias became alarmed, obeyed the order, and retired. The ambassadors decided that as a penalty he must transfer to Attalus twenty decked ships at once, and pay him 500 talents of silver within a certain time. Accordingly he gave up the ships and began to make the payments at the prescribed time.

[4] ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ μίσους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπὶ ὀμότητι χαλεπῇ, Νικομήδης υἱὸς ἦν, πάνυ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς ἀρέσκων· ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας ὑφορώμενος ἔς Ῥώμην

αὐτὸν βιοῦν μετεστήσατο. καὶ μαθὼν εὐδοκιμοῦντα κάκει, προσέταξε τῆς βουλῆς δεηθῆναι τῶν ἔτι ὀφειλομένων Ἀττάλῳ χρημάτων αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι. Μηνᾶν τε αὐτῷ συμπρεσβεύοντα ἔπεμπε: καὶ εἶρητο τῷ Μηνᾶ, εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοι τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν χρημάτων, ἔτι φείδεσθαι τοῦ Νικομήδους, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, κτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. κερκούρους τέ τινας ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δισχίλους στρατιώτας. ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ζημίας οὐκ ἀφεθείσης τῷ Προυσίᾳ Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέφαιναν ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν δὲ Νικομήδῃ λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὁρῶν, ἠπόρητο, καὶ οὔτε κτείνειν αὐτὸν ὑφίστατο οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἐπανίεναι διὰ δέος. ὅμως δ' αὐτῷ βραδύνοντι συνεῖς ὁ νεανίσκος ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐθέλοντι κάκεῖν. συνθέμενοι δ' ἐπιβουλευσαι τῷ Προυσίᾳ, τὸν Ἀττάλου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐς τὸ ἔργον προσέλαβον, ἵνα τὸν Ἀτταλον πείσειε τὸν Νικομήδῃ καταγαγεῖν ἐς Βιθυνίαν. ἀναμείναντες δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ Βερνίκῃ, πολισματίζῃ τινὶ τῆς Ἡλείρου, νυκτὸς ἐσβάντες ἐς ναῦν ἃ τε δέοι ποιεῖν συνετίθεντο, καὶ διελύθησαν ἔτι νυκτός.

[4] As Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty they became greatly attached to his son, Nicomedes. Thus the latter fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live in Rome. Learning that he (Y.R. 606) was much esteemed there also, Prusias directed him to (B.C. 148) petition the Senate to release him from the payment of the money still due to Attalus. He sent Menas as his fellow-ambassador, and told him if he should secure a remission of the payments to spare Nicomedes, but if not, to kill him at Rome. For this purpose he sent a number of small boats with him and 2000 soldiers. As the fine imposed on Prusias was not remitted (for Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to argue on the other side, showed that it was less in amount than the plunder), Menas, seeing that Nicomedes was an estimable and attractive young man, was at a loss to know what to do. He did not dare to kill him, nor to go back himself to Bithynia. The young man noticed his delay and sought a conference with him, which was just what he wanted. They formed a plot against Prusias and secured the coöperation of Andronicus, the legate of Attalus, that he should persuade Attalus to take back Nicomedes to Bithynia. They met by agreement at Bernice, a small town in Epirus, where they entered into a ship by night to confer as to what should be done, and separated before daylight.

[5] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Νικομήδης μὲν ἐξέβαινε τῆς νεὸς πορφύραν τε βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος καὶ διάδημα ἐπικείμενος, Ἀνδρόνικος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπαντίσας τε καὶ βασιλέα προσειπὼν παρέπεμπε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὧν εἶχε πεντακοσίων. Μηνᾶς δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος τότε πρῶτον ἡσθῆσθαι Νικομήδους παρόντος, ἐς τοὺς δισχίλους διαδραμὼν ἐδυσφόρει. προϊὼν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, 'δύο,' ἔφη, 'βασιλέοιν, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ δ' ἐπόντος, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον εὖ διατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦ γενησομένου καλῶς τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὥς ἐν τῷδε τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας βεβαιουμένης, ἦν καλῶς προϊδόμεθα πότερος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ γέρων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ νέος: καὶ Βιθυνοὶ τὸν μὲν

ἀποστρέφονται, τὸν δὲ αἰροῦνται. Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαπῶσι: καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος αὐτὸν ἤδη δορυφορῶν ὑποδείκνυσι τὴν Ἀττάλου συμμαχίαν, ἀρχὴν τε μεγάλην ἔχοντος καὶ Βιθυνοῖς γειτονέοντος καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῷ Προυσίᾳ πεπολεωμένου.’ λέγων δὲ ταῦθ’ ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὁμότητα τοῦ Προυσίου παρεγύμνου, καὶ ὅσα πονηρὰ πράξειεν ἐς ἅπαντας, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βιθυνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθος. ὥς δὲ κάκείνους εἶδε τὴν Προυσίου μοχθηρίαν ἀποστρεφόμενους, ἤγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Νικομήδην αὐτίκα, καὶ προσειπὼν καὶ ὁδε βασιλέα δεύτερος ἐπὶ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μετὰ τῶν δισχιλίων ἐδορυφόρει.

[5] In the morning Nicomedes came out of the ship clad in the royal purple and wearing a diadem on his head. Andronicus met him, saluted him as king, and formed an escort for him with 500 soldiers that he had with him. Menas, pretending that he had then for the first time learned that Nicomedes was present, rushed to his 2000 men and exclaimed with assumed trepidation, “Since we have two kings, one at home and the other going there, we must look out for our own interests, and form a careful judgment of the future, because our safety lies in foreseeing correctly which of them will be the stronger. One of them is an old man, the other is young. The Bithynians are averse to Prusias; they are attached to Nicomedes. The leading Romans are fond of the young man, and Andronicus has already furnished him a guard, showing that Nicomedes is in alliance with Attalus, who rules an extensive dominion alongside the Bithynians and is an old enemy of Prusias.” In addition to this he expatiated on the cruelty of Prusias and his outrageous conduct toward everybody, and the general hatred in which he was held by the Bithynians on this account. When he saw that the soldiers also abhorred the wickedness of Prusias he led them forthwith to Nicomedes and saluted him as king, just as Andronicus had done before, and formed a guard for him with his 2000 men.

[6] Ἀττάλος τε τὸν νεανίαν προθύμως ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τῷ παιδί πόλεις τέ τινας ἐς ἐνοίκησιν καὶ χώραν ἐς ἐφόδια δοῦναι. ὁ δ’ αὐτίκα δώσειν ἔφη τὴν Ἀττάλου βασιλείαν ἅπασαν, ἣν δὴ καὶ πρότερον Νικομήδει περιποιῶν ἐς Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν ἔπεμπε ἐς Ῥώμην τοὺς Νικομήδους καὶ Ἀττάλου κατηγορήσοντάς τε καὶ προκαλεσομένους ἐς κρίσιν. οἱ δ’ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν, καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Βιθυνοὶ κατ’ ὀλίγους προσετίθεντο. Προυσίας δ’ ἅπασιν ἀπιστῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, Διήγυλιν τὸν Θράκα, κηδεστήν ὄντα οἱ, πεντακοσίους Θράκας αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν τοῖσδε μόνοις τὸ σῶμα ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ καταφυγόν: ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐν ᾧσται οὕτε αὐτίκα ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τοῦ Προυσίου πρέσβεις, χαριζόμενος Ἀττάλῳ: ἐπαγαγὼν τέ ποτε, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πέμψαι πρέσβεις οἱ διαλύσουσι τὸν πόλεμον, εἴλετο τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ποτε λίθῳ πληγείς ἀσχήμενας ἐπέκειτο ὠτειλάς, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πόδας διέφθορτο ὑπὸ

ῥεύματος, ὁ δ' ἡλιθιώτατος ἐνομιζέτο εἶναι, ὥστε Κάτωνα τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐπισκώποντα εἰπεῖν τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην μήτε νοῦν ἔχειν μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν.

[6] Attalus received the young man warmly and ordered Prusias to assign certain towns for his occupation, and territory to furnish him supplies. Prusias replied that he would presently give his son the whole kingdom of Attalus, which he had intended for Nicomedes when he invaded Asia before. After giving this answer he made a formal accusation at Rome against Nicomedes and Attalus and cited them to trial. The forces of Attalus at once made an incursion into Bithynia, the inhabitants of which gradually took sides with the invaders. Prusias, trusting nobody and hoping that the Romans would rescue him from the toils of the conspiracy, asked and obtained from his son-in-law, Diegylis, the Thracian, 500 men, and with these alone as a body-guard he took refuge in the citadel of Nictæa. The Roman prætor, in order to favor Attalus, delayed introducing the ambassadors of Prusias to the Senate at Rome. When he did introduce them, the Senate voted that the prætor himself should choose legates and send them to settle the difficulty. He selected three men, one of whom had once been struck on the head with a stone, from which he was badly scarred; another was a diseased cripple, and the third was considered almost a fool; wherefore Cato made the contemptuous remark concerning this embassy, that it had no understanding, no feet and no head.

[7] οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι, Νικομήδους δὲ καὶ Ἀττάλου συγχαρεῖν ὑποκρινομένων οἱ Βιθυνοὶ διδαχθέντες ἔλεγον οὐκ εἶναι δυνατοὶ φέρειν ἔτι τὴν ὀμότητα τὴν Προυσίου, φανεροὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενομένοι δυσχεραίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, ὡς οὕτω Ῥωμαίων τάδε πυθομένων, ἐπανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι. Προυσίας δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνω, οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων οὐδενὸς ἐς ἄμυναν ἐπεφροντίκει, μετήλθεν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ὡς κρατυνούμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι πολεμήσων. οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ἀνέφωξαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικομήδης ἐσῆει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸν δὲ Προυσίαν ἐς ἱερὸν Διὸς καταφυγόντα συνεκέντησάν τινες ἐπιπεμφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Νικομήδους. οὕτω Νικομήδης ἀντὶ Προυσίου Βιθυνῶν ἐβασίλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν χρόνῳ τελευτήσαντα Νικομήδης ὁ υἱός, ὃ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἦν, διεδέξατο, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς πατρῶαν ψηφισαμένων.

τὰ μὲν δὴ Βιθυνῶν ὥδε εἶχε: καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδῇ πάντα προμαθεῖν, υἱωνὸς τοῦδε ἑτεροῦ Νικομήδης Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν.

[7] The legates proceeded to Bithynia and ordered that the war be discontinued. Nicomedes and Attalus pretended to acquiesce. The Bithynians had been instructed to say that they could no longer endure the cruelty of Prusias, especially after they had openly complained against him. On the pretext that these complaints were not yet known at Rome the legates adjourned, leaving the business unfinished. When Prusias despaired of

assistance from the Romans (in reliance upon whom he had neglected to provide (Y.R. 148) means for his own defence) he retired to Nicomedia in order to possess himself of the city and resist the invaders. The inhabitants, however, betrayed him and opened the gates, and Nicomedes entered with his army. Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus, where he was stabbed by some of the emissaries of Nicomedes. In this way Nicomedes succeeded Prusias as king of the Bithynians. At his death his son, Nicomedes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him, the Senate confirming his ancestral authority. So much for Bithynia. To anticipate the sequel, another Nicomedes, grandson of this one, left the kingdom to the Romans in his will.

CHAPTER II

Cappadocia in Ancient Times — The First Mithridates Mithridates Eupator — His First Difficulty with the Romans — Sends an Ambassador to Them — His Dispute with Nicomedes — Duplicity of the Roman Legates

[8] Καππαδοκίας δὲ πρὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων οἵτινες ἦρχον, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν, εἴτε Δαρείου κατήκουον: Ἀλέξανδρος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ φόρῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ Ἀμισόν, ἐν Πόντῳ πόλιν Ἀττικοῦ γένους, ἐπὶ δημοκρατίαν ὡς πάτριόν σφισι πολιτείαν ἀναγαγόν. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιψαῦσαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ὄλως, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τραπέσθαι. Περδίκκας δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἦρχεν, Ἀριαράθην Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενον, εἴτε ἀφιστάμενον εἴτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιούμενος Μακεδόσιν, εἴλε καὶ ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Εὐμένην τὸν Καρδιανόν. Εὐμένους δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὅτε αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες εἵλοντο εἶναι πολέμιον, Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενομένης γῆς ἐπιτροπεύων, Νικάνορα ἔπεμψε Καππαδοκῶν σατραπεύειν.

[8] Who were the rulers of Cappadocia before the Macedonians I am not able to say exactly — whether it had a government of its own or was subject to Darius. I judge that Alexander left behind him governors of the conquered nations to collect the tribute while he hastened after Darius. But it appears that he restored to Amisus, a city of Pontus, of Attic origin, its original democratic form of government. Yet Hieronymus says that he did not touch those nations at all, but that he went after Darius by another road, along the sea-coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia. But Perdikkas, who ruled the Macedonians after Alexander, captured and hanged Ariarthes, the governor of Cappadocia, either (Y.R. 606) because he had revolted or in order to bring that country under Macedonian rule, and placed Eumenes of Cardia over these peoples. Eumenes was afterward adjudged an enemy of Macedonia and put to death, and Antipater, who succeeded Perdikkas as overseer of the territory of Alexander, appointed Nicanor satrap of Cappadocia.

[9] Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐς ἀλλήλους στασιασάντων, Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἦρχε Συρίας Λαομέδοντα ἐκβαλὼν, Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐνὺπνιον ἔδοξε πεδίον σπεῖραι χρυσίῳ, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκθερίσαντα τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Πόντον οἴχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβὼν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτείνειν, ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξ, καὶ φραζάμενός τι χωρίον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίᾳ, Καππαδοκίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐθνῶν κατέσχευε, ἐπὶ τε μέγα τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγὼν παῖσι παρέδωκεν. οἱ δ' ἦρχον, ἕτερος μεθ' ἑτερον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν ἕκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ

πρώτου Μιθριδάτην, ὃς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους ὄντες οἱ Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Πόντου βασιλεῖς ἔσθ' ὅτε μοι δοκοῦσι διελεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Πόντου κατασχεῖν οἱ δὲ Καππαδοκίας.

[9] Not long afterward dissensions broke out among the Macedonians. Antigonus expelled Laomedon from Syria and assumed the government himself. He had with him one Mithridates, a scion of the royal house of Persia. Antigonus had a dream that he had sowed a field with gold, and that Mithridates reaped it and carried it off to Pontus. He accordingly arrested him, intending to put him to death, but Mithridates escaped with six horsemen, fortified himself in a stronghold of Cappadocia, where many joined him in consequence of the decay of the Macedonian power, and possessed himself of the whole of Cappadocia and of the neighboring countries along the Euxine. This great power, which he had built up, he left to his children. They reigned one after another until the sixth Mithridates in succession from the founder of the house, and he went to war with the Romans. Since there were kings of this house of both Cappadocia and Pontus, I judge that they divided the government, some ruling one country and some the other.

[10] ὁ γέ τοι Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐν φιλίας γενόμενος καὶ ναῦς τινὰς ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀλίγην παρασχών, βασιλεὺς Πόντου, Μιθριδάτης ὁ εὐεργέτης ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὡς ἀλλοτριὰν τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐπέδραμεν. καὶ διαδέχεται Μιθριδάτης υἱός, ὃ Δίονυσος καὶ εὐπάτωρ ἐπώνυμα ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι Καππαδοκίας ἐκέλευσαν Ἀριοβαρζάνη, καταφυγόντι τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντι ἄρα γνησιωτέρῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχήν, ἣ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολλῆς οὔσης ὑφορώμενοί τε καὶ ἐς πλέονα διαιροῦντες ἀφανῶς. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκε, Νικομήδει δὲ τῷ Νικομήδους τοῦ Προυσίου, Βιθυνίας ὡς πατρώας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθέντι βασιλεῦειν, Σωκράτη τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτ' χρηστὸς ἐπώνυμον ἦν, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπέμψε: καὶ τὴν Βιθυνῶν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐς αὐτὸν περιέσπασεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μιθράας καὶ Βαγῶας Ἀριοβαρζάνη τόνδε τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατηγμένον ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκβαλόντες, Ἀριαράθην κατήγαγον ἐς αὐτήν.

[10] At any rate a king of Pontus, the Mithridates surnamed Euergetes (the Benefactor), who was the first of them inscribed as a friend of the Roman people, and who even sent some ships and a small force of auxiliaries to aid them against the Carthaginians, invaded Cappadocia as though it were a foreign country. He was succeeded by his son, Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus, and also Eupator. The (Y.R. 662) Romans ordered him to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, (B.C. 92) who had fled to them and who seemed to have a better title to the government of that country than Mithridates; or perhaps they distrusted the growing power of that great monarchy and thought it would be better to have it divided into several parts. Mithridates obeyed the order, but he put an army at the service of Socrates,

surnamed Chrestus, the brother of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who overthrew the latter and usurped the government. This Nicomedes (Y.R. 664) was the son of Nicomedes the son of Prusias, who had received (B.C. 90) the kingdom of Bithynia as his patrimony at the hands of the Romans. Simultaneously Mithraas and Bagoas drove out Ariobarzanes, whom the Romans had confirmed as king of Cappadocia, and installed Ariarthes in his place.

[11] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Νικομήδην ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐπανῆγον ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάτερον, πρέσβεις τέ τινας αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψαν, ὧν Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος ἡγεῖτο: καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέστειλαν Λευκίῳ τε Κασσίῳ, τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας ἡγουμένῳ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι ὀλίγην, καὶ τῷδε τῷ εὐπάτορι Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιμεμφόμενος, καὶ Φρυγίαν ἔναγχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένος, ὥς διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς δεδήλωται, οὐ συνέπραττε: Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Μάνιος τῷ τε Κασσίου στρατῷ, καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἀγείραντες Γαλατῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν, Νικομήδῃ τε κατήγαγον ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν. εὐθύς τε ἀνέπειθον ἅμω, γείτονας ὄντας Μιθριδάτου, τὴν γῆν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατατρέχειν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον ἐρεθίζειν, ὥς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσι συμμαχισόντων. οἱ δὲ ὥκνουν μὲν ὁμοίως ἑκάτερος γείτονος πολέμου τοσοῦδε κατάρξαι, τὴν Μιθριδάτου δύναμιν δεδιότες: ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβων, ὁ Νικομήδης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπικουρίας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὡμολογηκῶς χρήματα δώσειν καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλων, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν ἐπομένων Ῥωμαίων δεδανεισμένος καὶ ὀχλούμενος, ἅκων ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Μιθριδάτου γῆν καὶ ἐλεηλάτησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἀμαστριν, οὐδενὸς οὔτε κωλύοντος αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαντῶντος. ὁ γάρ τοι Μιθριδάτης ἐτοίμην ἔχων δύναμιν ὅμως ὑπεχώρει, πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια διδοὺς ἐγκλήματα τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι.

[11] The Romans decided to restore Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes at the same time, each to his own kingdom, and sent thither for this purpose an embassy, of which Manius Aquilius was the chief, and ordered Lucius Cassius, who was in charge of the Asiatic country around Pergamus and had a small army under his command, to coöperate in their mission. Similar orders were sent to Mithridates Eupator himself. But the latter, being angry with the Romans on account of their interference in Cappadocia, and having been recently despoiled of Phrygia by them (as narrated in my Hellenic history), did not coöperate. Nevertheless Cassius and Manius, with the army of the former, and a large force collected from the Galatians and Phrygians, restored Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia. They urged them at the same time, as they were neighbors of Mithridates, to make incursions into his territory and stir up a war, promising them the assistance of the Romans. Both of them hesitated to begin so important a war on their own border, because they feared the power of Mithridates. When the ambassadors insisted, Nicomedes, who had agreed to pay a large sum of money to the generals and

ambassadors for restoring him to power, which he still owed, together with other large sums which he had borrowed on interest from the Romans in his country and for which they were dunning him, made an attack reluctantly on the (Y.R. 666) territory of Mithridates and plundered it as far as the city (B.C. 88) of Amastris, meeting no resistance. Although Mithridates had his forces in readiness he retreated, because he wanted to have good and sufficient cause for war.

[12] ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικομήδους μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων, Πελοπίδαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἄγνωῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πολεμῆσειν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτίους γεγονότας, ὑποκρινόμενος δέ, καὶ πλείονας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας τοῦ γενησομένου πολέμου πορίζων, ἀνεμίμησκε φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας τε καὶ πατρῶας. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἔφη Φρυγίαν ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναληφθεῖσαν, Φρυγίαν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐπὶ Ἀριστονίκῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου στρατηγοῦ δοθεῖσαν τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσαν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐωνημένην. ‘νῦν δ’,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ Νικομήδῃ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου διακλείοντα περιορᾶτε, καὶ τὴν γῆν μέχρι Ἀμάστριδος ἐπιτρέχοντα, καὶ λείαν ἄγοντα ὅσῃ ἴστε ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἄσθενῶς οὐδὲ ἀνετοιμῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἐμοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ ἀναμένοντος ὑμᾶς ἐν ὧν μάρτυρας τῶν γιγνομένων γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένεσθέ τε καὶ εἶδετε, παρακαλεῖ Μιθριδάτης, φίλος ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχος, φίλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ συμμάχους ὧδε γὰρ αἱ συνθῆκαι λέγουσιν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἡμῖν ἀδικούμενοις ὑπὸ Νικομήδους, ἢ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα.’

[12] Nicomedes returned with large booty and Mithridates sent Pelopidas to the Roman generals and ambassadors. He was not ignorant that they wanted to bring on a war, and that they had incited this attack upon him, but he dissembled in order to procure more and clearer causes for the coming war, for which reason he reminded them of his own and his father's friendship and alliance, in return for which Pelopidas said that Phrygia and Cappadocia had been wrested from him, of which Cappadocia had always belonged to his ancestors and had been left to him by his own father. "Phrygia," he continued, "was given to him by your own general as a reward for his victory over Aristonicus; nevertheless he paid a large sum of money to that same general for it. But now you allow Nicomedes even to close the mouth of the Euxine, and to overrun the country as far as Amastris, and you see him carrying off vast plunder with impunity. My king was not weak, he was not unprepared to defend himself, but he waited in order that you might be eye-witnesses of these transactions. Since you have seen all this, Mithridates, who is your friend and ally, calls upon you as friends and allies (for so the treaty reads) to defend us against the wrong-doing of Nicomedes, or to restrain the wrong-doer."

[13] ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε, Νικομήδους δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῷ παρόντες ἔφασαν:

Νικομήδει μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιβουλεύων Σωκράτη μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπῆγεν, ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ δικαιούντα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἄρχειν. καὶ ὧδε Μιθριδάτης ἐς Νικομήδην ἐπραξεν, ὃν ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Βιθυνῶν ἐστήσασθε βασιλεύειν: ὃ καὶ δηλὸν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὑμᾶς γεγονέναι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ κεκελευκότων ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐν Ἀσία βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν, τὰ πολλὰ Χερρονήσου περιέσπασεν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἔστω τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς ὕβρεώς τε καὶ δυσμενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπειθείας ἔργα: ἡ παρασκευὴ δὲ ὅση, καὶ πᾶσα ἔτοιμος ὥς ἐπὶ μέγαν δὴ καὶ ἐγνωσμένον πόλεμον ἤδη, τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων Θρακῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα πλησίον ἔθνη. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀρμένιον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιγαμία γέγονε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν περιπέμπει προσεταιριζόμενος τοὺς βασιλέας. νῆές τε εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἑτέρας προσαπεργάζεται: ἐπὶ τε πρῳρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον περιέπεμψεν. ἅπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ Νικομήδει που, τοσάδε ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μιθριδάτης, ἐργάζεται, δυσμεναίνων μὲν ἐξ οὗ Φρυγίαν αὐτὸν πανούργως πριάμενον, καὶ δεκάσαντα τῶν ὑμετέρων τινὰ στρατηγῶν, ἀποθέσθαι προσετάξατε, τῆς οὐ δικαίας κτήσεως καταγρόντες, χαλεπαίνων δ' ἐπὶ Καππαδοκία, δεδομένη καὶ τῇδε πρὸς ὑμῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνη, δεδιὼς δ' αὐξομένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς προφάσει καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐπιθέσθαι. σωφρόνων δ' ἐστὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους ἀφορᾶν μηδὲ φιλίας ὄνομα ἐπίπλαστον ὑποκρινομένῳ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους ἐκδοῦναι φίλους, μηδὲ τὴν σφετέραν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας κρίσιν ὑπεριδεῖν ἀκυρουμένην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροῦ.

[13] When Pelopidas had finished speaking the ambassadors of Nicomedes, who were there to answer him, said: "Mithridates plotted against Nicomedes long ago and put Socrates on the throne by force and arms, though Socrates was of a quiet disposition and thought it right that his elder brother should reign. This was the act of Mithridates to Nicomedes whom you, Romans, had established on the throne of Bithynia — a blow which was evidently aimed as much at you as at us. In like manner after you had commanded the Asiatic kings not to molest Europe, he seized the greater part of Chersonesus. Let these acts stand as examples of his arrogance, his hostility, his disobedience towards yourselves. Look at his great preparations. He stands in complete readiness, as for a great and predetermined war, not merely with his own army, but with great force of allies, Thracians, Scythians, and many other neighboring peoples. He has formed a marriage alliance with Armenia, and has sent to Egypt and Syria to make friends with the kings of those countries. He has 300 ships of war and is still adding to the number. He has sent to Phoenicia and Egypt for naval officers and steersmen. These things, that Mithridates is collecting in such vast quantities, are not designed for

Nicomedes, nay, O Romans, but for you. He is angry with you because, when he had bought Phrygia by a corrupt bargain from one of your generals, you ordered him to give up his ill-gotten gains. He is angry on account of Cappadocia, which was given by you to Ariobarzanes. He fears your increasing power. He is making preparations under pretence that they are intended for us, but he means to attack you if he can. It will be the part of wisdom not to wait till he declares war against you, but to look at his deeds rather than his words, and not give up true and tried friends for a hypocrite who offers you the fictitious name of friendship, nor allow your decision concerning our kingdom to be annulled by one who is equally the foe of both of us.”

[14] ὧδε μὲν καὶ οἱ Νικομήδους ἔλεξαν· ἐπελθὼν δὲ αὖθις ὁ Πελοπίδας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνέδριον περὶ μὲν τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, εἴ τι Νικομήδης ἐπιμέμφοιτο, δικάσαι Ῥωμαίους ἡξίου, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔν ὧν γὰρ ὑμῶν γέγονε, τῆς τε γῆς τῆς Μιθριδάτου δηουμένης καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀποκεκλεισμένης καὶ λείας τοσσησδε ἐλαυνομένης· οὐ λόγων ἔφη χρῆζειν οὐδὲ κρίσεως, ‘ἀλλ’ αὖθις ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν ἢ κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἢ Μιθριδάτῃ συμμαχεῖν ἀδικουμένῳ, ἢ τελευταῖον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μὴδὲ κωλύειν ἀμυνόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἀμφοῖν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ πόνοῦ.’ τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πελοπίδου παλιλλογήσαντος, ἔγνωστο μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπικουρεῖν Νικομήδει, καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἠκροῶντο· τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοπίδου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φιλίαν ἐνσύνθηκον ἔτι οὔσαν, αἰδοῦμενοι ἠπόρουν ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ πολὺ, μέχρι ἐπιστήσαντες μετὰ σοφίας ὧδε ἀπεκρίναντο. ‘οὔτε Μιθριδάτην ἂν τι βουλοίμεθα πάσχειν ἄχαρι πρὸς Νικομήδους, οὔτε Νικομήδους ἀνεξόμεθα πολεμουμένον· οὐ γὰρ ἠγούμεθα Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδῃ.’ ταῦτα δ’ εἰπόντες τὸν Πελοπίδαν, βουλόμενον διελέγχειν τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου.

[14] After the ambassadors of Nicomedes had thus spoken Pelopidas again addressed the Roman assembly, saying that if Nicomedes was complaining of bygones, he accepted the decision of the Romans, but as to present matters which were transpiring under their eyes, the ravaging of Mithridates’ territory, the closing of the sea, and the carrying away of such vast plunder, there was no need of discussion or adjudication. “We call upon you, Romans, again,” he said, “either to prevent such outrages, or to assist Mithridates, who is their victim, or at all events to stand aside, allow him to defend himself, and not help either party.” While Pelopidas was repeating his demand, though it had been determined by the Roman generals long before to help Nicomedes, they made a pretence of listening to the argument on the other side. Yet the words of Pelopidas and the alliance of Mithridates, which was still in force, put them to shame, and they were at a loss for some time what answer to make. Finally, after long thought, they made this artful reply, “We would not wish that Mithridates suffer harm at the hands of Nicomedes, nor can we allow war to

be made against Nicomedes, because we do not think that it would be for the interest of Rome that he should be weakened.” Having delivered this response they dismissed Pelopidas from the assembly, although he wanted to show the insufficiency of their answer.

CHAPTER III

Mithridates seizes Cappadocia — Sends Another Embassy — First Mithridatic War — The Romans badly defeated — Retreat of the Roman Forces — The Roman Generals captured

[15] Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμφανῶς ἤδη πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀδικούμενος, ἔπεμπε σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριαράθην βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀριαράθης, Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐκβαλὼν. Πελοπίδας δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς αὐθις ἐλθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε.

ἃ μὲν ἡδίκημένος πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ἔφερε, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀφηρεύμενος ἔναγχος, ἠκούσατε: ἃ δὲ Νικομήδης αὐτὸν ἐβλαπτεν, ὀρῶντες ὑπεριδετε. φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἐγκαλουμένοις ἀπεκρίνασθε μὴ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδῃ οἷάπερ αὐτὸν ἀδικούμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν αἵτιοι τῷ κοινῷ Ῥωμαίων τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν γεγονότος: διὰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὧδε μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπερορῶντας ὧδε δὲ σοφίζοντας ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ πρεσβεύεται καθ' ὑμῶν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν βουλὴν, ἐφ' ἣν ὑμῖν ἀπολογησομένοις ἐπαγγέλλει παρεῖναι, φθάνειν δὲ μηδέν, μηδ' ἐξάρχειν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινου τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦδε πολέμου, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι Μιθριδάτης βασιλεύει μὲν τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς, ἣ δισμυρίων ἐστὶ σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, προσκέκτηται δὲ πολλὰ περὶχωρα, καὶ Κόλχους, ἔθνος ἀρειμανές, Ἑλλήνων τε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου κατωκισμένους, καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς. φίλοις δ' ἐς πᾶν τὸ κελεύόμενον ἐτοιμοὶς χρήται Σκύθαις τε καὶ Ταύροις καὶ Βαστέρναις καὶ Θραξὶ καὶ Σαρμάταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τάναϊν τε καὶ Ἰστρον καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔτι τὴν Μαιώτιδα. Τιγράνης δ' ὁ Ἀρμένιος αὐτῷ κηδεστής ἐστι, καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὁ Παρθυαῖος φίλος. νεῶν τε πλῆθος ἔχει, τὸ μὲν ἔτοιμον τὸ δὲ γιγνόμενον ἔτι, καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς πάντα ἀξιόλογον.

[15] Mithridates, having been denied justice by the Romans in this public manner, sent his son Ariarthes with a large force to seize the kingdom of Cappadocia. Ariarthes speedily overpowered it and drove out Ariobarzanes. Then Pelopidas returned to the Roman generals and said: 'How patiently King Mithridates bore injury from you when he was deprived of Phrygia and Cappadocia not long ago you have been told already, O Romans. What injuries Nicomedes inflicted upon him you have seen — and have not heeded. And when we appealed to your friendship and alliance you answered as though we were not the accusers but the accused, saying that it would not be for your interest that harm should come to Nicomedes, as though he were the injured one. You therefore are accountable to the Roman republic for what has taken place in Cappadocia. Mithridates has done what he has done because you disdained us and mocked us in your answers. He intends to send an

embassy to your Senate to complain against you. He summons you to defend yourselves there in person in order that ye may do nothing in haste, nor begin a war of such magnitude without the decree of Rome itself. You should bear in mind that Mithridates is ruling his ancestral domain, which is 2000 stades long, and that he has acquired many neighboring nations, the Colchians, a very warlike people, the Greeks bordering on the Euxine, and the barbarian tribes beyond them. He has allies also ready to obey his every command, Scythians, Taurians, Bastarnæ, Thracians, Sarmatians, and all those who dwell in the region of the Don and Danube and the sea of Azof. Tigranes of Armenia is his son-in-law and Arsaces of Parthia his ally. He has a large number of ships, some in readiness and others building, and apparatus of all kinds in abundance.

[16] οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο δ' ὑμῖν ἑναγχος οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Συρίᾳ βασιλέων· οὓς οὐ μόνον εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, εἰ πόλεμος γένοιτο, προσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νεόκτητον ὑμῖν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσα τὴν ὑμετέραν πλεονεξίαν οὐ φέροντα πολεμεῖ νῦν ὑμῖν πόλεμον ἄσπειστον. ὃν οὐπω διαθέσθαι δυνηθέντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε Μιθριδάτῃ, Νικομήδῃν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃν παρὰ μέρος ἐπιτέμποντες· καὶ φατὲ μὲν εἶναι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθε οὕτω, χρησθε δὲ ὡς πολεμίῳ. φέρετε οὖν, καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πρὸς τῶν γεγονότων ἐς μετάνοιαν ἡρέθισθε, ἢ Νικομήδῃ κωλύσατε τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικεῖν φίλους· καὶ τάδε πράξασιν ὑμῖν ὑπέχουμι συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτῃν, ἢ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν λύσατε, ἢ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἵωμεν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Πελοπίδας ὧδε ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ φορτικώτερον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἡγούμενοι, Μιθριδάτῃν μὲν ἐκέλευον ἀπέχεσθαι Νικομήδους καὶ Καππαδοκίας· αὐτοὶ γὰρ αὖθις Ἀριοβαρζάνῃν ἐς αὐτὴν κατάξειν, Πελοπίδαν δ' εὐθὺς ἐξίεναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ μηκέτι πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς κελευομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμμένει. οὕτω μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ ἀπὸντι φυλακὴν συνέπεμψαν, ἵνα μή τις ἐπιτρίψει παροδεύων.

[16] “The Bithynians were not wrong in what they told you lately about the kings of Egypt and Syria. Not only are these likely to help us if war breaks out, but also your newly acquired province of Asia, and Greece, and Africa, and a considerable part of Italy itself, which even now wages implacable war against you because it cannot endure your greed. Before you are able to compose this strife you attack Mithridates and set Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes on him by turns, and you say, forsooth, that you are our friends and allies. You pretend to be so, and yet you act like enemies. Come now, if at last the consequences of your acts have put you in a better frame of mind, either restrain Nicomedes from injuring your friends and allies (in which case I promise that King Mithridates shall help you to put down the rebellion in Italy), or throw off the mask of friendship for us, or let us go to Rome and

settle the dispute there.” So spake Pelopidas. The Romans considered his speech insolent and ordered Mithridates to let Nicomedes and Cappadocia alone (for they had again restored Ariobarzanes to the latter). They also ordered Pelopidas to leave their camp immediately, and not to return unless the king obeyed their commands. Having given this answer they sent him away under guard lest he should inveigle some persons on the road.

[17] ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες, οὐκ ἀναμείναντες περὶ τοσοῦδε πολέμου τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιγνώμονα γενέσθαι, στρατιὰν ἤγειρον ἕκ τε Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τε ἴδιος στρατός, ὅσον εἶχε Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος, ἔτοιμος ἦν ἤδη, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ πάντα συνεληλύθει, διελόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐστρατοπέδευον, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐν μέσῳ Βιθυνίας τε καὶ Γαλατίας, Μάνιος δὲ ἢ διαβατὸν ἦν ἐς Βιθυνίαν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, Ὅππιος δὲ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Καππαδοκίας, ἱππέας ἔχων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους. ἦν δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλος αὐτοῖς, οὗ περὶ Βυζάντιον Μινούκιός τε Ῥούφος καὶ Γάιος Ποπίλιος ἡγοῦντο, τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλάσσοντες. παρὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Νικομήδης, ἄρχων ἐτέρων πεντακισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἑξακισχιλίων. τοσόσδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως στρατός ἀγῆγετο: Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἦν μυριάδες πεζῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισμύριοι, καὶ νῆες κατάφρακτοι τριακόσiai, δίκροτα δὲ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ τούτων κατὰ λόγον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀλλήλων ἀδελφῶ, καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτὸς παρεγίγνετο. συμμαχικὰ δὲ ἦγον αὐτῷ Ἀρκαθίας μὲν, αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου παῖς, ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας μυρίους ἱππέας, καὶ Δορύλαος ... ἐν φάλαγγι ταπτομένους, Κρατερὸς δ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἄρματα. τοσαύτη μὲν ἦν ἑκατέροις ἡ παρασκευὴ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας.

[17] After they had finished speaking they did not wait to hear what the Senate and people of Rome would think about such a great war, but began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia. As soon as Lucius Cassius, the governor of Asia, had his own army in readiness all the allied forces were assembled. Then they were put in separate divisions and sent into camp, Cassius on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, Manius on Mithridates' line of march to Bithynia, and Oppius, the third general, among the mountains of Cappadocia. Each of these had about 40,000 men, horse and foot together. They had also a fleet under command of Minucius Rufus and Gaius Popillius at Byzantium, guarding the mouth of the Euxine. Nicomedes was present with 50,000 foot and 6000 horse under his command. Such was the total strength of the forces brought together. Mithridates had in his own army 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, 300 ships with decks, 100 with two banks of oars each, and other apparatus in proportion. He had for generals Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two brothers. The king took charge of the greater number in person. Of the allied forces

Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, led 10,000 horse from Armenia Minor, and Doryalus commanded the phalanx. Craterus had charge of 130 war chariots. So great were the preparations on either side when the Romans and Mithridates first came in conflict with each other, about the 173d Olympiad.

[18] ἐν δὲ πεδίῳ πλατεῖ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμνιον ποταμὸν κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους ὃ τε Νικομήδης καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγοὶ παρέταττον ἐς μάχην, Νικομήδης μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τοὺς εὐζώνους μόνους, καὶ οὓς Ἀρκαθίας εἶχεν ἱππείας καὶ τινα τῶν ἁρμάτων: ἡ γὰρ φάλαγξ ἔτι προσήει. ἐς δὲ τινα γήλοφον τοῦ πεδίου πετρώδῃ προλαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν ὀλίγους, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν πολὺ πλειόνων ὄντων. ὥς δὲ ἐξωθουμένους εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηλόφου, δέισας ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει προσεβοήθει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καλῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ἀρκαθίαν. Νικομήδης δ' ὀρώων ἀντιπαρήει: καὶ γίγνεται πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος. βιασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Νικομηδούς ἔφευγον οἱ Μιθριδάτειοι, ἕως ὃ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μετελθὼν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. οἱ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεστράφησαν. ὁ δ' ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανελθεῖν οἱ περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον. ὥς δὲ εἶκασεν αὐτάρκως ἔχειν, ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἅρματα ἐμπίπτοντα μετὰ ῥύμης διέκοπτε καὶ διέτεμνε τοὺς μὲν ἀθρόως ἐς δύο τοὺς δ' ἐς μέρη πολλὰ. τό τε γιγνόμενον ἐξέπληττε τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτε ἴδοιεν ἡμιτόμους ἄνδρας ἔτι ἔμπνους, ἢ ἐς πολλὰ διερριμμένους, ἢ τῶν δρεπάνων ἀπηρτημένους. ἀηδία τε μᾶλλον ὄψεως ἢ μάχης ἦσση τὴν τάξιν ὑπὸ φόβου συνέχεαν. ταραχθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναστρέφοντες ἐπέκειντο ὀπισθεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι: ὥς δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπεπτώκει, Νικομήδης μὲν ἔφευγε μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Παφλαγονίαν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθούσης πω τῆς Μιθριδατείου φάλαγγος, ἐάλω δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων. οὓς πάντας ὁ Μιθριδάτης φιλανθρωπευσάμενός τε καὶ ἐφόδια δοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, δόξαν ἐμποιῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις φιλανθρωπίας.

[18] When Nicomedes and the generals of Mithridates came in sight of each other in a wide plain bordered by the river Amnias they drew up their forces for battle. Nicomedes had his entire army in hand; Neoptolemus and Archelaus had only their light infantry and the cavalry of Arcathias and a few chariots; for the phalanx had not yet come up. They sent forward a small force to seize a rocky hill in the plain lest they should be surrounded by the Bithynians, who were much more numerous. When Neoptolemus saw his men driven from the hill he was still more in fear of being surrounded. He advanced with haste to their assistance, at the same time calling on Arcathias for help. When Nicomedes perceived the movement he sought to meet it by a similar one. Thereupon a severe and bloody struggle ensued. Nicomedes prevailed and put the Mithridateans to flight until Archelaus, advancing from the right flank, fell upon the pursuers, who were compelled to turn their

attention to him. He yielded little by little in order that the forces of Neoptolemus might have a chance to rally. When he judged that they had done so sufficiently he advanced again. At the same time the scythe-bearing chariots made a charge on the Bithynians, cutting some of them in two, and tearing others to pieces. The army of Nicomedes was terrified at seeing men cut in halves and still breathing, or mangled in fragments and their parts hanging on the scythes. Overcome rather by the hideousness of the spectacle than by loss of the fight, fear took possession of their ranks. While they were thus thrown into confusion Archelaus attacked them in front, and Neoptolemus and Arcathias, who had turned about, assailed them in the rear. They fought a long time facing both ways. After the greater part of his men had fallen, Nicomedes fled with the remainder into Paphlagonia, although the Mithridatean phalanx had not come into the engagement at all. His camp was captured, together with a large sum of money and many prisoners. All these Mithridates treated kindly and sent to their homes with supplies for the journey, thus gaining a reputation for clemency among his enemies.

[19] ἔργον δὴ τότε πρῶτον τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεπεπλήγησαν, ὥς οὐκ εὐβουλία μᾶλλον ἢ προπετώς, ἀνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τοσόνδε πόλεμον ἄψαντες. ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ πολὺ πλειόνων ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ συντυχίᾳ χωρίων ἢ πολεμίου σφάλματος, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ στρατοῦ. Νικομήδης μὲν οὖν Μανίῳ παρεστρατοπέδευε, Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκορόβαν ὄρος ἀνῆει, ὃ τέλος ἐστὶ Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς χώρας. πρόδρομοί τε αὐτοῦ, Σαυροματῶν ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς, ὀκτακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Νικομήδους ἐντυχόντες αἰροῦσι καὶ τούτων τινάς· οὗς πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἐφοδίοις μεθῆκεν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι. Μάνιον δ' ὑποφεύγοντα Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Νεμάνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἀμφὶ τὸ πρῶτον Πάχιον χωρίον ἐβδόμης ὥρας καταλαβόντες, οἰχομένου πρὸς Κάσσιον Νικομήδους, ἠνάγκασαν ἐς μάχην ἱππέας ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεζοὺς ἔτι τούτων δεκαπλασίονας. κτείναντες δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ μυρίου, ἐζώγησαν ἐς τριακοσίους· οὗς ὁμοίως ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναχθέντας ἀπέλυσε, καταδημοκοπῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Μανίου δ' ἐλήφθη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φεύγων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν νυκτὸς γενομένης ἐπέραςέ τε καὶ ἐς Πέργαμον ἐσώθη. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Νικομήδης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις παρῆσαν, ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλὴν, ὃ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐστὶν ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον, μετεστρατοπέδευον· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἶχον, οὐ πάλαι συνειλεγμένον, χειροτεχνῶν ἢ γεωργῶν ἢ ιδιωτῶν, ἐγύμναζον, καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας αὐτοῖς προσκατέλεγον. ὀκνοῦντων δὲ ἑκατέρων ἀπέγνωσαν πολεμεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀπολέμοις, καὶ διαλύσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρουν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς Ἀπάμειαν σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατῷ, Νικομήδης δὲ ἐς Πέργαμον, Μάνιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥόδου. ὧν, ὅσοι τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου κατεῖχον, πυθόμενοι διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς τε κλεῖς τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παρέδοσαν.

[19] This first engagement of the Mithridatic war alarmed the Roman generals, because they had kindled so great a strife precipitately, without good

judgment, and without any public decree. A small number of soldiers had overcome a much larger one, not by having a better position, or through any blunder of the enemy, but by the valor of the generals and the fighting quality of the army. Nicomedes now encamped alongside of Manius. Mithridates ascended Mount Scoroba, which lies on the boundary between Bithynia and Pontus. A hundred Sarmatian horse of his advance-guard came upon 800 of the Nicomedean cavalry and took some of them prisoners. Mithridates dismissed these also to their homes and furnished them supplies. Neoptolemus, and Nemanes the Armenian, overtook Manius on his retreat at the castle of Protophachium about the seventh hour, while Nicomedes was moving away to join Cassius, and compelled him to fight. He had 4000 horse and ten times that number of foot. They killed 10,000 of his men and took 300 prisoners. When they were brought to Mithridates he released them in like manner, thus winning the good opinion of his enemies. The camp of Manius was also captured. He fled to the river Sangarius, crossed it by night, and escaped to Pergamus. Cassius and Nicomedes and all the Roman ambassadors who were with the army decamped to a place called the Lion's Head, a very powerful stronghold in Phrygia, where they began to drill their newly collected mob of artisans, rustics, and other raw recruits, and made new levies among the Phrygians. Finding them worthless they abandoned the idea of fighting with such unwarlike men, dismissed them and retreated; Cassius with his own army to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamus, and Manius toward Rhodes. When those who were guarding the mouth of the Euxine learned these facts they scattered also and delivered the straits and all the ships they had to Mithridates.

[20] ὁ δὲ ὁρμῇ τῇδε μᾶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην τοῦ Νικομήδους ὑπολαβὼν ἐπήει, καὶ καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πανδοκεῖον κατέλυσεν, αἰσιούμενος ἄρα, ἔνθα περ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεπαύσατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην σταθμεῦσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ Φρυγίας τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν, ἃ Ῥωμαίοις νεόκτητα ἦν, ἐπέτρεχε, καὶ ἐς τὰ περίοικα περιπέμπων ὑπηγάγετο Λυκίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας. Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ ἔτι ἀντέχουσι, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν Ῥωμαίων γάρ τις στρατηγὸς Κόιντος Ὀπίιος, ἱππέας ἔχων καὶ μισθοφόρους τινάς, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμὼν ἐφύλαττεν αὐτήν, κήρυκα ἐπιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ὑπέχεται Λαοδικεῦσιν ἄδειαν, εἰ τὸν Ὀπίον αὐτῷ προσαγάγοιεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους Ὀπίου μεθῆκαν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, αὐτὸν δ' ἤγαγον τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τὸν Ὀπίον, ἡγουμένων αὐτῷ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων ἐπὶ γέλῳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν διαθεῖς ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ λελυμένον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἄρα Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτον στρατηγόν.

[20] Having subverted the whole dominion of Nicomedes at one blow, Mithridates took possession of it and put the cities in order. Then he invaded Phrygia and lodged at an inn which had been occupied by Alexander the

Great, thinking that it would bring him luck to halt where Alexander had once stopped. He overran the rest of Phrygia, together with Mysia and those parts of Asia which had been lately acquired by the Romans. Then he sent his officers to the adjoining provinces and subjugated Lycia, Pamphylia, and the rest as far as Ionia. To the Laodiceans on the river Lycus, who were still resisting (for the Roman general, Quintus Oppius, had arrived with his cavalry and certain mercenaries at their town and was defending it), he made this proclamation by herald before the walls, "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him." Upon this announcement they dismissed the mercenaries unharmed, but led Oppius himself to Mithridates with his lictors marching in front of him by way of ridicule. Mithridates did him no harm, but took him around with him unbound, exhibiting a Roman general as his prisoner.

[21] μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον, τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα αἴτιον, ἐλὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ ὄνου περιήγετο, κηρύσσοντα τοῖς ὁρώσιν ὅτι Μάνιος εἶη, μέχρι ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατεχώνευσεν χρυσίον, δωροδοκίαν ἄρα Ῥωμαίοις ὀνειδίζων. σατράπας δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστήσας, ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ Ἔφεσον καὶ Μιτυλήνην παρῆλθεν, ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἀπάντων δεχομένων, Ἐφεσίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰκόνας τὰς παρὰ σφίσι καθαιρούντων, ἐφ' ᾧ δίκην ἔδοσαν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον. ἐπανιὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας Στρατονίκειαν εἶλε καὶ ἐζημίωσε χρήμασι, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγαγεν. παρθένον τε εὐμορφον ἰδὼν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεδέξατο· καὶ εἰ τῷ σπουδῇ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι πυθέσθαι, Μονίμῃ Φιλοποίμενος ἦν. Μάγνησι δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ Λυκίοις ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει.

[21] Not long afterward he captured Manius Aquilius, one of the ambassadors and the one who was most to blame for this war. Mithridates led him around, bound on an ass, and compelled him to introduce himself to the public as Manius. Finally, at Pergamus, Mithridates poured molten gold down his throat, thus rebuking the Romans for their bribe-taking. After appointing satraps over the various nations he proceeded to Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, all of which received him gladly. The Ephesians overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities — for which they paid the penalty not long afterward. On his return from Ionia Mithridates took the city of Stratonicea, imposed a pecuniary fine on it, and placed a garrison in it. Seeing a handsome virgin there he added her to his list of wives. Her name, if anybody wishes to know it, was Monima, the daughter of Philopæmen. Against those Magnesians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians who still opposed him he directed his generals to make war.

CHAPTER IV

Mithridates orders a Massacre of Romans in Asia — Frightful Scenes in Ephesus and Other Cities — Mithridates attacks Rhodes — Is defeated on the Sea — Makes an Assault by Land — Is beaten off

[22] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξ οὗ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ὁρμῆς τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβολῆς ἐπύθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίπερ ἀσχολούμενοι στάσεσιν ἀτρύτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ χαλεπῷ, τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφισταμένης σχεδὸν ἀπάσης ἀνὰ μέρος. κληρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἔλαχε μὲν Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ἄρχειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντοπραθῆναι ὅσα Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος βασιλεὺς ἐς θυσίας θεῶν διετέτακτο. τοσῆδε μὲν ἦν τότε πάντων ἀπορία καὶ ἐς πάντα φιλοτιμία. καὶ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἔφθασεπραθῆναι καὶ συνενεγκεῖν χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἑνακισχιλίας, ἃς μόνας ἐς τηλικούτον πόλεμον ἔδοσαν.

Σύλλαν μὲν οὖν ἐς πολὺ αἱ στάσεις κατέσχον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις συγγέγραπται: ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπὶ τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασιν καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε, τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν φυλάξαντας ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, κτείναντάς τε ἀτάφους ἀπορρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς μερίσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην. ἐπεκέρυξε δὲ καὶ ζημίαν τοῖς καταθάπτουσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐπικρύπτουσι, καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν ἢ τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀναιροῦσι, θεράπουσι μὲν ἐπὶ δεσπότης ἐλευθερίαν, χρήταις δ' ἐπὶ δανειστάς ἡμῖς τοῦ χρέους. τότε μὲν δὴ δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέστελλεν ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης συμφορῶν ἰδέαι ποικίλαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὧν ἓν αὐτὰς ἦν.

[22] Such was the state of affairs with Mithridates. As soon as his outbreak and invasion of Asia were known at Rome they declared war against him, although they were occupied with grievous dissensions in the city and a formidable Social war, almost all parts of Italy having revolted one after another. When the consuls cast lots, the government of Asia and the Mithridatic war fell to Cornelius Sulla. As they had no money to defray his expenses they voted to sell the treasures that King Numa Pompilius had set apart for sacrifices to the gods; so great was their want of means at that time and so great their ambition for the commonwealth. A part of these treasures, sold hastily, brought 90000 pounds' weight of gold and this was all they had to spend on so great a war. Moreover Sulla was detained a long time by the civil wars, as I have stated in my history of the same. In the meantime Mithridates built a large number of ships for an attack on Rhodes, and he wrote secretly to all his satraps and magistrates that on the thirtieth day

thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their domestics of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with himself. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and offered rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding, and freedom to slaves for betraying their masters. To debtors for killing money-lenders he offered release from one-half of their obligations. These secret orders Mithridates sent to all the cities at the same time. When the appointed day came calamities of various kinds befell the province of Asia, among which were the following:

[23] Ἐφεσίοι τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταφυγόντας, συμπλεκομένους τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐξέλκοντες ἔκτεινον. Περγαμῆνοι τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον συμφυγόντας, οὐκ ἀφισταμένους, ἐτόξευον τοῖς ξοάνοις συμπλεκομένους. Ἀδραμυττηνοὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀνήρουν, καὶ τὰ βρέφη κατεπόντουν. Καύνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν καταφυγόντας ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρῶτα ἔκτεινον ἐν ὄψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. Τραλλιανοὶ δ' αὐθένται τοῦ κακοῦ φυλαξάμενοι γενέσθαι, Παφλαγὸνα Θεόφιλον, ἄγριον ἄνδρα, ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐμισθώσαντο, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ὁμονομίας νεῶν ἤπτετο τοῦ φόνου, καὶ τινῶν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι συμπλεκομένων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτεν. τοιαύταις μὲν τύχαις οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεφέροντο, ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βρέφη καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ. ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν διπλῇν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπίστως ἐξυβρίσαντος ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὕστερον Κορνηλίῳ Σύλλᾳ. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῶ κατέπλευσε, Κῶων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῶ καταλελειμμένον, παραλαβὼν ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς, ἐκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν καὶ τέχνην καὶ λίθους καὶ κόσμους γυναικείους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμψεν.

[23] The Ephesians tore fugitives, who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis, from the very images of the goddess and slew them. The Pergameans shot with arrows those who had fled to the temple of Æsculapius, while they were still clinging to his statues. The Adramyttians followed those who sought to escape by swimming, into the sea, and killed them and drowned their children. The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who had taken refuge about the Vesta statue of the senate-house, tore them from the shrine, killed children before their mothers' eyes, and then killed the mothers themselves and their husbands after them. The citizens of

Tralles, in order to avoid the appearance of blood-guiltiness, hired a savage monster named Theophilus, of Paphlagonia, to do the work. He conducted the victims to the temple of Concord, and there murdered them, chopping off the hands of some who were embracing the sacred images. Such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians throughout the province of Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of Italian blood; by which it was made very plain that it was quite as much hatred of the Romans as fear of Mithridates that impelled the Asiatics to commit these atrocities. But they paid a double penalty for their crime — one at the hands of Mithridates himself, who ill-treated them perfidiously not long afterward, and the other at the hands of Cornelius Sulla. In the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island of Cos, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and where he received, and afterward brought up in a royal way, a son of Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grand-mother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus.

[24] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥόδιοι τὰ τε τειχὴ σφῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐκρατύναντο, καὶ μηχανὰς ἅπασιν ἐφίστανον· καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς Τελμισέων τε καὶ Λυκίων συνέμαχουν. ὅσοι τε ἐξ Ἀσίας Ἴταλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς Ῥόδον ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατος. ἐπιπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὰ προάστεια καθήρουν, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴη χρήσιμα τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ταῖς μὲν ἐκ μετώπου ταῖς δὲ πλαγίαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πεντήρους περιπλέων ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ κέρως, καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐπιταχύναντας περικυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολέμιους ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας, μέχρι δέισαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον· εἴτ' ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα κατέφυγον, καὶ κλείθοις αὐτὸν διαλαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀπεμάχοντο. ὁ δὲ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύων καὶ συνεχῶς τῶν λιμένων πειρώμενος καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἀνέμενε τὸ πεζὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ παραγενέσθαι. κὰν τούτῳ βραχεῖαι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο ἀνψιμαχίαι τῶν ἐφεδρεόντων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Ῥόδιοι πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνεθάρσουν κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὥς, εἴ πη καιρὸν εὖροιεν, ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς πολέμοις.

[24] While these things were going on the Rhodians strengthened their walls and their harbor and erected engines of war everywhere, receiving some assistance from Telmessus and Lycia. All the Italians who escaped from Asia collected at Rhodes, among them Lucius Cassius, the proconsul of the province. When Mithridates approached with his fleet, the inhabitants destroyed the suburbs in order that they might not be of service to the enemy. Then they put to sea for a naval engagement with some of their ships ranged for an attack in front and some on the flank. Mithridates, who was sailing around in a quinquereme, ordered his ships to extend their wing out to sea and

to quicken the rowing in order to surround the enemy, for they were fewer in number. The Rhodians were apprehensive of this manoeuvre and retired slowly. Finally they turned about and took refuge in the harbor, closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls. He encamped near the city and continually tried to gain entrance to the harbor, but failing to do so he waited for the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime there was continual skirmishing going on among the soldiers in ambush around the walls. As the Rhodians had the best of it in these affairs, they gradually plucked up courage and kept their ships well in hand in order to dart upon the enemy whenever they should discover an opportunity.

[25] ὁλκάδος δὲ βασιλικῆς ἰστίῳ παραπλευούσης, Ῥοδία δίκροτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνήχθη· καὶ ταῖσδε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἑκατέρων ἐπιβοηθούντων ναυμαχία γίγνεται καρτερὰ, Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἐπιβαρύνοντος ὀργῇ καὶ πλήθεσι νεῶν, Ῥοδίων δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ σκάφη σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ περιπλεόντων τε καὶ ἀνατιπρόντων, ὥστε καὶ τριήρη αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναδησάμενοι καὶ ἄκροστόλια πολλὰ καὶ σκῦλα ἐς τὸν λιμένα φέροντες ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντήρους δὲ σφῶν εἰλημμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἐξ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναντούσαις ἀνέπλεον, καὶ Δαμαγόρας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπέπλει. πέντε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπιπέμπσαντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, μέχρι μὲν ἐς δύοσιν ὁ Δαμαγόρας ὑπεχώρει, συσκοτάζοντος δ' ἤδη ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐς ἀπόπλουν ἐπιστρεφομέναις ἐμβαλὼν δύο κατεπόντωσε, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἐς Λυκίαν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πελαγίσας ἐπανῆλθεν. τοῦτο Ῥοδίοις καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τέλος ἦν τῆς ναυμαχίας, παρὰ δόξαν Ῥοδίοις τε διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος γεγόμενον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ περιπλέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπισπέρχοντι, Χία συμμαχὶς ἐμβαλοῦσα ἐκ θορύβου κατέσεισε· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐδὲν τότε φροντίζειν ὑποκρινάμενος, τὸν κυβερνήτην ὕστερον ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸν πρῶρέα, καὶ Χίους ἐμήνισε πᾶσιν.

[25] As one of the king's merchantmen was moving near them under sail a Rhodian two-bank ship advanced against it. Many on both sides hastened to the rescue and a severe naval engagement took place. Mithridates outweighed his antagonists both in fury and in the multitude of his fleet, but the Rhodians circled around and rammed his ships with such skill that they took one of his triremes in tow with its crew and tackle and much spoil, and brought it into the harbor. Another time, when one of their quinqueremes had been taken by the enemy, the Rhodians, not knowing this fact, sent out six of their swiftest ships to look for it, under command of their admiral, Demagoras. Mithridates despatched twenty-five of his against them. Demagoras retired before them until sunset. When it began to grow dark and the king's ships turned around to sail back, Demagoras fell upon them, sunk two, drove two others into Lycia, and returned home on the open sea by night. This was the result of the naval engagement, as unexpected to the Rhodians on account of the smallness of their force as to Mithridates on account of the largeness of his. In this engagement while the king was sailing about in his ship and urging on his

men, an allied ship from Chios ran against his in the confusion with a severe shock. The king pretended not to mind it at the time, but later he punished the pilot and the lookout man, and conceived a hatred for all Chians.

[26] τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραπλέοντος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων καὶ τριήρων, πνεῦμα Καυνικὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐς Ῥόδον παρήνεγκε: καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τάχιστα ἐπαναθέντες, ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἔτι καὶ διεσπαρμέναις ἐμβαλόντες, ἀνεδήσαντό τινας καὶ διέτρησαν ἑτέρας καὶ ἐνέπρησαν ἄλλας, καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους εἶλον ἐς τετρακοσίους. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς ἑτέραν ναυμαχίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμάζετο, σαμβύκην δέ τινα, μηχανήμα μέγιστον, ἐπὶ δύο νεῶν φερόμενον ἐποίει. αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῷ λόφον ὑποδείξαντων ἐπιβατόν, ἧ Ἀταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀναδοὺς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου, καὶ τότε ἄθρῳς, μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μάλιστα μεγάλης, τοὺς μὲν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐμπίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τεῖχη βιάζεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθείας προσεπέλαζον, Ῥοδίῳ δ' οἱ προφύλακες αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπύρσευσαν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, νομίσασα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου πυρσόν, ἐκ βαθείας σιωπῆς ἡλάλαξαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, οἱ τε κλιμακοφόροι καὶ ὁ στόλος ὁ νηίτης. Ῥοδίῳ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκαταπλήκτως ἀντανακραγόντων, καὶ ἄθρῳς ἀναδραμόντων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη, οἱ βασιλικοὶ νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν, ἡμέρας δ' ἀπεκρούσθησαν.

[26] About the same time the land forces of Mithridates set sail in merchant vessels and triremes, and a storm, blowing from Caunus, drove them toward Rhodes. The Rhodians promptly sailed out to meet them, fell upon them while they were still scattered and suffering from the effects of the tempest, captured some, rammed others, and burned others, and took about 400 prisoners. Thereupon Mithridates prepared for another naval engagement and siege at the same time. He built a sambuca, an immense machine for scaling walls, and mounted it on two ships. Some deserters showed him a hill that was easy to climb, where the temple of Zeus Atabyrius was situated, surrounded by a low wall. He placed a part of his army in ships by night, distributed scaling ladders to others, and commanded both parties to move silently until they should see a fire signal given from Mount Atabyrius; and then to make the greatest possible uproar, and some to attack the harbor and others the wall. Accordingly they approached in profound silence. The Rhodian sentries knew what was going on and lighted a fire. The army of Mithridates, thinking that this was the fire signal from Atabyrius, broke the silence with a loud shout, the scaling party and the naval contingent shouting all together. The Rhodians, not at all dismayed, answered the shout and rushed to the walls in crowds. The king's forces accomplished nothing that night, and the next day they were beaten off.

[27] ἡ σαμβύκη δ' ἐπαχθεῖσα τοῦ τείχους ἢ τὸ τῆς Ἰσίδος ἱερὸν ἐστίν, ἐφάβει

μάλιστα, βέλη τε πολλά ὁμοῦ καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιεῖσα. στρατιῶταί τε σκάφουσι πολλοῖς αὐτῇ μετὰ κλιμάκων παρέθεον ὡς ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ τάδε εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενον, ἕως τό τε μηχανημα ὑπὸ βάρους ἐνεδίδου, καὶ φάσμα τῆς Ἰσιδος ἔδοξε πῦρ ἀφιέναι πολὺ κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου, Πατάρους δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας ἔκοπτε Λητοῦς ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἐς μηχανάς, μέχρι φοβήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐνυπνίου τῆς τε ὕλης ἐφείσατο, καὶ Πελοπίδαν Λυκίοις πολεμεῖν ἐπιστήσας, Ἀρχέλαον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, προσεταιριούμενον ἢ βιασόμενον αὐτῆς ὅσα δύναται. αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ πολλὰ μεθεῖς ἐστρατολόγει καὶ ὥπλοποιεῖ, καὶ τῇ Στρατονικίδι γυναικὶ διετέρπετο, καὶ δίκας ἐδίκαζε τοῖς ἐπιβουλευεῖν ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἢ νεωτερίζουσιν ἢ ὅλως ρωμαΐζουσιν.

[27] The Rhodians were most dismayed by the sambuca, which was moved against the wall where the temple of Isis stands. It was operating with weapons of various kinds, both rams and projectiles. Soldiers in numerous small boats circled around it with ladders, ready to mount the wall by means of it. Nevertheless the Rhodians awaited its attack with firmness. Finally the sambuca collapsed of its own weight, and an apparition of Isis was seen hurling a great mass of fire down upon it. Mithridates despaired of his undertaking and retired from Rhodes. He then laid siege to Patara and began to cut down a grove dedicated to Latona, to get material for his machines, until he was warned in a dream to spare the sacred trees. Leaving Pelopidas to continue the war against the Lycians he sent 88 Archelaus to Greece to gain allies by persuasion or force according as he could. After this Mithridates committed most of his tasks to his generals, and applied himself to raising troops, making arms, and enjoying himself with his Stratonicean wife. He also held court to try those who were accused of conspiring against him, or of inciting revolution, or of favoring the Romans in any way.

CHAPTER V

*Athens sides with Mithridates — Other Greek States follow her Example —
Cornelius Sulla marches against Mithridates — Besieges the Piræus —
Archelaus makes a Sally — Sulla sends Lucullus to procure Ships — Hard
Fighting on the Walls — Famine in Athens — Battles Underground — Sulla
repulsed from Piræus*

(Y.R. 667)

[28] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ σίτῳ καὶ στόλῳ πολλῷ, Δηλὸν τε ἀφισταμένην ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐχειρώσατο βία καὶ κράτει. κτείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς δισμυρίους ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ πλέονες ἦσαν Ἰταλοί, τὰ χωρία προσεποιεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῦς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κομπάζων περὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἐς μέγα ἐπαίρων, ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο: τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Δήλου δι' Ἀριστίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, συμπέμψας φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἷς ὁ Ἀριστίων συγχρώμενος ἐτυράννησε τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν ὡς ῥωμαΐζοντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνέπεμπεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σοφίαν τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἡσκηκῶς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅδε μόνος Ἀθήνησιν, οὐδὲ Κριτίας ἔτι πρὸ τούτου, καὶ ὅσοι τῷ Κριτίᾳ συμφιλοσοφοῦντες ἐτυράννησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν πυθαγορισάντων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων ὅσοι πραγμάτων ἐλάβοντο, ἐδυνάστευσάν τε καὶ ἐτυράννησαν ὡμότερον τῶν ιδιωτικῶν τυράννων, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἄπορον ποιῆσαι καὶ ὑποπτον, εἴτε δι' ἀρετὴν, εἴτε πενίας καὶ ἀπραξίας τὴν σοφίαν ἔθεντο παραμύθιον, ὧν γε καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ιδιωτεύοντες καὶ πενόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τῶνδε σοφίαν περικεῖμενοι, τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν ἢ ἄρχουσι λαιδοροῦνται πικρῶς, οὐχ ὑπεροψίας πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς δόξαν σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ ζηλοτυπίας ἐς αὐτὰ προφέροντες. ὑπερορῶσι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πολὺ σοφώτερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡγήσαιο ἂν τις ἐς Ἀριστίωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰρημένα, αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῷ λόγῳ γενόμενον:

[28] While Mithridates was thus occupied the following events took place in Greece: Archelaus, sailing thither with abundant supplies and a large fleet, possessed himself by force and violence of Delos and other strongholds which had revolted from the Athenians. He slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom were Italians, and turned the strongholds over to the Athenians. In this way, and by boasting about Mithridates and extravagantly praising him, he brought the Athenians into alliance with him. Archelaus sent them the sacred treasure of Delos by the hands of Aristion, an Athenian citizen, attended by 2000 soldiers to guard the money. These soldiers Aristion made use of to make himself master of the country, putting to death immediately some of those who favored the Romans and sending others to Mithridates. And these

things he did although he professed to be a philosopher of the school of Epicurus. Nor was it only in Athens that men played the part of tyrants as did he and before him Critias and his fellow-philosophers. But in Italy, too, some of the Pythagoreans and those known as the Seven Wise Men in other parts of the Grecian world, who undertook to manage public affairs, governed more cruelly, and made themselves greater tyrants than ordinary despots; whence arose doubt and suspicion concerning other philosophers, whether their discourses about wisdom proceeded from a love of virtue or as (B.C. 87) a comfort in their poverty and idleness. We see many of these now, obscure and poverty-stricken, wearing the garb of philosophy as a matter of necessity, and railing bitterly at the rich and powerful, not because they have any real contempt for riches and power, but from envy of the possessors of the same. Those whom they speak ill of have much better reason for despising them. These things the reader should consider as spoken against the philosopher Aristion, who is the cause of this digression.

[29] Ἀρχελάῳ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσετίθεντο, καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρὶς γε Θεσπιέων, οὓς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μητροφάνης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Δημητριάδα καὶ Μαγνησίαν, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένας τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ἐληλάτει. καὶ Βρύττιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ διεναυμάχησέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ καταποντώσας τι πλοῖον καὶ ἡμιολίαν ἔκτεινε πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐφορῶντος τοῦ Μητροφάνους. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἔφευγεν. καὶ αὐτὸν αἰσίῳ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενον ὁ Βρέττιος οὐ καταλαβὼν Σκίαθον ἐξεῖλεν, ἥ τῆς λείας τοῖς βαρβάροις ταμιεῖον ἦν, καὶ δούλους τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀπέτεμε τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπὶ τε Βοιωτίαν τραπεῖς, ἐτέρων οἱ χιλίων ἱπέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθόντων, ἀμφὶ Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίῳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεπλέκετο, ἴσου καὶ ἀγχωμάλου παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ ἔργου γιγνομένου. Λακόνων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίῳ προσιόντων, ὁ Βρύττιος ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ γενομένοις οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ἔσεσθαι ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας κατέσχευεν.

[29] Archelaus brought over to the side of Mithridates the Achæans, the Lacedæmonians, and all of Bæotia except Thespiæ, to which he laid close siege. At the same time Metrophanes, who had been sent by Mithridates with another army, ravaged Etubcca and the territory of Demetrias and Magnesia, which states refused to espouse his cause. Bruttius advanced against him with a small force from Macedonia, had a naval fight with him, sunk one large ship and one hemiolia, and killed all who were in them while Metrophanes was looking on. The latter fled in terror and, as he had a favorable wind, Bruttius could not overtake him, but stormed Sciathos, which was a storehouse of plunder for barbarians, and crucified some of them who were slaves and cut off the hands of the freemen. Then he turned against Bæotia, having received reënforcements of 1000 horse and foot from Macedonia. Near Chæronea he

was engaged in a fight of three days' duration with Archelaus and Aristion, which had an indecisive result. When the Lacedæmonians and Achæans came to the aid of Archelaus and Aristion, Bruttius thought that he was not a match for all of them together and withdrew to the Piræus until Archelaus came up with his fleet and seized that place also.

[30] Σύλλας δ' ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεθεὶς εἶναι, τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας σὺν τέλεσι πέντε καὶ σπείραις τισὶ καὶ ἴλαις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιωθεὶς χρήματα μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας συνέλεγεν, ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν ἐδόκει, διέβαιναν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον. παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτία τε ἀθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἄστρῳ αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφόνως ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ὀξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐχώρει, καὶ μέρος τι στρατοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστρῳ περιπέμψας Ἀριστίωνα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς, ἔνθαπερ ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατήλθε, κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ' ἦν τὰ τεῖχη πῆχων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἵργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου, Περίκλειον ἔργον, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τιθέμενος, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκρατύνατο. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὔσι τοῖς τείχεσιν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τὰς κλίμακας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρα πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχεν, ἰσχυρῶς τῶν Καππαδοκῶν αὐτὸν ἀμυνομένων, ἔστε κάμνων ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Μέγαρα ἀνεχώρει, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνεπήγγυτο, καὶ χῶμα αὐτῷ προσχοῦν ἐπενόει. τέχνη μὲν δὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ καταπέλται, καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτοτροπον ἄλλο, ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐκομίζετο, ὕλην δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἔκοπτε, καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας. τὰ τε μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρει, λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ γῆν ἐς τὸ χῶμα μεταβάλλων.

[30] Sulla, who had been appointed general of the Mithridatic war by the Romans, now for the first time passed over to Greece with five legions and a few cohorts and troops of horse and straightway called for money, reënforcements and provisions from Ætolia and Thessaly. As soon as he considered himself strong enough he crossed over to In the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome. Considered by B Attica to attack Archelaus. As he was passing through the probable but not certain likeness country all Bæotia joined him except a few, and among L. CORNELIUS SULIA In the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome, Considered by Bernoulli a probable but not certain likeness others the great city of Thebes which had rather lightly taken sides with the Mithridateans against the Romans, but now even more nimbly changed from Archelaus to Sulla before coming to a trial of strength. When Sulla reached Attica he detached part of his army to lay siege to Aristion in Athens, and himself went down to attack the Piræus, where Archelaus had taken shelter behind the wall with his forces. The height of the wall was about forty cubits and it was built of large square stones. It was the work of Pericles in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he rested his hope of victory on

the Piræus he made it as strong as possible. Notwithstanding the height of the walls Sulla planted his ladders against them at once. After inflicting and receiving much damage (for the Cappadocians bravely repelled his attack), he retired exhausted to Eleusis and Megara, where he built engines for a new attack upon the Piræus and formed a plan for besieging it with mounds. Artifices and apparatus of all kinds, iron, catapults, and everything of that sort were supplied by Thebes. Sulla chopped down the grove of the Academy and constructed his largest engines there. He demolished the Long Walls, and used the stones, timber, and earth for building mounds.

[31] δύο δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Ἀττικοὶ θεράποντες, αἰρούμενοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἣ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καταφυγὴν, εἴ τι γίνοιτο, προορώμενοι, πεσσοῖς ἐκ μολύβδου πεποιημένοις ἐγγράφοντες ἀεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης. καὶ τοῦδε γιγνομένου τε συνεχῶς καὶ ἐς γνῶσιν ἐλθόντος, Σύλλας τοῖς ἐσφενδονημένοις προσέχων ἡῦρε γεγραμμένον ὅτι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐκ μετώπου πεζοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐκδραμοῦνται καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσιν. κρύψας οὖν τινὰ στρατιὰν ἀποχρῶσαν, ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν πολεμίων ἢ ἐκδρομή, δόξασα δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνιδίος εἶναι, ὁ δὲ αἰφνιδιώτερον αὐτοῖς τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐπαφείς ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐτέρους περιέωσεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πείρας ἐκείνης τέλος ἦν: αἰρομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἄνω τοῖς χώμασι πύργους ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄργανα ἐτίθει, τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐκ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας καθώπλιζεν, ὡς ὄντος οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ἐγίγνετο μὲν δὴ πλείων οὐσα τῆς Σύλλα στρατιᾶς ἢ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πολὺ πλείων, νυκτὸς δὲ μέσης ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκθορῶν μετὰ λαμπτήρων ἐνέπρησε τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν χελωνῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανήματα, ἡμέραις δὲ δέκα μάλιστα ἄλλα ὁ Σύλλας ἐργασάμενος ἐπέστησεν αὐθις ἔνθα καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν. καὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀρχέλαος πύργον ἀνθίστη κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος.

[31] Two Athenian slaves in the Piræus — either because they favored the Romans or were looking out for their own safety in an emergency — wrote down everything that took place there, enclosed their writing in leaden balls, and threw them over to the Romans with slings. As this was done continually it came to the knowledge of Sulla, who gave his attention to the missives and found one which said, “To-morrow the infantry will make a sally in front upon your workers, and the cavalry will attack the Roman army on both flanks.” Sulla placed an adequate force in ambush and when the enemy dashed out with the thought that their movement would completely surprise him he gave them a greater surprise with his concealed force, killing many and driving the rest into the sea. This was the end of that enterprise. When the mounds began to rise Archelaus erected opposing towers and placed the greatest quantity of missiles on them. He sent for reënforcements from Chalcis and the other islands and armed his oarsmen, for he considered himself in extreme danger. As his army (Y.R. 87) was superior in number to

that of Sulla before, it now became much more so by these reënforcements. He then darted out in the middle of the night with torches and burned one of the tortoises and the machines alongside of it; but Sulla made new ones in ten days' time and put them in the places of the former ones. Against these Arclielaus established a tower on that part of the wall.

[32] Καταπλευσάσης δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου στρατιᾶς ἑτέρας, ἣς ἡγεῖτο Δρομικαίτης, ἐξῆγεν ἅπαντας ἐς μάχην. ἀναμίξας δ' αὐτοῖς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτὸ παρέταττεν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ τειχοφύλακες ἐφικνοῖντο τῶν πολεμίων: ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῷ πυρφόροι καιρὸν ἐκδρομῆς ἐπετήρουν. ἀγχωμάλου δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ἐνέκλινον ἕκατεροι παρὰ μέρος, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι, μέχρι Ἀρχέλαος αὐτοὺς ἐπισχῶν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐς τὴν μάχην. ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα καταπλαγέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον, ἔστε καὶ τούσδε Μουρήνας ὑπαντήσας ἐπέστρεφεν. ἄλλο δ' ἀπὸ ξυλείας τέλος ἐπανίον, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄτιμοι, σπουδῇ τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐρόντες ἐπέπιπτον τοῖς Μιθριδατείοις πάνυ καρτερῶς, μέχρι κτεῖναι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς δισχιλίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ τεῖχη συνελάσαι. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέφων αὔθις, καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐς πολὺ παραμένων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθεὶς ἀνιμήθη διὰ καλωδίων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν ἀτίμους περιφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἐξέλυσε τῆς ἀτιμίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς.

[32] Having received from Mithridates by sea a new army under command of Dromichætes, Archelaus led all his troops out to battle. He distributed archers and slingers among them and ranged them close under the walls so that the guards above could reach the enemy with their missiles. Others were stationed around the gates with torches to watch their opportunity to make a sally. The battle remained doubtful a long time; each side yielding by turns. First the barbarians gave way until Archelaus rallied them and led them back. The Romans were so dismayed by this that they were put to flight next, until Murena ran up and rallied them. Just then another legion, which had returned from gathering wood, together with some soldiers who had been disgraced, finding a hot fight in progress, made a powerful charge on the Mithridateans killed about 2000 of them and drove the rest inside the walls. Archelaus tried to rally them again and stood his ground so long that he was shut out and had to be pulled up by ropes. In consideration of their splendid behavior Sulla removed the stigma from those who had been disgraced and gave large rewards to the others.

[33] καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος ἤδη στρατόπεδον ἐν Ἐλευσίνι θέμενος, τάφρον ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔτεμνε βαθεῖαν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱππέας εὐμαρῶς ἐπιτρέχειν οἱ. καὶ τότε αὐτῷ πονομένῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐγίγνοντό τινες ἀγῶνες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐπεξιόντων θαμινὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λίθοις καὶ βέλεσι καὶ μολυβδαίναις χρωμένων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας νεῶν δεόμενος μετεπέμψατο μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου. καὶ Ῥοδίων οὐ δυνηθέντων

διαπλεῦσαι θαλασσοκρατοῦντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Αεῦκολλον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον περιφανῇ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Σύλλα γενόμενον, ἐκέλευεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν λαθόντα διαπλεῦσαι, παρὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων, ὅσαι ναυτικά, στόλον τινὰ ἀγείραντα τὸ Ῥοδίον ναυτικὸν παραπέμψαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πολεμίας οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας, ἐς κελήτιον ἐνέβη, καὶ ναῦν ἐκ νεώς, ἵνα λάθοι, διαμείβων ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐφέρετο:

[33] Now winter came on and Sulla established his camp at Eleusis and protected it by a deep ditch, extending from the high ground to the sea so that the enemy's horse could not readily reach him. While he was prosecuting this work fighting took place daily, now at the ditch, now at the walls of the enemy, who frequently came out and assailed the Romans with stones, javelins, and leaden balls. Sulla, being in need of ships, sent to Rhodes to obtain them, but the Rhodians were not able to send them because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus, a distinguished Roman who later succeeded Sulla as commander in this war, to proceed secretly to Alexandria and (Y.R. 667) Syria, and procure a fleet from those kings and cities that were skilled in nautical affairs, and to bring with it the Rhodian naval contingent also. Lucullus had no fear of the hostile fleet. He embarked in a fast sailing vessel and, by changing from one ship to another in order to conceal his movements, arrived at Alexandria. (Y.R. 668)

[34] οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, πεσσοῖς πάλιν ἐγγράψαντες ὅτι πέμψοι τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς Ἀρχελάος ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄστρῳ λιμῷ πιεζόμενον πυροὺς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν φερομένους, ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐνεδρεύσας ἐκράτησε τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν φερόντων. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ καὶ Μουνάτιος περὶ Χαλκίδα Νεοπτόλεμον ἕτερον στρατηγὸν κατατρώσας, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἔλαβε δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔτι πλείονας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Πειραιεῖ νυκτός, ἔτι κοιμωμένων τῶν φυλάκων, Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς μηχανῶν κλίμακας ἐπενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέβησαν, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεπῆδων ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ τεῖχος καταλιπόντες ὡς εἰλημμένον ἅπαν, οἱ δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἔκτεινάν τε τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐπιβάντων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔξω κατεκρήμνισαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκδραμόντες ὀλίγου τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πύργων ἐνέπρησαν, εἰ μὴ Σύλλας ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, νυκτός τε ὅλης καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ἐπιπόνως ἀγωνισάμενος, περιέσωσεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ δ' Ἀρχελάου πύργον ἕτερον μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄντικρυς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ πύργου στήσαντος ἐπυργομάχουν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐκατέρωθεν πυκνὰ καὶ θαμινὰ πάντα ἀφιέντες, ἕως ὃ Σύλλας ἐκ καταπελτῶν, ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν ὁμοῦ μολυβδαίνας βαρυτάτας ἀφιέντων, ἔκτεινέ τε πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸν πύργον Ἀρχελάου κατέσεισε καὶ δυσάρμοστον ἐποίησεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου διὰ δέος ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ὑπαχθῆναι.

[34] Meanwhile the traitors in the Piræus threw another (B.C. 86) message over the walls, saying that Archelaus would on that very night send a convoy of soldiers with provisions to the city of Athens, which was suffering from hunger. Sulla laid a trap for them and captured both the provisions and the soldiers. On the same day, near Chalcis, Minutius wounded Neoptolemus, Mithridates' other general, killed 1500 of his men, and took a still larger number prisoners. Not long after, by night, while the guards on the walls of the Piræus were asleep, the Romans took some ladders from the engines near by, mounted the walls, and killed the guards at that place. Thereupon some of the barbarians abandoned their posts and fled to the harbor, thinking that all the walls had been captured. Others, recovering their courage, slew the leader of the assailing party and hurled the remainder over the wall. Still others darted out through the gates and almost burned one of the two Roman towers, and would have burned it had not Sulla ridden up from the camp and saved it by a hard fight lasting all that night and the next day. Then the barbarians retired. Archelaus planted another great tower on the wall opposite the Roman tower and these two assailed each other, discharging all kinds of missiles constantly until Sulla, by means of his catapults, each of which discharged twenty of the heaviest leaden balls at one volley, had killed a large number of the enemy, and had so shaken the tower of Archelaus that it was rendered untenable, and the latter was compelled, by fear of its destruction, to draw it back with all speed.

[35] πιεζομένων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τῶν ἐν ἅστει, πεσσοὶ πάλιν ἐμήνουν ὅτι πέμψοι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἅστυ τροφάς. καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὑπονοῶν τι περὶ τὸν σῆτον γίνεσθαι μήνυμα καὶ προδοσίαν, ἅμα τὸν σῆτον ἔπεμπε, καὶ τινὰς ἐρίστη ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ πυρὸς ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκδραμουμένους, εἰ Σύλλας γίνοιτο περὶ τὸν σῆτον. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἄμφω, Σύλλα μὲν ἐλεῖν τοὺς σιταγωγοῦντας, Ἀρχελάῳ δ' ἐμπρῆσαί τινα τῶν μηχανημάτων. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός, μεθ' ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλὼν, οὐ δυσχερῶς ὀλίγων ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτησε, καὶ Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐχώρει, μέχρι νοσήσας περὶ τὸ Τίσιαιον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῷ μὲν ἅστει πονομένῳ σφόδρα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πολλὰ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπετείχιζε φρούρια, τοῦ μὴ διαδιδράσκειν ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι:

[35] Meanwhile famine pressed more and more on the city of Athens, and the ball throwers in the Piræus gave information that provisions would be sent thither by night. Archelaus suspected that some traitor was giving information to the enemy about his convoys. Accordingly, at the same time that he sent it, he stationed a force at the gates with torches to make an assault on the Roman works if Sulla should attack the provision train. So it turned out that Sulla captured the train and Archelaus burned some of the Roman works. At the same time Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, with another army invaded

Macedonia and without difficulty overcame the small Roman force there, subjugated the whole country, appointed satraps to govern it, and advanced against Sulla, but was taken sick and died near Tisæus. In the meantime the famine in Athens became very severe. Sulla built stockades around it to prevent anybody from going out so that, by reason of their numbers, the hunger should be more severe upon those who were shut in.

[36] τῷ δὲ Πειραιεῖ, τὸ χῶμα ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρας, τὰ μηχανήματα ἐπῆγεν. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ χῶμα ὑπορύττοντος καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφέροντός τε καὶ ἐς πολὺ διαλανθάνοντος, τὸ χῶμα ὑφίζανεν ἄφνω· καὶ ταχείας αἰσθήσεως γενομένης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μηχανήματα ὑφείλκον καὶ τὸ χῶμα ἀνεπλήρουν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τεκμαιρόμενοι διώρυττον· ἀλλήλοις τε συμπίπτοντες κάτω ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασιν ἐκ χειρός, ὥς δυνατόν ἦν ἐν σκότῳ, διεμάχοντο. ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων μηχανήμασι πολλοῖς τὸ τεῖχος ἐκριοκόπει, μέχρι μέρος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν, καὶ τὸν πλησιάζοντα πύργον ἐπειγόμενος ἐμπρῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν ἡφίει πυρφόρα τοξεύματα ἐς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ εὐτολμοτάτους ἀνέπεμπεν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων. σπουδῆς δὲ πολλῆς γιγνομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ὃ τε πύργος ἐνεπίμπρατο, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τεύχους ὀλίγον ὁ Σύλλας καταβαλὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέστησε φυλακεῖον· τὰ τε ὑπορωρυγμένα τοῦ τεύχους θεμέλια, ξύλοις ἀνηρητημένα καὶ θείου καὶ στυπίου καὶ πίσης γέμοντα, αὐτίκα πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη. τῶν δ' ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλο κατεπιπτε καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστώτας αὐτοῖς συγκατέφερεν. ὃ τε θόρυβος οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος καὶ πολὺς ὢν πάντῃ τοὺς τειχοφύλακας ἐτάραττεν, ὥς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σφίσιν αὐτίκα πεσοῦμενον· ὅθεν ἐς πάντα συνεχῶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τὴν τε γνώμην ὑποπτον εἶχον ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ ἀσθενῶς τοὺς πολέμιους ἀπεμάχοντο.

[36] When Sulla had raised his mound to the proper height at the Piræus he planted his engines on it. But Archelaus undermined the mound and carried away the earth, the Romans for a long time suspecting nothing. Suddenly the mound sank down. Quickly understanding the state of things, the Romans withdrew their engines and filled up the mound, and, following the enemy's example, began in like manner to undermine the walls. The diggers met each other underground, and fought there with swords and spears as well as they could in the darkness. While this was going on, Sulla pounded the wall with rams erected on the tops of mounds until part of it fell down. Then he hastened to burn the neighboring tower, and discharged a large number of fire-bearing missiles against it, and ordered his bravest soldiers to mount the ladders. Both sides fought bravely, but the tower was burned. Another small part of the wall was thrown down also, over against which Sulla at once stationed a guard. Having now undermined a section of the wall, so that it was only sustained by wooden beams, he placed a great quantity of sulphur, hemp, and pitch under it, and set fire to the whole at once. The walls fell — now here, now there — carrying the defenders down with them. This great and unexpected crash demoralized the forces guarding the walls everywhere, as

each one expected that the ground would sink under him next. Fear and loss of confidence kept them turning this way and that way, so that they offered only a feeble resistance to the enemy.

[37] καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσιν ἐπικείμενος ἀπαύστως, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τὸ αἰὶ πονοῦν ἐναλλάσσων, ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἀκμῆτας ἐπῆγε σὺν κλίμαξι καὶ βοῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει, προτρέπων ἅμα καὶ ἀπειλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ὥς ἐν τῷδε τῷ βραχεῖ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῖς κριθησομένου. ἀντεπῆγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέρους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθορυβημένων, ἀνακαινίζων καὶ ὧδε τὸ ἔργον αἰεί, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἅμα καὶ ἐποτρύνων ἅπαντας ὥς ἐν ὀλίγῳ σφίσιν ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης. πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐθις ἅπασιν ἐγγενομένης φερεπονάτατος ἦν: καὶ ὁ φόνος ἴσος καὶ ὁμοῖος ἐξ ἐκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἔξωθεν ἐπιών, καὶ μᾶλλον τι κάμνων, ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ θαυμάσας πολλοὺς ἀπῆγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος αὐτίκα νυκτὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους ὠκοδόμει, μηνοειδῇ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περιθεις ἔνδοθεν. οἷς ἔτι νεοδημίτοις ὁ Σύλλας αὐθις ἐπεχείρει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νομίσας ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὑγρὰ ἔτι ὄντα ῥαδίως κατερεΐνειν. κάμνων δὲ ὥς ἐν στενῷ, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἄνωθεν ἔκ τε μετώπου καὶ τῶν κεραιῶν ὥς ἐν μηνοειδέσι χωρίοις, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀμπαν ἀπεῖχε τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν, ὥς λιμῷ παραστησόμενος αὐτοῦς, καθίστατο:

[37] Against the forces thus demoralized Sulla kept up an unceasing fight, continually changing the active part of his own army, bringing up fresh soldiers with ladders, one division after another, with shout and cheer, urging them forward with threats and encouragement at the same time, and telling them that victory would shortly be theirs. Archelaus, on the other hand, brought up new forces in place of his discouraged ones. He, too, changed their labor continually, cheering and urging them on, and telling them that their salvation would soon be secured. A high degree of zeal and courage was excited in both armies again and the fight became very severe, the slaughter being substantially equal on both sides. Finally Sulla, being the attacking party and therefore soonest exhausted, sounded a retreat and led his forces back, praising many of his men for their bravery. Archelaus forthwith repaired the damage to his wall by night, protecting a large part of it with a lunette curving inward. Sulla attacked this newly built wall at once with his whole army, thinking that as it was still moist and weak he could easily demolish it, but as he had to work in a narrow space and was exposed to missiles from above, both in front and flank, as is usual with crescent-shaped fortifications, he was again worn out. Then he abandoned all idea of taking the Piræus by assault and established a siege around it in order to reduce it by famine.

CHAPTER VI

Athens taken — Slaughter of the Inhabitants — Sulla returns to the Piræus — Drives Archelaus out — Burns the Piræus — Follows Archelaus — Battle of Chaeronea — Archelaus routed — Great slaughter of the Barbarians

[38] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μᾶλλον τι πεπιεσμένους, καὶ κτήνη πάντα καταθύσαντας, δέρματά τε καὶ βύρσας ἔψοντας καὶ λιχωμένους τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπτομένους, ἐκέλευσε τῷ στρατῷ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεῦειν, ἵνα μηδὲ καθ' ἓνα τις ἐκφεύγοι λανθάνων. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ, κλίμακας ἐπῆγεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυττεν. τροπῆς δ' ὥς ἐν ἀσθενέσιν ἀνδράσιν αὐτίκα γενομένης, ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις σφαγὴ πολλὴ ἦν καὶ ἀνηλεής: οὔτε γὰρ ὑποφεύγειν ἐδύναντο δι' ἀτροφίαν, οὔτε παιδίων ἢ γυναικῶν ἔλεος ἦν, τοῦ Σύλλας τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεία δὴ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους ἀλόγῳ μεταβολῇ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκράτῳ φιλονεικίᾳ. ὅθεν οἱ πλέονες, αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ κηρύγματος, ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγων δ' ἦν ἀσθενῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος: καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφυγεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ ῥοδεῖον, ἵνα μὴ ἐτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐμπιπράναι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπειπε, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἔδωκε τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ ἔτοιμοι σάρκες ἀνθρώπων ἐς τροφήν ἐν πολλοῖς οἰκήμασιν ἠυρέθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ὁ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἀπέδοτο, τοῖς δ' ἔλευθέροις, ὅσοι νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀναιρεθῆναι, πάντα οὖσιν ὀλίγοις, τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἔφη διδόναι, ψῆφον δὲ καὶ χειροτονίαν τῶνδε μὲν ὡς οἱ πεπολεμηκότων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκγόνοις καὶ ταῦτα διδόναι.

[38] Knowing that the defenders of Athens were severely pressed by hunger, that they had devoured all their cattle, boiled the hides and skins, and licked what they could get therefrom, and that some had even partaken of human flesh, Sulla directed his soldiers to encircle the city with a ditch so that the inhabitants might not escape secretly, even one by one. This done, he brought up his ladders and at the same time began to break through the wall. The feeble defenders were soon put to flight, and the Romans rushed into the city. A great and pitiless slaughter ensued in Athens, the inhabitants, for want of nourishment, being too weak to fly. Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre, not sparing women or children. He was angry that they had so suddenly joined the barbarians without cause, and had displayed such violent animosity toward himself. Most of the Athenians when they heard the order given rushed upon the swords of the slayers voluntarily. A few had taken their feeble course to the Acropolis, among them Aristion, who had burned the Odeum, so that Sulla might not have the timber in it at hand for storming the Acropolis. Sulla forbade the burning of the city, but allowed the soldiers to plunder it. In many houses they found human flesh prepared for food. The

next day Sulla sold the slaves at auction. To the freemen who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, a very small number, he promised their liberty but took away their right as voters and electors because they had made war upon him. The same terms were extended to their offspring.

[39] ὧδε μὲν ἄθην εἶχον αἱ Ἀθῆναι κακῶν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῇ μὲν ἀκροπόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν, ἣ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότες λιμῶ καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας ἐξεῖλεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δορυφορήσαντας ἢ ἀρχὴν τινα ἄρξαντας, ἢ ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο πράξαντας παρ' ἃ πρότερον ἀλούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς διετέτακτο, ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνέγνω, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἅπασιν ἀγχοῦ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀρισθέντων. συνηνέχθη δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως χρυσίου μὲν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας μάλιστα, ἀργύρου δ' ἐς ἑξακοσίας. καὶ τὰδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐγένετο:

[39] In this way did Athens have her full of horrors. Sulla stationed a guard around the Acropolis, to whom Aristion and his company were soon compelled by hunger and thirst to surrender. Sulla inflicted the penalty of death on Aristion and his body-guard, and upon all who exercised any authority or who had done anything whatever contrary to the rules laid down for them after the first capture of Greece by the Romans. Sulla pardoned the rest and gave to all of them substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans. About forty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver was obtained from the Acropolis, — but these events at the Acropolis took place somewhat later.

[40] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτίκα τοῦ ἄστεος ληφθέντος, οὐ περιμένων ἔτι τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ πολιορκίας ἐξελεῖν, κριοὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἐπῆγεν, ἄνδρας τε πολλοὺς οἱ διώρυσσον ὑπὸ χελώναις τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ σπείρας αἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίζουσαι τε καὶ τοξεύουσαι θαμινὰ ἀνέκοπτον. καὶ κατήρειπέ τι τοῦ μηναιοῦς, ὑγροτέρου καὶ ἀσθενεστεροῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἅτε νεοδημίου. ὑπιδομένου δὲ τοῦτο ἔτι πρότερον Ἀρχελάου, καὶ προοικοδομήσαντος ἔνδοθεν ὅμοια πολλὰ, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ διηνεκὲς ἐμπίπτοντι ἐς ἕτερον ὅμοιον ἐξ ἑτέρου, ὁρμῇ δ' ἀπαύστῳ καὶ στρατοῦ μεταβολῇ πυκνῇ χρώμενος, καὶ περιθέων αὐτούς, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐν τῷδε ἔτι λοιπῷ τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος καὶ κέρδους τῶν προπεπονημένων ὄντος· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τέλος εἶναι πόνων, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρόν, τοιῶνδε τειχῶν κρατῆσαι, φιλοτιμούμενοι, προσέκειντο βιαίως, μέχρι καταπλαγεῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὡς μανιώδη καὶ ἄλογον ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τεῖχη, ἐς δέ τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσση περίκλυστον, ᾧ ναῦς οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο.

[40] As soon as Athens was taken Sulla, impatient at the long siege of the Piræus, brought up rams, and projectiles of all kinds, and a large force of men, who battered the walls under the shelter of tortoises, and numerous cohorts

who hurled javelins and shot arrows in vast numbers at the defenders on the walls in order to drive them back. He knocked down a part of the newly built lunette, which was still moist and weak. Archelaus had anticipated this from the first and had built several others like it inside, so that Sulla came upon one wall after another, and found his task endless. But he pushed on with tireless energy, he relieved his men often, he was ubiquitous among them, urging them on and showing them that their entire hope of reward for their labors depended on accomplishing this small remainder. The soldiers, too, believing that this would in fact be the end of their toils, and spurred to their work by the love of glory and the thought that it would be a splendid achievement to conquer such walls as these, pressed forward vigorously. Finally, Archelaus was dumbfounded by their senseless and mad persistence, and abandoned the walls to them and betook himself to that part of the Piræus which was most strongly fortified and enclosed on all sides by the sea. As Sulla had no ships he could not attack it.

[41] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀνεξεύγνυ, καὶ συνῆγεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ παντός, ὃν ἔχων ἦλθε, καὶ τοῦ σὺν Δρομιχαίτῃ παραγεγονότος. συνῆγε δὲ καὶ τὸ σὺν Ἀρκαθίᾳ τῷ παιδί τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλόν, ἀκραιφνέστατον δὴ καὶ πλήρες ὃν τόδε μάλιστα, καὶ οὓς αὐτίκα ἄλλους ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέστειλεν: οὐ γὰρ διέλιπεν ἐπιτέμπων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα σὺν ἐπέξει συνῆγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦ ἄστεος μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσαντά οἱ κατεπίμψη, φειδόμενος οὔτε τῆς ὀπλοθήκης οὔτε τῶν νεωσοίκων οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν αἰοιδίμων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἦει διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ ὁδε. ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν ἄρτι μετεχώρουν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα, Θρᾶκές τε ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Καππαδόκαι Βιθυνοὶ τε καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Φρύγες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ νεόκτητα γένοιτο, πάντες ἐς δώδεκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν: καὶ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστω, αὐτοκράτωρ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. Σύλλας δ' ἦγεν Ἰταλιώτας, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Μακεδόνων ὅσοι ἄρτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελαοῦ μετετίθεντο, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο περίοικον, οὐδ' ἐς τριτημόριον τὰ πάντα τῶν πολεμίων.

[41] Thence Archelaus withdrew to Thessaly by way of Bœotia and drew what was left of his entire forces together at Thermopyle, both his own and those brought by Dromichiætes. He also united with his command the army that had invaded Macedonia under Arcathias, the son of King Mithridates, which was fresh and at nearly its full strength, and had lately received recruits from Mithridates; for he never ceased sending forward reinforcements. While Archelaus was hastily gathering these forces Sulla burned the Piræus, which had given him more trouble than the city of Athens, not sparing the arsenal, or the navy yard, or any other of its famous belongings. Then he marched against Archelaus, proceeding also by way of Bœotia. As they neared each other the forces of Archelaus just from Thermopyle advanced into Phocis, consisting of Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and Phrygian

troops, and others from Mithridates' newly acquired territory, in all 120,000 men. Each nationality had its own general, but Archelaus had supreme command over all. Sulla's forces were Italians and some Greeks and Macedonians, who had lately deserted Archelaus and come over to him, and a few others from the surrounding country, but they were not one-third the number of the enemy.

[42] Ἀντικαταστάντες δ' ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχελαὸς ἐξέταπτεν ἐς μάχην ἀεὶ προκαλούμενος, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐβράδυνε, τὰ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν περισκοπούμενος. ἀναχωροῦντι δ' ἐς Χαλκίδα τῷ Αρχελάῳ παρακολουθῶν καιρὸν ἐπετήρει καὶ τόπον. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν εἶδε περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν ἀποκρημνοῖς στρατοπεδεύομενον, ἔνθα μὴ κρατοῦσιν ἀποχώρησις οὐδεμία ἦν, πεδίον αὐτὸς εὐρὸν πλησίον καταλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ὥς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην Ἀρχελάον· ἐν ᾧ σφίσι μὲν ὕπτιον καὶ εὐπετές ἐς δίωξιν καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἦν πεδίον, Αρχελάῳ δὲ κρημνοὶ περιέκειντο, οἱ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἶων ἐν οὐδενὶ κοινὸν ὅλου τοῦ στρατοῦ γενέσθαι, συστήναι διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος· τραπεῖσί τε αὐτοῖς ἄπορος διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐγίνετο ἢ φυγή. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦσδε λογισμοῖς τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ μάλιστα πιστεύων, ἐπῆει ὥς οὐδὲν ἐσομένου χρησίμου τοῦ πλήθους Αρχελάῳ· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐγνώκει μὲν αὐτῷ τότε συμπλέκεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀμελῶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐπιόντος δὲ ἤδη τῆς δυσχωρίας ὅψε καὶ μόγις ἡσθάνετο, καὶ προύπεμπέ τινας ἱππέας ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ. τραπέντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς καταρριφθέντων, ἐξήκοντα αὐθις ἔπεμψεν ἄρματα, εἰ δύναιτο μετὰ ῥύμης κόψαι καὶ διαρρηῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. διαστάντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἐς τοὺς ὀπίσω παρενεχθέντα τε καὶ δυσεπίστροφα ὄντα πρὸς τῶν ὑστάτων περιστάντων αὐτὰ καὶ ἐσακοντιζόντων διεφθείρετο:

[42] When they had taken position opposite each other Archelaus repeatedly led out his forces and offered battle. Sulla hesitated on account of the nature of the ground and the numbers of the enemy. When Archelaus moved toward Chalcis Sulla followed him closely, watching for a favorable time and place. When he saw the enemy encamped in a rocky region near Chæronea, where there was no chance of escape for the vanquished, he took possession of a broad plain near by and drew up his forces in such a way that he could compel Archelaus to fight whether he wanted to or not, and where the slope of the plain favored the Romans either in advancing or retreating. Archelaus was hedged in by rocks which, in a battle, would not allow his whole army to act in concert, as he could not bring them together by reason of the unevenness of the ground; and if they were routed their flight would be impeded by the rocks. Relying for these reasons on his advantage of position Sulla moved forward in such a way that the enemy's superiority of numbers should not be of any service to him. Archelaus did not dream of coming to an engagement at that time, for which reason he had been careless in choosing the place for his camp. Now that the Romans were advancing he perceived sorrowfully and too late the badness of his position, and he sent forward a detachment of horse to

prevent the movement. The detachment was put to flight and shattered among the rocks. He next charged with sixty chariots, hoping to sever and break in pieces the formation of the legions by the shock. The Romans opened their ranks and the chariots were carried through by their own momentum to the rear, and before they could turn back they were surrounded and destroyed by the javelins of the rear guard.

[43] ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εὐσταθῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, τάχα οἱ καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐς τοῦτο συλλαμβανόντων, ἐξῆγε σὺν ἐπειξεὶ καὶ διέτασσε μετὰ σπουδῆς τοσόνδε πλῆθος οὐ προεγνωκότων ἀνδρῶν, ἐν στενωτάτῳ μάλιστα γεγωνὸς διὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἤδη πλησιάζοντα. τοὺς δ' ἱππεᾶς πρώτους ἐπαγαγὼν μετὰ δρόμου πολλοῦ, διέτεμε τὴν φάλαγγα Ῥωμαίων ἐς δύο, καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἑκατέρους ἐκυκλοῦτο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα. οἱ δ' ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς πάντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐπόνουν οἱ περὶ Γάλβαν τε καὶ Ὀρτήσιον, καθ' οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέτακτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἐν ὄψει στρατηγοῦ σὺν προθυμίᾳ σφοδρᾷ ἐπικειμένων, μέχρι τοῦ Σύλλα μεταχωροῦντος ἐς αὐτοὺς σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων στρατηγικῶν ὄντων καὶ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ πλείονος αἰρομένου τεκμηράμενος εἶναι Σύλλαν τὸν ἐπιόντα, λύσας τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐς τάξιν ἀνεχώρει. ὁ δὲ τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸ ἄριστον ἄγων, καὶ δύο νεαλεῖς σπεύρας ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ προσλαβὼν, αἱ ἐτετάχατο ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐπω τὸν κύκλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξελίξασιν, οὐδ' ἐς μέτωπον εὐσταθῶς διαταταγμένοις, ἐνέβαλε, καὶ θορυβήσας ἔκοψέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκεν. ἄρξαμένης δ' ἐνταῦθα τῆς νίκης, οὐδὲ Μουρήνας ἠλύνειν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ τεταγμένους, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίσας τοῖς ἅμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ γενναίως ἐμπεσὼν ἐδίωκε κάκεῖνος.

[43] Although Archelaus might have fought safely from his fortified camp, where the crags would perhaps have defended him, he hastily led out his vast multitude of men who had not expected to fight here, and drew them up, in a place that had proved much too narrow, because Sulla was already approaching. He first made a powerful charge with his horse, cut the Roman formation in two, and, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, completely surrounded both parts. The Romans turned their faces to the enemy on all sides and fought bravely. The divisions of Galba and Hortensius suffered most since Archelaus led the battle against them in person, and the barbarians fighting under the eye of the commander were spurred by emulation to the highest pitch of valor. But Sulla moved to their aid with a large body of horse and Archelaus, feeling sure that it was Sulla who was approaching, for he saw the standards of the commander-in-chief, and a greater cloud of dust arising, released his grasp and began to resume his first position. Sulla, leading the best part of his horse and picking up two new cohorts that had been placed in reserve, struck the enemy before they had executed their manœuvre and formed a solid front. He threw them into confusion, put them to flight, and pursued them. While victory was dawning on that side, Murena, who commanded the left wing, was not idle. Chiding his

soldiers for their remissness he, too, dashed upon the enemy valiantly and put them to flight.

[44] τρεπομένων δ' ἤδη τῶν Ἀρχελάου κερῶν, οὐδ' οἱ μέσοι τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἄθροα πάντων ἐγίγνετο φυγή. ἔνθα δὴ πάντα ὅσα εἶκασεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πολεμίοις: οὐ γὰρ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲ πεδίον ἐς φυγὴν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐωθοῦντο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δ' εὐβουλότερον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφέροντο. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς προλαβὼν, ἀπειρότατα δὴ τότε μάλιστα συμφορῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀπέκλειε, καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεφον μὲν ἐκ προθυμίας, οὔτε δὲ στρατηγῶν ἢ ἐπιστατῶν ἐς διάταξιν ἔτι σφίσι παρόντων, οὔτε τὰ σημεῖα ἕκαστοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες ὥς ἐν ἀκόσμῳ τροπῇ διερριμμένοι, χωρίου τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀποροῦντες, στενωτάτου τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δίωξιν γενομένου, ἐκτείνοντο μετ' ἀργίας, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδὲν ἀντιδρᾶσαι φθάνοντες, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὥς ἐν πλῆθει καὶ στενοχωρίᾳ θορυβοῦμενοι. πάλιν τε κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, καὶ εἰλοῦντο περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμεμφόμενοι τοῖς ἀποκλείουσιν. θεοὺς τε πατρίους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκειότητα σὺν ὀνειδίᾳ προύφερον, ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε ὑπερορῶντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρούμενοι, ἔστε μόλις αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, ὁψὲ τῆς χρείας, ἀνεώγνυ τὰς πύλας καὶ ὑπεδέχετο μετ' ἀταξίας ἐστρέχοντας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτα συνιδόντες, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τότε μάλιστα ἀλλήλους, δρόμῳ τοῖς φεύγουσι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐς τέλος ἐξειργάσαντο.

[44] When Archelaus' two wings gave way the centre no longer held its ground, but took to promiscuous flight. Then everything that Sulla had foreseen befell the enemy. Not having room to turn around, or an open country for flight, they were driven by their pursuers among the rocks. Some of them rushed into the hands of the Romans. Others with more wisdom fled toward their own camp. Archelaus placed himself in front of them and barred the entrance, and ordered them to turn and face the enemy, thus betraying the greatest inexperience of the exigencies of war. They obeyed him with alacrity, but as they no longer had either generals to lead, or officers to align them, or standards to show where they belonged, but were scattered in disorderly rout, and had no room either to fly or to fight, the pursuit having brought them into their very narrowest place, they were killed without resistance, some by the enemy, upon whom they could not retaliate, and others by their own friends in the jam and confusion. Again they fled toward the gates of the camp, around which they became congested. They up braided the gate-keepers. They appealed to them in the name of their country's gods and their common relationship, and reproached them that they were slaughtered not so much by the swords of the enemy as by the indifference of their friends. Finally Archelaus, after more delay than was necessary, opened the gates and received the disorganized runaways. When the Romans observed this they gave a great

cheer, burst into the camp with the fugitives, and made their victory complete.

[45] Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ μέρος ἐξέφυγον, ἐς Χαλκίδα συνελέγοντο, οὐ πολὺ πλείους μυρίων ἐκ δώδεκα μυριάδων γενόμενοι. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔδοξαν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρες, δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐπανῆλθον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Σύλλα καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῷ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχης τέλος ἦν, δι' εὐβουλίαν δὴ μάλιστα Σύλλα καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην Ἀρχελάου τοιόνδε ἐκατέρῳ γενόμενον. Σύλλας δὲ πολλῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ λείας κρατῶν, τὰ μὲν ἀχρεῖα σωρευθέντα, διαζωσάμενος ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις, αὐτὸς ἐνέπρησε τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις θεοῖς, ἀναπαύσας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον σὺν εὐζώνοις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἠπείγετο. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ναῦς οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀδεῶς τὰς νήσους περιέπλει τὰ παράλια πορθῶν. Ζακύνθῳ δ' ἐκβὰς παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἳ ἐπεδήμουν, νυκτὸς ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ, κατὰ τάχος ἐσβὰς αὐθις ἀνῆγετο ἐς Χαλκίδα, ληστεύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμοῦντι ἐοικώς.

[45] Archelaus and the rest, who made their escape singly, came together at Chalcis. Not more than 10,000 of the 120,000 remained. The Roman loss was only fifteen, and two of these turned up afterward. Such was the result of the battle of Chæronea between Sulla and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, to which the sagacity of Sulla and the blundering of Archelaus contributed in equal measure. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners and a great quantity of arms and spoils, the useless part of which he put in a heap. Then he girded himself according to the Roman custom and burned it as a sacrifice to the gods of war. After giving his army a short rest he hastened with his best troops after Archelaus, but as the Romans had no ships the latter sailed securely among the islands and ravaged the coasts. He landed at Zacynthus and laid siege to it, but being attacked in the night by a party of Romans who were sojourning there he reembarked in a hurry and returned to Chalcis more like a robber than a warrior.

CHAPTER VII

Fury and Cruelty of Mithridates — The Dismal Fate of Chios — Terror of the Greek Cities in Asia — Conspiracy against Mithridates — Battle of Orchomenus — Archelaus again defeated by Sulla

[46] Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπεὶ τοσῆσδε ἥττης ἐπύθετο, κατεπλάγη μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἔδεισεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ, στρατιὰν δ' ὅμως ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνων ἀπάντων κατὰ σπουδὴν συνέλεγεν. νομίσας δ' ἂν τινας αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἥτταν ἢ νῦν, ἢ εἰ τινα καιρὸν ἄλλον εὐροίεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι, τοὺς ὑπόπτους οἱ πάντα πρὶν ὀξύτερον γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνελέγετο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Γαλατῶν τετράρχας, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ συνῆσαν ὡς φίλοι καὶ ὅσοι μὴ κατήκουον αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἔκτεινε μετὰ παιδίων καὶ γυναικῶν χωρὶς τριῶν τῶν διαφυγόντων, τοῖς μὲν ἐνέδρας ἐπιτέμψας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ διαίτῃ μιᾶς νυκτός, οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν οὐδένα οἱ βέβαιον, εἰ πλησιάσοι Σύλλας, ἔσεσθαι. σφετερισάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὰς περιουσίας, φρουρὰς ἐστήγεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ σατράπην ἐς τὸ ἔθνος Εὐμαχον ἔπεμψεν: ὃν αὐτίκα τῶν τετραρχῶν οἱ διαφυγόντες, στρατιὰν ἀγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργῶν, ἐξέβαλον αὐταῖς φρουραῖς διώκοντες ἐκ Γαλατίας. καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ περιῆν Γαλατῶν ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα μόνα. Χίοις δὲ μηνίων ἐξ οὗ τις αὐτῶν ναῦς ἐς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ λαθοῦσα ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτα μὲν ἐδήμειυσε τὰ ὄντα Χίοις τοῖς ἐς Σύλλαν φυγοῦσιν, ἐξῆς δ' ἔπεμπε τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐρευνησομένους ἐν Χίῳ. καὶ τρίτον Ζηνόβιος στρατιὰν ἄγων ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβαλὼν, τὰ τείχη τῶν Χίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐρυμνὰ χωρία, τῆς νυκτός κατέλαβε, καὶ ταῖς πύλαις φρουρὰν ἐπιστήσας ἐκήρυσσε τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἀτρεμεῖν, Χίους δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθεῖν, ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς τι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑποπτον ἔχει τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαῖζοντας, παύσεται δὲ ἐὰν τὰ τε ὅπλα παραδῶτε καὶ ὅμηρα τῶν παιδίων τοὺς ἀρίστους. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατειλημμένην σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀρώντες ἔδοσαν ἅμφω, καὶ Ζηνόβιος αὐτὰ ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς Χίοις γράψοντος τοῦ βασιλέως:

[46] When Mithridates heard of this great disaster he was astonished and terror-stricken, as was natural. Nevertheless, he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that certain persons would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat, either now or later, if they should find a good chance, he arrested all suspects before the war should become sharper. First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects — all except three who escaped. Some of these he took by stratagem, the others he slew one night at a banquet. He believed that none of them would be faithful to him if Sulla should come near. He confiscated their property, established garrisons in their towns, and appointed Eumachus satrap of the nation. But the tetrarchs who had escaped

raised an army from the country people forthwith, expelled him and his garrisons, and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he had seized. Being angry with the inhabitants of Chios, one of whose vessels had accidentally run against the royal ship in the naval battle near Rhodes, he first confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla, and then sent persons to inquire what property in Chios belonged to Romans. For a third move, his general, Zenobius, who was conducting an army to Greece, seized the walls of Chios and all the fortified places by night, stationed guards at the gates, and made proclamation that all strangers should remain quiet, and that the Chians should repair to the assembly so that he might give them a message from the king. When they had come together he said that the king was suspicious of the city on account of the Roman faction in it, but that he would be satisfied if they would deliver up their arms and give the children of their principal families as hostages. Seeing that their city was already in his hands they gave both. Zenobius sent them to Erythræ and told the Chians that the king would write to them directly.

[47] ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἦκε Μιθριδάτου τάδε λέγουσα: ‘εὖνοι καὶ νῦν ἐστὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ὧν ἔτι πολλοὶ παρ’ ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες. ἔς τε τὴν ἐμὴν ναῦν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ τριήρης ὑμετέρα ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέσεισεν. ὃ ἐγὼ περιέφερον ἐκὼν ἐς μόνους τοὺς κυβερνήτας, εἰ δύναισθε σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν. λανθάνοντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑμῶν ἐς Σύλλαν διεπέμψατε, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἐνεδείξατε οὐδ’ ἐμηνύσατε, ὃ τῶν οὐ συμπεπραχότων ἔργον ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὲν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐπιβουλεύσαντας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι, οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι ἐδικαίουν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν τιμῶμαι δισχιλίῳν ταλάντων.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ περιεῖχεν, οἱ δ’ ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν πρεσβεῦσαι, Ζηνοβίου δὲ κατακωλύοντος, ὅπλων τε ἀφηρημένοι, καὶ παίδων σφίσι τῶν ἀρίστων ἐχομένων, στρατιᾶς τε βαρβαρικῆς τοσαύτης ἐφεστώσης, οἰμώζοντες ἔκ τε ἱερῶν κόσμους καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν δισχιλίῳν ταλάντων συνέφερον. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπεπλήρωτο, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνδεῖν ὁ Ζηνόβιος ἐς τὸ θέατρον αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας μετὰ γυμνῶν ξιφῶν ἀμφὶ τε τὸ θέατρον αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδοὺς ἤγε τοὺς Χίους, ἀνιστὰς ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ ἐνετίθετο ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἐτέρωθι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐτέρωθι δ’ αὐτῶν τὰ γυναῖα καὶ τὰ παιδιά, βαρβαρικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ὕρβιζόμενα. ἀνάσπαστοι δ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην γενόμενοι διεπέμφθησαν ἐς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον.

[47] A letter came from Mithridates of the following tenor: “You favor the Romans even now, and many of your citizens are still sojourning with them. You are reaping the fruits of Roman property of which you do not make returns to us. Your trireme ran against and shook my ship in the battle before Rhodes. I willingly imputed that fault to the pilots alone, hoping that you would observe the rules of safety and remain my submissive subjects. Now

you have secretly sent your chief men to Sulla, and you have never proved or declared that this was done without public authority, as was the duty of those who were not cooperating with them. Although my friends consider that those who conspire against my government, and who intend to conspire against my person, ought to suffer death, I will let you off with a fine of 2000 talents.” Such was the purport of the letter. The Chians wanted to send legates to the king, but Zenobius would not allow it. As they were disarmed and had given up the children of their principal families, and a large barbarian army was in possession of the city, they groaned aloud, but they collected the temple ornaments and the women’s jewellery to the full amount of 2000 talents. When this sum had been made up Zenobius accused them of giving him short weight and summoned them to the theatre. Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theatre itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. Then he led the Chians one by one out of the theatre and put them in ships, the men separate from the women and children, and all treated with indignity by their barbarian captors. In this way they were dragged to Mithridates, who packed them off to Pontus on the Euxine. Such was the calamity that befell the citizens of Chios.

[48] καὶ Χῖοι μὲν ὧδε ἐπεπράχεσαν, Ζηνόβιον δὲ Ἐφεσῖοι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν προσιόντα ἐκέλευον ἐξοπλίσασθαι τε παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐσελθεῖν. ὁ δ’ ὑπέστη μὲν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐσηῆλθε πρὸς Φιλοποίμενα τὸν πατέρα Μονίμης τῆς ἐρωμένης Μιθριδάτου, ἐπίσκοπον Ἐφεσίων ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καθεστηκότα, καὶ συνελθεῖν οἱ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκήρυττεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔσσεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀνέθεντο, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγείραντές τε καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, Ζηνόβιον μὲν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλόντες ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος συνελόχιζον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέλεγον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλως διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον. ὧν πυνθανόμενοι Τραλλιανοὶ καὶ Ὑπαιπνηοὶ καὶ Μεσοπολῖται καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, τὰ Χίων πάθη δεδιότες, ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἔδρων. Μιθριδάτης δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀφεστηκότα στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς λαμβανομένους ἔδρα· δείσας δὲ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἡλευθέρου, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκήρυσσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη μετοίκους πολίτας αὐτῶν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔλευθέρους, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ συνηνέχθη, τοὺς κατάχρεως καὶ υετοίκους καὶ θεράποντας, ἡγουμένους ἐν τῇ Μιθριδάτου ἀρχῇ βεβαίως τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἔξειν, εὖνους αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. Μυννίων δὲ καὶ Φιλότιμος οἱ Σμυρναῖοι καὶ Κλεισθένης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος οἱ Λέσβιοι, βασιλεῖ γνῶριμοι πάντες, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος αὐτὸν καὶ ξεναγήσας ποτέ, ἐπιβουλήν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην συνετίθεσαν· ἥς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν ὑπὸ κλίνη τινὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Μυννίωνος. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ μὲν αἰκισθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ὑποψία δ’ ἐς τὰ ὅμοια πολλοὺς κατεῖχεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Περγαμηνῶν τὰ αὐτὰ βουλευόντες ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες ἐάλωσαν, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἕτεροι, ζητητὰς ὁ Μιθριδάτης πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπε, οἱ, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνδεικνύντων ἐκάστων, ἔκτειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους

ἄνδρας. ὧν οἱ κατηγορήσαντες οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα ληφθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ προανεῖλον ἑαυτοῦς, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Πόντον αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνέφευγον.

[48] When Zenobius approached Ephesus with his army, the citizens ordered him to leave his arms at the gates and come in with only a few attendants. He obeyed the order and made a visit to Philopæmen (the father of Monima, the favorite wife of Mithridates), whom the latter had appointed overseer of Ephesus, and summoned the Ephesians to the assembly. They expected nothing good from him, and adjourned the meeting till the next day. During the night, however, they met for mutual consultation and encouragement, after which they cast Zenobius into prison and put him to death. They then manned the walls, put the citizens in training, brought in supplies from the country, and put the city in a state of complete defence. When the people of Tralles, Hypæpa, Metropolis, and several other towns heard of this they feared lest they should meet the fate of Chios, and followed the example of Ephesus. Mithridates sent an army against the revolters and inflicted terrible punishments on those whom he captured, but as he feared other defections, he gave freedom to the Greek cities, proclaimed the cancelling of debts, gave the right of citizenship to all sojourners therein, and freed the slaves. He did this hoping (as indeed it turned out) that the debtors, sojourners, and slaves would consider their new privileges secure only under the rule of Mithridates, and would therefore be well disposed toward him. In the meantime Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Cleisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, all of them the king's intimates (Asclepiodotus had once entertained him as a guest) joined in a conspiracy against Mithridates. Of this conspiracy Asclepiodotus himself became the informer, and in order to confirm his story he arranged that the king should conceal himself under a couch and hear what Mynnio said. The plot being thus revealed the conspirators were put to death with torture, and many others suffered from suspicion of similar designs. Thus eighty citizens of Pergamus were caught taking counsel together to like purpose, and others in other cities. The king sent spies everywhere who denounced their own enemies, and in this way about 1500 men lost their lives. Some of these accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and put to death, others committed suicide, and still others took refuge with Mithridates himself in Pontus.

[49] γιγνομένων δὲ τῶνδε περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁκτὼ μυριάδων στρατὸς ἤθροιστο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν Δορύλαος πρὸς Ἀρχελαὸν ἤγεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔχοντα τῶν προτέρων ἔτι μυρίου. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ περὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ὥς δὲ εἶδε τῆς ἐπελθούσης ἵππου τὸ πλῆθος, ὥρυσσε τάφρους πολλὰς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον, εὗρος δέκα πόδας, καὶ ἐπίντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀντιπαρέταξεν. ἀσθενῶς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ δέος τῆς ἵππου μαχομένων, ἐς πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς παριππεύων παρεκάλει καὶ ἐπέσπερχε σὺν ἀπειλῇ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφων δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' ὥς, ἐξήλατο τοῦ ἵππου,

καὶ σημεῖον ἀρπάσας ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, κεκραγώς: ‘εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, πύθοιτο, ποῦ Σύλλαν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν προυδῶκατε, λέγειν, ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ μαχόμενον.’ οἱ δ’ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι συνεξέθεον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τάξεων, συνεξέθεον δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πληθὺς αἰδουμένη, παλιώξιν τε εἰργάσαντο. καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀρχομένης, ἀναθορῶν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπῆνει τὸν στρατὸν περιῶν καὶ ἐπέσπερχεν, ἕως τέλεον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐξετελέσθη. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτων ἦσαν οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς μάλιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς Ἀρχελάου Διογένης: οἱ πεζοὶ δ’ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνέφυγον.

[49] While these events were taking place in Asia, Mithridates assembled an army of 80,000 men, which Dorylaeus led to Archelaus in Greece, who still had 10,000 of his former force remaining. Sulla had taken a position against Archelaus near Orchomenus. When he saw the great number of the enemy’s horse coming up, he dug a number of ditches through the plain ten feet wide, and drew up his army to meet Archelaus when the latter advanced. The Romans fought badly because they were in terror of the enemy’s cavalry. Sulla rode hither and thither a long time, encouraging and threatening his men. Failing to bring them up to their duty in this way, he leaped from his horse, seized a standard, ran out between the two armies with his shield-bearers, exclaiming, “If you are ever asked, Romans, where you abandoned Sulla, your general, say that it was at the battle of Orchomenus.” When the officers saw his peril they darted from their own ranks to his aid, and the troops, moved by the sense of shame, followed and drove the enemy back in their turn. This was the beginning of the victory. Sulla again leaped upon his horse and rode among his troops praising and encouraging them until the end of the battle. The enemy lost 15,000 men, about 10,000 of whom were cavalry, and among them Diogenes, the son of Archelaus. The infantry fled to their camps.

[50] καὶ δέισας ὁ Σύλλας μὴ παλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐκ ἔχοντα ναῦς, ἐς Χαλκίδα ὡς πρότερον διαφύγοι, τὸ πεδῖον ὅλον ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνυκτοφυλάκει. καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, στάδιον οὐχ ὅλον ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, τάφρον αὐτῷ περιώρυσσεν οὐκ ἐπεξιώντι. καὶ παρεκάλει τότε μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐκπονῆσαι τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου τὸ ἔτι λείψανον ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν οὐδ’ ὑφισταμένων, καὶ ἐπῆγεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Ἀρχελάου. ὅμοια δ’ ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγίγνετο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτοὺς περιθεόντων, καὶ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον προφερόντων τε, καὶ ὀνειδιζόντων εἰ μὴδ’ ἀπὸ χάρακος ἀπομαχοῦνται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας. ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ βοῆς ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένης, πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίγνετο ἐπ’ ἀμφοῖν ἔργα πολέμου, γωνίαν δὲ τινα τοῦ χαρακώματος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰς ἀσπίδας σφῶν ὑπερσχόντες, ἦδη διέσπων, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἔσω τῆς γωνίας περιέστησαν αὐτὴν ὡς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐστρέχοντας. οὐδέ τις ἐτόλμα, μέχρι Βάσιλλος

ὁ τοῦ τέλους ταξίαρχος ἐσήλατο πρῶτος καὶ τὸν ὑπαντήσαντα ἔκτεινεν. τότε δ' αὐτῷ συνεσέπιπτεν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας, καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγένετο καὶ φόνος, τῶν μὲν καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' ἐς τὴν ἐγγὺς λίμνην ὠθουμένων τε καὶ νεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἄζύνετα βαρβαριστὶ τοὺς κτενοῦντας παρακαλοῦντων. Ἀρχέλαος δ' ἐν ἔλει τινὶ ἐκρύφθη, καὶ σκάφους ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Χαλκίδα διέπλευσεν. καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἄλλη Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰ κατὰ μέρος ποι διατεταγμένη, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν.

[50] Sulla feared lest Archelaus should escape him again, because he had no ships, and take refuge in Chalcis as before. Accordingly he stationed night watchmen at intervals over the whole plain, and the next day he enclosed Archelaus with a ditch at a distance of less than 600 feet from his camp, to prevent his escape. Then he appealed to his army to finish the small remainder of the war, since the enemy were no longer even making show of resistance; and so he led them against the camp of Archelaus. Like scenes transpired among the enemy, with a change of feeling necessarily, the officers hurrying hither and thither, representing the imminent danger, and upbraiding the men if they should not be able to defend the camp against assailants inferior in numbers. There was a rush and a shout on each side, followed by many valiant deeds on the part of both. The Romans, protected by their shields, were demolishing a certain angle of the camp when the barbarians leaped down from the parapet inside and took their stand around this corner with drawn swords to ward off the invaders. No one dared to enter until the military tribune, Basillus, first leaped over and killed the man in front of him. Then the whole army dashed after him. The flight and slaughter of the barbarians followed. Some were captured and others driven into the neighboring lake, and, not knowing how to swim, perished while begging for mercy in barbarian speech, not understood by their slayers. Archelaus hid in a marsh, where he found a small boat by which he reached Chalcis. Whatever remained of the Mithridatean forces in separate detachments he summoned thither with all speed.

CHAPTER VIII

Sulla declared a Public Enemy — Flaccus and Fimllria — Fimbria destroys Ilium — Mithridates sues for Peace — Sulla's Answer — Terms of the Treaty offered by Sulla — Mithridates delays and Sulla marches to Asia — A Personal Conference — What Sulla said to Mithridates — Mithridates accepts the Terms

[51] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῆς ἐπιούσης τόν τε ταξίαρχον ἑστεφάνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστεῖα ἐδίδου. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεχῶς μετατιθεμένην διήρπαζε, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχείμαζε, τὰς ναῦς τὰς μετὰ Λευκόλλου περιμένων. ἀγνοῶν δ' ὅπῃ ὁ Λεύκολλος εἴη, ἐναυπηγεῖτο ἑτέρας, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι Κορνηλίου τε Κίinna καὶ Γαῖου Μαρίου, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐψηφισμένων εἶναι Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις καθηρηκότων, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελόντων. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὥς καθήρει τῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων εὐπειθὴ καὶ πρόθυμον. Κίννας δὲ Φλάκκον ἐλόμενός οἱ συνάρχειν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δύο τελεῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σύλλα, ὡς ἤδη πολεμίου γεγονότος, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἄρχειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀπειροπολέμῳ δ' ὄντι τῷ Φλάκκῳ συνεξήλθεν ἐκὼν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνὴρ πιθανὸς ἐς στρατηγίαν, ὄνομα Φιμβρίας. τοῦτοις ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλέουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νεῶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς πρόπλους αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησε στρατὸς ἄλλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου. μοχθηρὸν δ' ὄντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι καὶ φιλοκερδῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἀπεστρέφετο, καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν τι, προπεμφθὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μετεστρατεύσαντο. τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους ὁ Φιμβρίας, στρατηγικώτερος τοῦ Φλάκκου φαινόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ φιланθρωπότερος κατεῖχε μὴ μεταθέσθαι.

[51] The next day Sulla decorated the tribune, Basillus, and gave rewards for valor to others. He ravaged Boeotia which was continually changing from one side to the other, and then moved to Thessaly and went into winter quarters, and waited for Lucullus and his fleet. As he had no tidings of Lucullus he began to build ships for himself. At this juncture Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, his rivals at home, caused him to be declared an enemy of the Roman people, destroyed his houses in the city and the country, and murdered his friends. This, however, did not weaken him in the least, since he had a zealous and devoted army. Cinna sent Flaccus, whom he had caused to be chosen as his colleague in the consulship, to Asia with two legions to take charge of that province and of the Mithridatic war in place of Sulla, who was now declared a public enemy. As Flaccus was inexperienced in the art of war, a man of senatorial rank named Fimbria, who was skilled in military affairs, accompanied him as a volunteer. As they were sailing from Brundisium many of their ships were destroyed by a tempest, and some that had gone in advance were burned by a new army that had been sent forward by Mithridates. Moreover, Flaccus was a rascal, and, being severe in punishments and greedy

of gain, was hated by the whole army. Accordingly, a part of them who had been sent ahead into Thessaly went over to Sulla, but Fimbria kept the rest of them from deserting, because they considered him more humane and a better general than Flaccus. (Y.R. 669)

[52] ὥς δ' ἔν τινι καταγωγῇ περὶ ξενίας ἔριδος αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ταμία γενομένης ὁ Φλάκκος διαιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐς τιμὴν ἐπεσήμηνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου, χαλεπήνας ὁ Φιμβρίας ἠπειλῆσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου δόντος αὐτῷ διάδοχον ἐς ᾧ τότε διώκει, φυλάζας αὐτὸν ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐς Χαλκηδὸνα διαπλέοντα, πρῶτα μὲν Θέρμον τὰς ῥάβδους ἀφείλετο, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου καταλελειμμένον, ὥς οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν περιθέντος, εἴτα Φλάκκον αὐτὸν σὺν ὀργῇ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανιόντα ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος ἐς τινα οἰκίαν καταφυγὼν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Χαλκηδὸνα πρῶτον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔφυγε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισεν, ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινεν ἐν φρεάτι κρυπτόμενον, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ιδιώτης αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ ὥς φίλῳ κελεύοντι συνεληλυθῶς. ἐκτεμὼν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μεθήκεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄταφον ἐκρίψας, αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέφηνε τοῦ στρατοῦ. καὶ μάχας τινὰς οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἠγωνίσαστο τῷ παιδί τῷ Μιθριδάτου. αὐτὸν τε βασιλέα συνεδίωξεν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς Πιτάνην ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου διαφυγόντα ἐπελθὼν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην,

[52] Once while he was at an inn he had a dispute with the quæstor about their lodgings. Flaccus, who acted as arbiter between them, showed little consideration for Fimbria, and the latter was vexed and threatened to go back to Rome. Accordingly Flaccus appointed a successor to perform the duties which he then had charge of. Fimbria watched his opportunity, and when Flaccus had sailed for Chalcedon he first took the fasces away from Thermus, whom Flaccus had left as his prætor, as though the army had conferred the command upon himself, and when Flaccus returned soon afterward and was angry with him, Fimbria compelled him to fly. Flaccus took refuge in a certain house and in the night-time climbed over the wall and fled first to Chalcedon and afterward to Nicomedia, and closed the gates of the city. Fimbria overcame the place, found him concealed in a well, and killed him, although he was a Roman consul and the commanding officer of this war, and Fimbria himself was only a private citizen who had (B.C. 85) gone with him as an invited friend. Fimbria cut off his head and flung it into the sea, and left the remainder of his body unburied. Then he appointed himself commander of the army and fought several successful battles with the son of Mithridates. He drove the king himself into Pergamus. The latter escaped from Pergamus to Pitane. Fimbria followed him and began to enclose the place with a ditch. Then the king fled to Mitylene on a ship.

[53] ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας, ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς καππαδοκίσαντας, καὶ τῶν

οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τὴν χώραν ἐλεηλάτει. Ἰλιεῖς δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατέφυγον μὲν ἐπὶ Σύλλαν, Σύλλα δὲ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐν τοσῷδε Φιμβρία φράζειν ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπιτετρόφασι τῷ Σύλλᾳ, πυθόμενος ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὡς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων φίλους, ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων ἔσω δέχεσθαι, κατειρωνευσάμενός τι καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς οὔσης ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἰλιεῦσιν. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ πάντας ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύσαντας ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως, οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν φειδόμενος οὔτε τῶν ἐς τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταφυγόντων, οὓς αὐτῷ νεῷ κατέπρησεν. κατέσκαπτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡρεῦνα περιῶν μὴ τι συνέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἔτι. ἡ μὲν δὴ χεῖρονα τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος παθοῦσα ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς διωλώλει, καὶ οἰκόπεδον οὐδὲν αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἱερὸν οὐδ' ἄγαλμα ἔτι ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος, ὁ Παλλάδιον καλοῦσι καὶ διοπετὲς ἡγοῦνται, νομίζουσί τινες εὑρεθῆναι τότε ἄθραυστον, τῶν ἐπιπεσόντων τειχῶν αὐτὸ περικαλυψάντων, εἰ μὴ Διομήδης αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ ἔργῳ μετήνεγκαν ἐξ Ἰλίου.

τάδε μὲν δὴ Φιμβρίας ἐς Ἴλιον εἰργάζετο, ληγουσῆς ἄρτι τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. καὶ τινες ἡγοῦνται τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ τότε μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονα χιλίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι γενέσθαι μάλιστα.

[53] Fimbria traversed the province of Asia, punished the Cappadocian faction, and devastated the territory of the towns that did not open their gates to him. The inhabitants of Ilium, who were besieged by Fimbria, appealed to Sulla for aid. The latter said that he would come, and told them to say to Fimbria meanwhile that they had intrusted themselves to Sulla. Fimbria, when he heard this, congratulated them on being already friends of the Roman people, and ordered them to admit him within their walls because he also was a Roman. He spoke in an ironical way also of the relationship existing between Ilium and Rome. When he was admitted he made an indiscriminate slaughter and burned the whole town. Those who had been in communication with Sulla he tortured in various ways. He spared neither the sacred objects nor the persons who had fled to the temple of Athena, but burned them with the temple itself. He demolished the walls, and the next day made a search to see whether anything of the place was left standing. So much worse was the city now treated by one of its relations than it had been by Agamemnon, that not a house, not a temple, not a statue was left. Some say that the image of Athena, called the Palladium, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, was then found unbroken, the falling walls having formed an arch over it; and this may be true unless Diomedes and Ulysses carried it away from Ilium during the Trojan war. Thus was Ilium destroyed by Fimbria at the close of the 173d Olympiad. Some people think that 1050 years had intervened between this calamity and that which it suffered at the hands of Agamemnon.

[54] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν ἥττης ἐπύθετο,

διαλογιζόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ τὴν συνεχῇ καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ φθοράν, ἐπέστελλεν Ἀρχελάω διαλύσεις ὡς δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς ἐργάσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Σύλλα συνελθὼν ἐς λόγους εἶπε: ‘φίλος ὢν ὑμῖν πατρῷος, ὃ Σύλλα, Μιθριδάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολέμησε μὲν διὰ στρατηγῶν ἐτέρων πλεονεξίαν, διαλύσεται δὲ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣν τὰ δίκαια προστάσσης.’ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπορία τε νεῶν, καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐπιτεμπόντων οὐδ’ ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς πολεμίῳ, ἀνάμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Πυθοῖ καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἐπιδαύρῳ χρημάτων, καὶ ἀντιδοὺς πρὸς λόγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλάκις ἀποστάντων, ἐς τε τὴν στάσιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπειγόμενος ἀκραιφνῇ καὶ ἀπαθῇ τὸν στρατὸν μεταγαγεῖν, ἐνεδίδου πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ εἶπεν:

ἀδικομένου μὲν ἦν, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, Μιθριδάτου, περὶ ὧν ἡδিকেῖτο πρεσβεύειν, ἀδικοῦντος δὲ γῆν τοσὴνδε ἄλλοτρίαν ἐπιδραμεῖν, καὶ κτείνειν πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῶν ἀνηρημένων σφετερίσασθαι. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους φίλους, ὧς περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἄπιστος γενόμενος, ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς, καὶ τῶν τετραρχῶν οὕς ὁμοδιαίτους εἶχε, νυκτὸς μιᾶς, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τῶν οὐ πεπολεμηκότων. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φύσεως ἐχθραν μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου χρεῖαν ἐπεδείξατο, παντοίαις ιδέαις κακῶν τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰταλιώτας, σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ καὶ θεράπουσι τοῖς οὖσι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, λυμηνάμενός τε καὶ κτείνας. τοσοῦτον ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μῖσος ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν ὑποκρινόμενος φιλίαν πατρώαν, ἥς οὐ πρὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδας ὑμῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συγκοπῆναι ἐμνημονεῦτε.

[54] When Mithridates heard of his defeat at Orchomenus he reflected on the immense number of men he had sent into Greece from the beginning, and the continual and swift disaster that had overtaken them. Accordingly, he sent word to Archelaus to make peace on the best terms possible. The latter had an interview with Sulla in which he said, “King Mithridates was your father’s friend, O Sulla. He became involved in this war through the rapacity of other Roman generals. He will avail himself of your virtuous character to make peace, if you will grant him fair terms.” As Sulla had no ships; as his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw; as he had already spent the money which he had taken from the Pythian, Olympian, and Epidauric temples, in return for which he had assigned to them half of the territory of Thebes on account of its frequent defections; and because he was in a hurry to lead his army fresh and unimpaired against the hostile faction at home, he assented to the proposal, and said, “If injustice was done to Mithridates, O Archelaus, he ought to have sent an embassy to show how he was wronged, instead of which he put himself in the wrong by overrunning such a vast territory belonging to others, killing such a vast number of people, seizing the public and sacred funds of cities, and confiscating the private property of those whom he destroyed. He has been just as perfidious to his own friends as to us, many of whom he has

put to death, including the tetrarchs whom he had brought together at a banquet, and their wives and children, although they had committed no hostile act. Toward us he was moved by an inborn enmity rather than by any necessity for war, visiting every possible calamity upon the Italians throughout Asia, torturing and murdering all of our race, together with their wives, children, and servants. Such hatred did this man bear toward Italy, who now pretends friendship for my father! — a friendship which ye did not call to mind until I had destroyed 160,000 of your troops.

[55] ἀνθ' ὃν δίκαιον μὲν ἦν ἄσπειστα αὐτῷ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, σοῦ δὲ χάριν ὑποδέχομαι συγγνώμης αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἂν τῷ ὄντι μεταγινώσκη. εἰ δὲ ὑποκρίνοιτο καὶ νῦν, ὥρα σοι τὸ σαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, ἐνθυμουμένῳ μὲν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ παρόντα σοὶ τε καὶ ἐκείνῳ, σκοποῦντι δ' ὃν τινα τρόπον ἐκείνός τε ἐτέροις κέχρηται φίλοις καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐμένει καὶ Μασσανάσῃ.

ὁ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πείραν ἀπεσεῖετο, καὶ δυσχεράνας ἔφη τὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὐ ποτε προδώσειν: 'ἐλπίζω δέ σοι διαλλάξειν, ἣν μέτρια προστάσεως.' διαλιπὼν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὀλίγον, εἶπεν: 'ἐὰν τὸν στόλον ἡμῖν, ὃν ἔχεις, ὃ Ἀρχέλαε, παραδιδῷ πάντα Μιθριδάτης, ἀποδῶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς ἡμῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ αἰχμαλώτους ἢ αὐτομόλους ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἀποδράντα, καὶ Χίους ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἀνασπάστους ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐποιήσατο, μεθῇ, ἐξαγάγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ πάντων φρουρίων, χωρὶς ὧν ἐκράτει πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς παρασπονδήσεως, ἐσενέγκῃ δὲ καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γενομένην, καὶ στέργῃ μόνῃς ἄρχων τῆς πατρώας δυναστείας, ἐλπίζω πείσειν Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιμνηῖσαι τῶν γεγονότων.' ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς αὐτίκα πανταχόθεν ἐξῆγε, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέστελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ Σύλλας τὴν ἐν τοσῷδε ἀργίαν διατιθέμενος, Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντοὺς, περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθνη, συνεχῶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβάλλοντα, ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὁμοῦ.

[55] "Instead of treating for peace we ought to be absolutely implacable toward him, but for your sake I will undertake to obtain his pardon from Rome if he actually repents. But if he is playing the hypocrite again, I advise you, Archelaus, to look out for yourself. Consider how matters stand at present between you and him. Bear in mind how he has treated his other friends and how we treated Eumenes and Masinissa." While he was yet speaking, Archelaus rejected the offer with indignation, saying that he would never betray one who had put an army under his command. "I hope," he said, "to come to an agreement with you if you offer moderate terms." After a short interval Sulla said, "If Mithridates will deliver to us the entire fleet in your possession; if he will surrender our generals and ambassadors and all prisoners, deserters, and runaway slaves, and send back to their homes the people of Chios and all others whom he has dragged off to Pontus; if he will

remove his garrison from all places except those that he held before the outbreak of hostilities; if he will pay the cost of the war incurred on his account, and remain content with his ancestral dominions, — I shall hope to persuade the Romans not to remember the injuries he has done them.” Such were the terms which he offered. Archelaus at once withdrew his garrison from all the places he held and referred the other conditions to the king. In order to make use of his leisure in the meantime, Sulla marched against the Eneti, the Dardani, and the Sinti, tribes on the border of Macedonia, who were continually invading that country, and devastated their territory. In this way he exercised his soldiers and enriched them at the same time. (Y.R. 670)

[56] ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου πρέσβων, οἱ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνετίθεντο, μόνην δ' ἐξαιρούμενοι Παφλαγονίαν ἐπέϊπον ὅτι πλεόνων ἂν ἔτυχε Μιθριδάτης, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῶν στρατηγὸν διελύετο Φιμβρίαν, δυσχεράνας ὁ Σύλλας τῇ παραβολῇ, καὶ Φιμβρίαν ἔφη δώσειν δίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενος εἴσεσθαι πότερα συνθηκῶν ἢ πολέμου δεῖται Μιθριδάτης. ὧδε δ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Κύψελλα διὰ Θράκης, Λεύκολλον ἐς Ἄβυδον προπέμψας· ἥδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁδε ἀφῖκτο, κινδυνεύσας μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀλῶναι πολλάκις, στόλον δὲ τινα νεῶν ἀγείρας ἀπὸ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ πολλὰ δηώσας τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτου νεῶν ἀποπειράσας ἐν παράπλῳ. Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Κυψέλλων καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐκ Περγάμου συιήεσαν αὐθις ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατέβαινον ἐς πεδίον ἄμφω σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἐφορώντων τῶν στρατῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι Μιθριδάτου μὲν ὑπόμνησις φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας καὶ πατρῶας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι καὶ προβούλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς κατηγορία ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἀδίκως, Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε κατάγοντες ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ Φρυγίας αὐτὸν ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ Νικομήδην περιορῶντες ἀδικοῦντα. ‘καὶ τάδε,’ ἔφη, ‘πάντα ἔπραξαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι, παραλλάξ παρ' ἐμοῦ τε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες; ὁ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ὑμῶν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἔστιν ἡ φιλοκερδία. ἀναρραγέντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα ὅσα ἀμυνόμενος ἔπραττον, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐγίγνετο.’

[56] The ambassadors of Mithridates returned with ratifications of all the terms except those relating to Paphlagonia, and they added that Mithridates could obtain better conditions, “if he should negotiate with your other general, Fimbria.” Sulla was indignant that he should be brought into such comparison and said that he would bring Fimbria to punishment, and would go himself to Asia and see whether Mithridates wanted peace or war. Having spoken thus he marched through Thrace to Cypsella after having sent Lucullus forward to Abydus, for Lucullus had arrived at last, having run the risk of capture by pirates several times. He had collected a sort of a fleet composed of ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia, and had ravaged much of the enemy’s coast, and had skirmished with the ships of Mithridates on the way. Then Sulla advanced from Cypsella and Mithridates from Pergamus,

and (B.C. 84) they met in a conference. Each went with a small force to a plain in sight of the two armies. Mithridates began by discoursing of his own and his father's friendship and alliance with the Romans. Then he accused the Roman ambassadors, committeemen, and generals of doing him injuries by putting Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, depriving him of Phrygia, and allowing Nicomedes to wrong him. "And all this," he said, "they did for money, taking it from me and from them by turns; for there is nothing of which most of you are so liable to accusation, O Romans, as the love of lucre. When war had broken out through the acts of your generals all that I did was in self-defence, and was the result of necessity rather than of intention."

[57] ὁ μὲν δὴ Μιθριδάτης ὧδε εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπεκρίνατο:

ἐφ' ἕτερα μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεις, ὥς τὰ προτεινόμενα ἀγαπήσων, οὐ μὴν ὀκνήσω καὶ περὶ τῶνδε διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν. ἐς μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγὼ κατήγαγον Ἀριοβαρζάνην Κιλικίας ἄρχων, ὧδε Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων: καὶ σὺ κατήκουες ἡμῶν, δέον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ ἢ μεταδιδάσκειν ἢ μηκέτι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἀντιτείνειν. Φρυγίαν δέ σοι Μάνιος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ δωροδοκίᾳ, ὃ κοινόν ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν ἀδίκημα. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖς οὐ δικαίως λαβεῖν, ἐκ δωροδοκίας. ὃ τε Μάνιος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἠλέγχθη παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πράξας, καὶ πάντα ἀνέλυσεν ἢ βουλή. ὃ λόγῳ καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδίκως σοι δοθεῖσαν οὐχ ἑαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον μεθῆκεν. ὧν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολέμῳ λαβόντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἄρχειν, τίνι λόγῳ σὺ καθέξεις; Νικομήδης δὲ αἰτιάται μὲν σε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν τὸ σῶμα τρώσοντα ἐπιτέμψαι, καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν χρηστὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὰδε αὐτὸς ἀμυνόμενος ἐς τὴν σὴν ἐμβαλεῖν: εἰ δέ τι ὁμῶς ἡδικοῦ, ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύειν ἔδει καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θάπτον ἡμῖνου Νικομήδης, πῶς καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀπῆλυνες οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα; ἐκβαλὼν δ' ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκας τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαῖον κατάγειν αὐτόν, καὶ καταγόμενον κωλύων σὺ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήψας, ἐγνωκῶς μὲν οὕτω πρὸ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχων γῆς ἄρξειν ἀπάσης εἰ Ῥωμαῖον κρατήσεας, προφάσεις δ' ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τάσδε ποιοῦμενος. καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι καὶ Θράκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Σαυρομάτας, οὕτω τινὶ πολέμων, ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγου, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγχοῦ βασιλέας περιέπεμπες, ναῦς τε ἐποιοῦ, καὶ πρωρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας συνεκάλεις.

[57] When Mithridates had ceased speaking Sulla replied: "Although you called us here," he said, "for a different purpose, namely, to accept our terms of peace, I shall not refuse to speak briefly of those matters. I restored Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia by decree of the Senate when I was governor in Cilicia, and you obeyed the decree. You ought to have opposed it and given your reasons then, or forever after held your peace. Manius gave Phrygia to you for a bribe, which was a crime on the part of both of you. By the very fact of your getting it by bribery you confess that you had no right to

it. Manius was tried at Rome for other acts that he had done for money and the Senate annulled them all. For this reason they decided, not that Phrygia, which had been given to you wrongfully, should be made tributary to Rome, but should be free. If we who had taken it by war did not think best to govern it, by what right could you hold it? Nicomedes charges that you sent against him an assassin named Alexander, and then Socrates Chrestus, a rival claimant of the kingdom, and that it was to avenge these wrongs that he invaded your territory. However, if he wronged you, you ought to have sent an embassy to Rome and waited for an answer. But although you took swift vengeance on Nicomedes, why did you attack Ariobarzanes, who had not harmed you? When you drove him out of his kingdom you imposed upon the Romans, who were there, the necessity of putting him back. By preventing them from doing so you brought on the war. You had meditated war a long time, because you hoped to rule the whole world if you could conquer the Romans, and the reasons you tell of were mere pretexts to cover your real intent. The proof of this is that you, although not yet at war with any nation, sought the alliance of the Thracians, Sarmatians, and Scythians, sought aid from the neighboring kings, built a navy, and enlisted pilots and helmsmen.

[58] μάλιστα δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐλέγχει σε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφισταμένην ἡμῶν ἡσθάνου, τὴν ἀσχολίαν τήνδε ἡμῶν φυλάξας ἐπέθου μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ καὶ Νικομήδει καὶ Γαλάταις καὶ Παφλαγονίᾳ, ἐπέθου δὲ Ἀσία τῷ ἡμετέρῳ χωρίῳ. καὶ λαβὼν οἷα δέδρακας ἢ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς τοὺς θεράποντας καὶ χρήστας ἐπέστησας ἐλευθερίας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαῖς, ἢ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὧν μὲν προφάσει χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους διέφθειρας, ἢ Γαλατῶν τοὺς τετράρχας, οὓς ὁμοδιαίτους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινας, ἢ τὸ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν γένος, οὓς μὲν ἡμέρας σὺν βρέφεσι καὶ μητράσιν ἔκτεινάς τε καὶ κατεπόντωσας, οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων. ὃ πόσιν μὲν ὠμότητά σου, πόσιν δὲ ἀσέβειαν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν μίσους ἐς ἡμᾶς προενήνοχεν. σφετερισάμενος δ' ἀπάντων τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπέρας μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, ἡμῶν ἀπειπόντων ἅπασι τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν. διαπλεύσας δὲ Μακεδονίαν τε ἡμετέραν οὐσαν ἐπέτρεχες καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφηροῦ. οὐ πρὶν τε ἥρξω μετανοεῖν, οὐδ' Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρακαλεῖν, ἢ Μακεδονίαν μὲν με ἀνασώσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα τῆς σῆς ἐκλύσαι βίας, ἑκατὶδεκα δὲ μυριάδας τοῦ σοῦ στρατοῦ κατακόψαι, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδά σου λαβεῖν αὐταῖς παρασκευαῖς. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω σου δικαιολογουμένου νῦν ἐφ' οἷς δι' Ἀρχελάου παρεκάλεις. ἢ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα με ἐδεδοίσεις, ἀγχοῦ δὲ γενόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην ἐληλυθέναι νομίζεις; ἥς ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάλωται, σοῦ τε πολεμήσαντος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἀμυναμένων ἤδη καρτερῶς καὶ ἀμυνουμένων ἐς τέλος.

τοσαῦτα τοῦ Σύλλα μετ' ὀργῆς ἔτι λέγοντος, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ἐς τὰς δι' Ἀρχελάου γενομένας συνθήκας ἐνεδίδου, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παραδοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν ἐπανήει μόνῃν.

ὁδε μὲν ὁ πρῶτος Μιθριδάτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος κατεπαύετο:

[58] “The time you chose convicts you of treachery most of all. When you heard that Italy had revolted from us you seized the occasion when we were occupied to fall upon Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, Galatia, and Paphlagonia, and finally upon our Asiatic province. When you had taken them you committed all sorts of outrages on the cities, appointing slaves and debtors to rule over some of them, and freeing slaves and cancelling debts in others. In the Greek cities you destroyed 1600 men on one false accusation. You brought the tetrarchs of Galatia together at a banquet and slew them. You butchered or drowned all residents of Italian blood in one day, including mothers and babes, not sparing even those who had fled to the temples. What cruelty, what impiety, what boundless hate did you exhibit toward us! After you had confiscated the property of all your victims you crossed over to Europe with great armies, although we had forbidden the invasion of Europe to all the kings of Asia. You overran our province of Macedonia and deprived the Greeks of their freedom. Nor did you begin to repent and tell Archelaus to intercede for you, until I had recovered Macedonia and delivered Greece from your grasp, and destroyed 160,000 of your soldiers, and taken your camps with all their belongings. I am astonished that you should now seek to justify the acts for which you asked pardon through Archelaus. If you feared me at a distance, do you think that I have come into your neighborhood to have a debate with you? The time for that passed by when you took up arms against us, and we vigorously repelled your assaults and repelled them to the end.” While Sulla was still speaking with vehemence the king yielded to his fears and consented to the terms that had been offered through Archelaus. He delivered up the ships and everything else that had been required, and went back to his paternal kingdom of Pontus as his sole possession. And thus the first war between Mithridates and the Romans came to an end.

CHAPTER IX

Sulla demands the Surrender of Fimbria — Suicide of Fimbria — Sulla settles the Affairs of Asia — His Speech to the People — Imposes Five Years' Taxes and the Cost of the War — Piracy in the Mediterranean — Second Mithridatic War — The Aggressions of Murena — Mithridates appeals to Rome — Attacks and defeats Murena — Sulla puts a Stop to the War

[59] Σύλλας δὲ Φιμβρίου δύο σταδίου ἀποσχὼν ἐκέλευε παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν στρατόν, οὗ παρανόμως ἄρχοι. ὁ δ' ἀντεπέσκωπτε μὲν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐννόμως ἔτι ἄρχοι, περιταφρεύοντος δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀποδιδρασκόντων, ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Φιμβρίας συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει παραμένειν. οὐ φαμένων δὲ πολεμήσειν πολίταις, καταρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάστοις προσέπιπτεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπεστρέφοντο, καὶ πλείους ἐγίνοντο αἱ αὐτομολίαι, τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων περιήει, καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν χρήμασι διαφθείρας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐθις συνεκάλει, καὶ συνόμνυσθαι οἱ προσέτασεν. ἐκβοησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐνετῶν ὅτι δέοι καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυττε τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Νώνιον πρῶτον ἐκάλει, κοινωνόν οἱ πάντων γεγονότα. οὐκ ὁμνύντος δ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνου, τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπᾶσας ἠπειλεῖ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, μέχρι βοῆς ἐκ πάντων γενομένης καταπλαγεῖς καὶ τοῦδ' ἐπαύσατο. θεράποντα δὲ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας ἀναπείσας ἔπεμψεν ὡς αὐτόμολον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Σύλλᾳ σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ πλησιάζων καὶ ταρασσόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ὑποπτος γενόμενος, συνελήφθη τε καὶ ὡμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα, σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει περιστάντες τὸ τοῦ Φιμβρίου χαράκωμα, κατελοιδοροῦν αὐτόν καὶ Ἀθηνίωνα ἐκάλουν, ὅς δραπετῶν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ποτὲ ἀποστάντων ὀλιγήμερος ἐγγεγένητο βασιλεύς.

[59] Sulla now advanced within two stades of Fimbria and ordered him to deliver up his army since he held the command contrary to law. Fimbria replied jestingly that Sulla himself did not now hold a lawful command. Sulla drew a line of circumvallation around Fimbria, and many of the latter's soldiers deserted openly. Fimbria called the rest of them together and urged them to stand by him. When they refused to fight against their fellow-citizens he rent his garments and besought them man by man. As they still turned away from him, and still more of them deserted, he went around among the tents of the tribunes, bought some of them with money, called these to the assembly again, and got them to swear that they would stand by him. Those who had been suborned exclaimed that all ought to be called up by name to take the oath. He summoned those who were under obligations to him for past favors. The first name called was that of Nonius, who had been his close companion. When even he refused to take the oath Fimbria drew his sword and threatened to kill him, and would have done so had he not been alarmed by the outcry of the others and compelled to desist. Then he hired a slave,

with money and the promise of freedom, to go to Sulla as a pretended deserter and assassinate him. As the slave was nearing his task he became frightened, and thus fell under suspicion; was arrested and confessed. Sulla's soldiers who were stationed around Fimbria's camp were filled with anger and contempt for him. They reviled him and nicknamed him Athenio — a man who was once a king of fugitive slaves in Sicily for a few days.

[60] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φιμβρίας πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον προῆλθε, καὶ Σύλλαν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ὁ δὲ ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ Ῥουτίλιον ἔπεμπε: καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐλύπει τὸν Φιμβρίαν, οὐδὲ συνόδου, διδομένης καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀξιωθέντα. δεομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν εἴ τι νέος ὢν ἐξήμαρτεν, ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ὑπέστη Σύλλαν ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῇ διελθεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνθύπατος, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔχειν κρείττονα, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν παρελθὼν ἐχρήσατο τῷ ξίφει. οὐ καιρίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα ἐπερεῖσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότη.

οὕτω μὲν καὶ Φιμβρίας ἀπέθανε, πολλὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ λελυμασμένος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐφῆκε τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις θάψαι, καὶ ἐπέειπεν οὐ μιμεῖσθαι Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ θανάτον τε πολλῶν καὶ ἀταφίαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καταγνόντας. τὸν δὲ στρατὸν τοῦ Φιμβρίου προσιόντα οἱ δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συναγαγόν, Κουρίωνι προσέταξε Νικομήδην ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν καταγαγεῖν, τῇ τε βουλῇ περὶ πάντων ἐπέστελλεν, οὐχ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐψηφίσθαι πολέμιος.

[60] Thereupon Fimbria in despair went to the line of circumvallation and asked for a colloquy with Sulla. The latter sent Rutilius instead. Fimbria was disappointed at the outset that he was not deemed worthy of an interview, although it had been given to the enemy. When he begged pardon for an offence due to his youth, Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him to go away in safety by sea if he would take ship from the province of Asia, of which Sulla was proconsul. Fimbria said that he had another and better route. He went to Pergamus, entered into the temple of Æsculapius, and stabbed himself with his sword. As the wound was not mortal he ordered a slave to drive the weapon in. The latter killed his master and then himself. So perished Fimbria, who next to Mithridates had most sorely afflicted Asia. Sull gave his body to his freedmen for burial, adding that he would not imitate Cinna and Marius, who had deprived many in Rome of their lives and of burial after death. The army of Fimbria came over to him, and he exchanged pledges with it and joined it with his own. Then he directed Curio to restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia and reported everything to the Senate, ignoring the fact that he had been voted an enemy.

[61] αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος, Ἰλίας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος, ἢ ὥν διὰ

προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθησαν οὗ ἕνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἤφει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους, ἐς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν. καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, οἷς ἐλευθερίαν ἐδεδώκει Μιθριδάτης, ἐκήρυττεν αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανέναι. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων, καὶ πόλεων τινῶν ἀφισταμένων, ἐγίνοντο σφαγαὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων ἐπὶ ποικίλαις προφάσεσι, τείχη τε πολλῶν καθηρεῖτο, καὶ συχνὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἠνδραποδίζετο καὶ διηρπάζετο. οἱ τε καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἢ πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Ἐφέσιοι, σὺν αἰσχυρᾷ κολακείᾳ ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναθήματα ὑβρίσαντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ κήρυγμα περιήει, τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώσει κατὰ πόλιν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς Ἐφεσον. καὶ συνελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδημηγόρησεν οὕτως.

[61] Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had bravely suffered on his account, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. Then he distributed his army among the remaining towns and issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, several massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished, and especially the Ephesians, who, with servile adulation of the king, had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with indignity. After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows: —

[62] ἡμεῖς στρατῷ πρῶτον ἐς Ἀσίαν παρήλθομεν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως πορθοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ἐξελάσαντες δ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἄλυν καὶ Ταῦρον αὐτῷ θέμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρον, οὐ κατέσχομεν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἐκείνου γενομένων, ἀλλὰ μεθήκαμεν αὐτονόμους, πλὴν εἴ τινας Εὐμένει καὶ Ῥοδίοις συμμαχήσασιν ἡμῖν ἔδομεν, οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προστάταις εἶναι. τεκμήριον δ' ὅτι Λυκίους αἰτιωμένους τι Ῥοδίων ἀπεστήσαμεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τοιοῦδε περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγόναμεν: ὑμεῖς δέ, Ἀττάλου τοῦ φιλομήτορος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐν διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος, Ἀριστονίκῳ καθ' ἡμῶν τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι συνεμαχέετε, μέχρι καὶ Ἀοιστόνικος ἐάλω καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ἐς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον περιήλθετε. καὶ ὧδε πράσσοντες ὁμῶς, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν ἐς μέγα περιουσίας καὶ κάλλους κατασκευῆς ἰδιωτικῆς τε καὶ δημοσίας προελθόντες, ὑπὸ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς ἐξυβρίσατε αὐθις, καὶ τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φυλάξαντες οἱ μὲν ἐπηγάγεσθε Μιθριδάτην, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντι συνέθεσθε. ὃ δ' ἐστὶ πάντων μιαιώτατον, ὑπέστητε αὐτῷ μᾶς ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἅπαντας αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ μητράσιν ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων διὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους θεοὺς ἐφείσασθε. ἐφ' οἷς ἔδοτε μὲν τινα καὶ αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δίκην, ἀπίστω τε ἐς ὑμᾶς γενομένῳ, καὶ φόνου

καὶ δημεύσεων ἐμπλήσαντι ὑμᾶς, καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς ἐργασασμένῳ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ δούλων ἐλευθερώσεις, καὶ τυράννους ἐπ' ἐνίοις, καὶ ληστήρια πολλὰ ἀνά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὡς εὐθὺς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν πείρᾳ καὶ παραβολῇ οἴους ἀνθ' οἷων προστάτας ἐπελέγεσθε. ἔδοσαν δέ τινα καὶ ἡμῖν δίκην οἱ τῶνδε ἄρξαντες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κοινὴν ὑμῖν ἐπιτεθῆναι τοιάδε ἐργασασμένοις: ἦν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὁμοίαν οἷς ἐδράσατε γενέσθαι, μὴ ποτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σφαγὰς ἀσεβεῖς ἢ δημεύσεις ἀβούλους ἢ δούλων ἐπαναστάσεις, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα βαρβαρικά, μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν λάβοιεν. φειδοῖ δὲ γένους ἔτι καὶ ὀνόματος Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τῆς φιλτάτης Ῥωμαίοις εὐφημίας οὐνεκα, μόνους ὑμῖν ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. διαιρήσω δὲ ταῦθ' ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τάξω προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς, καὶ τοῖς οὐ φυλάξασιν ἐπιθήσω δίκην ὡς πολεμίους.

[62] "We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus. We did not retain possession of you when we had delivered you from him, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries, but as clients. The proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we deprived them of their authority. Such was our conduct toward you. You, on the other hand, when Attalus Philometor had left his kingdom to us in his will, gave aid to Aristonicus against us for four years. When he was captured most of you, under the impulse of necessity and fear, returned to your duty. Notwithstanding all this, after a period of twenty-four years, during which you had attained to great prosperity and embellishment, public and private, you again became puffed up by ease and luxury and took the opportunity, while we were preoccupied in Italy, some of you to call in Mithridates and others to join him when he came. Most infamous of all, you obeyed the order he gave to kill all the Italians in your communities, including women and children, in one day. You did not even spare those who fled to the temples dedicated to your own gods. You have received some punishment for this crime from Mithridates himself, who broke faith with you and gave you your fill of rapine and slaughter, redistributed your lands, cancelled debts, freed your slaves, appointed tyrants over some of you, and committed robberies everywhere by land and sea; so that you learned immediately by experiment and comparison what kind of defender you chose instead of your former ones. The instigators of these crimes paid some penalty to us also. It is necessary, too, that some penalty should be inflicted upon you in common, as you have been guilty in common, and something corresponding to your deserts. But may the Romans never even conceive of impious slaughter, indiscriminate confiscation, servile insurrections, or other acts of barbarism. I shall spare even now the Greek race and name so celebrated throughout Asia, and for the sake of that fair repute that is ever dear to the Romans I shall only impose upon you the taxes of five years, to be

paid at once, together with the cost of the war expended by me, and whatever else may be spent in settling the affairs of the province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies.”

[63] τοσάδε εἰπὼν ἐπιδιήρει τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὴν ζημίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμπε. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἀποροῦσαι τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θεάτρα τοῖς δανεῖζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τεῖχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ εἴ τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ὑπετίθεντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ὧδε τῷ Σύλλα συνεκομίζετο, καὶ κακῶν ἄδην εἶχεν ἡ Ἀσία· ἐπέπλει δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ ληστήρια πολὺνδρα φανερώς, στόλοις ἐοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ λησταῖς, Μιθριδάτου μὲν αὐτὰ πρώτου καθέντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτε πάνθ’ ὥς οὐκ ἐς πολὺν καθέξων ἐλυμαίνετο, πλεονάσαντα δ’ ἐς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὐ τοῖς πλέουσι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ χωρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιχειροῦντα φανερώς. Ἰασσὸς γέ τοι καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαμοθράκη Σύλλα παρόντος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσυλήθη τὸ Σαμοθράκιον χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον, ὥς ἐνομίζετο. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἐκὼν ὥς ἀμαρτόντας ἐνουβρίζεσθαι καταλιπὼν, εἴτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην στάσιν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ διέπλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑμφυλίοις ἀναγράφεται,

[63] After he had thus spoken Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbors, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus was the money collected and brought to Sulla. The province of Asia had her fill of misery. She was assailed openly by a vast number of pirates, resembling regular fleets rather than robber bands. Mithridates had first fitted them out at the time when he was ravaging all the coasts, thinking he could not long hold these regions. Their numbers had then greatly increased, and they did not confine them-selves to ships alone, but openly attacked harbors, castles, and cities. They captured Iassus, Samos, and Clazomenæ, also Samothrace, where Sulla was staying at the time, and it was said that they robbed the temple at that place of ornaments valued at 1000 talents. Sulla, willing perhaps that those who had offended him should be maltreated, or because he was in haste to put down the hostile faction in Rome, left them and sailed for Greece, and thence passed on to Italy with the greater part of his army. What he did there I have related in my history of the civil wars. (Y.R. 671)

[64] ἄρχεται δ’ ὁ δεύτερος Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμος ἐνθὲνδε.

Μουρήνας μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα σὺν δύο τέλεσι τοῖς Φιμβρίου καθίστασθαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ πολέμων ἀφορμὰς ἤρσεσχίλει δι’ ἐπιθυμίαν θριάμβου· Μιθριδάτης δ’ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπλεύσας Κόλχοις καὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀφισταμένοις ἐπολέμει. ὧν Κόλχοι τὸν υἱὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ,

Μιθριδάτην, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἡτοῦντο δοθῆναι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτίκα ὑπήκουσαν. ὑποπεύσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τότε πρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντος γενέσθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν ἔδησεν ἐν πέδαις χρυσαῖς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέκτεινε, πολλὰ χρήσιμόν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Φιμβρίαν ἀγῶσι γενόμενον. ἐπὶ δὲ Βοσποριανοὺς ναῦς τε συνεπήγνυτο καὶ στρατὸν ἡτοιμάζετο πολὺν, ὥς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς παρασκευῆς δόξαν ἐγεῖραι ταχεῖαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις τάδε συλλέγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὐδ' Ἀριοβαρζάνη πᾶσαν ἐβεβαίου Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἅ καὶ τότε κατεῖχεν. Ἀρχέλαόν τε ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐτίθετο ὥς πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσιν ἐπιχωρήσαντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὢν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ δέισας ἐς Μουρήναν ἔφυγε, καὶ παροξύνας αὐτὸν ἔπεισε Μιθριδάτῃ προεπιχειρεῖν. Μουρήνας μὲν δὴ διὰ Καππαδοκίας αὐτίκα ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Κόμανα, κώμην ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μεγίστην, σεβάσμιον ἱερὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἔχουσαν, ἰππέας τινὰς ἔκτεινε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τὰς συνθήκας προτείνουσιν οὐκ ἔφη συνθήκας ὅρᾶν· οὐ γὰρ συνεγέγραπτο Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὰ λεχθέντα βεβαιώσας ἀπῆλλακτο. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὁ Μουρήνας εὐθέως ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἀποσχόμενος ἐχεύμαζεν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ.

[64] The second Mithridatic war began in this way. Murena, who had been left by Sulla with Fimbria's two legions to settle affairs of the rest of Asia, sought trifling pretexts for war, being ambitious of a triumph. Mithridates, after his return to Pontus, went to war with the Colchians and the tribes around the Cimmerian Bosphorus who had revolted from him. The Colchians asked him to give them his son, Mithridates, as their ruler, and when he did so they at once returned to their allegiance. The king (B.C. 83) suspected that this was brought about by his son through his own ambition to be king. Accordingly he sent for him and first bound him with golden fetters, and soon afterward put him to death, although he had served him well in Asia in the battles with Fimbria. Against the tribes of the Bosphorus he built a fleet and fitted out a large army. The magnitude of his preparations gave rise to the belief that they were made not against those tribes, but against the Romans, for he had not yet restored the whole of Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but still retained a part of it. He also had suspicions of Archelaus. He thought that the latter had yielded more than was necessary to Sulla in his negotiations in Greece. When Archelaus heard of this he became alarmed and fled to Murena, and by working on him persuaded him to anticipate Mithridates in beginning hostilities. Murena marched suddenly through Cappadocia and attacked Comana, a very large country town belonging to Mithridates, with a rich and renowned temple, and killed some of the king's cavalry. When the king's ambassadors appealed to the treaty he replied that he saw no treaty; for Sulla had not written it out, but had gone away after the terms had been fulfilled by acts. When Murena had delivered his answer he began robbing forthwith, not sparing the money of the temples, and he went into winter quarters in Cappadocia. (Y.R. 672)

[65] Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς Σύλλαν, αἰτιώμενος ἃ ποιεῖ Μουρήνας. ὁ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν περάσας, μέγαν τε ὄντα καὶ δύσπορον τότε μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπ' ὄμβρων, τετρακοσίας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κόμας ἐπέτρεχεν, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀναμένοντος. λείας δὲ πολλῆς καταγέμων ἐς Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐπανήει, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Καλίδιος, ἐπὶ ταῖς Μιθριδάτου μέμψεσι πεμφθεὶς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ψήφισμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπέδωκεν, ἔφη δ' ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐν μέσῳ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῷ κελεύειν φείδεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος ἐνσπόνδου. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὥφθη διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐδὲν ἀνείς τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ τότε τὴν γῆν ἐπήει τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου. ὁ δὲ σαφῶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος πολεμεῖσθαι, Γόρδιον ἐς τὰς κόμας ἐσβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ Γόρδιος ὑποζύγιά τε πολλὰ καὶ σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ιδιώτας τε καὶ στρατιώτας, συνήρπαζε, καὶ αὐτῷ Μουρήνῃ, μέσον λαβὼν ποταμόν, ἀντεκαθέζετο. μάχης δ' οὐδέτερος ἦρχεν, ἕως ἀφίκετο Μιθριδάτης σὺν τῷ πλείονι στρατῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχη γίγνεται καρτερὰ. καὶ βιασάμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τᾶλλα πολὺ κρείττων τοῦ Μουρήνα γενόμενος. ὁ δ' ἐς λόφον καρτερόν ἀναφυγών, ἐπιχειροῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἔφρουγε διὰ τῶν ὀρεινῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας, ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς.

[65] Mithridates sent an embassy to the Senate and to Sulla to complain of the acts of Murena. The latter, meantime, had passed over the river Halys, which was then swollen by rains and very difficult to cross. He captured 400 villages belonging to Mithridates. The king offered no opposition, but waited for the return of his embassy. Murena returned to Phrygia and Galatia loaded down with plunder. There he met Calidius, who had been sent from Rome on account of the complaints of Mithridates. Calidius did not bring a decree of the Senate, but he declared in the hearing of all that the Senate ordered him not to molest the king, as he had not broken the treaty. After he had thus spoken he was seen talking to Murena alone. Murena abated nothing of his violence, but again invaded the territory of Mithridates. The latter, thinking that open war had been ordered by the Romans, directed his (B.C. 82) general, Gordius, to retaliate on their villages. Gordius straightway seized and carried off a large number of animals and other property and men, both private citizens and soldiers, and took position against Murena himself, with a river flowing between them. Neither of them began the fight until Mithridates came up with a larger army, when a severe engagement immediately took place on the banks of the river. Mithridates prevailed, crossed the river, and got the better of Murena decidedly. The latter retreated to a strong hill where the king attacked him. After losing many men Murena fled over the mountains to Phrygia by a pathless route, severely harassed by the missiles of the enemy.

[66] ἥ τε νίκη λαμπρὰ καὶ ὀξεῖα ἐξ ἐφόδου γενομένη ταχὺ διέπτη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν Μιθριδάτην μετέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ φρούρια τοῦ Μουρήνα πάντα ἐπιδραμών τε καὶ ἐξελάσας ἔθυε τῷ στρατῷ Διὶ πάτριον

θυσίαν ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, κορυφὴν μείζονα ἄλλην ἀπὸ ξύλων ἐπιτιθείς. πρῶτοι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι, καὶ περιθέντες ἑτέραν ἐν κύκλῳ βραχυτέραν τῇ μὲν ἄνω γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ἐπιφοροῦσι, τῇ δ' ἐπιπέδῳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὄψον ἐς ἄριστον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιτιθέντες, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος, ἅπτουσι τὴν ὕλην. ἡ δ' αἰθομένη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τηλοῦ τε χιλίων σταδίων γίγνεται τοῖς πλέουσι καταφανής, καὶ πελάσαι φασὶν ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, αἰθομένου τοῦ ἀέρος, οὐ δυνατόν εἶναι.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τὴν θυσίαν ἤγε πατρίῳ νόμῳ: Σύλλα δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος Μιθριδάτην ἔνσπονδον πολεμεῖσθαι, Αὐλὸς Γαβίνιος ἐπέμψθη Μουρήνα μὲν ἀληθῆ τήνδε προαγόρευσιν ἐρῶν, μὴ πολεμεῖν Μιθριδάτῃ, Μιθριδάτην δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀλλήλοις συναλλάξων. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇδε τῇ συνόδῳ παῖδιον τετραετὲς ἐγγυήσας τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε προφάσει λαβὼν ἔχειν Καππαδοκίας ὅσα τε εἶχε καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰστία πάντας, καὶ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ τῇ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπὶ σκώμμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ᾧδῇ πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προυτίθει: οὗ μόνος Γαβίνιος οὐχ ἦπατο. ὁ μὲν δὴ δεύτερος Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος τρίτῳ μάλιστα ἔτει ἐς τοῦτο διελύετο.

[66] The news of this brilliant and decisive victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to Mithridates. The latter drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadæ) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country. Sulla thought that it was not right to make war against Mithridates when he had not violated the treaty. Accordingly, Aulus Gabinius was sent to tell Murena that the former order, that he should not fight Mithridates, was to be taken seriously, and to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes with each other. At a conference between them Mithridates betrothed his little daughter, four years old, to Ariobarzanes, and improved the occasion to stipulate that he should not only retain that part of Cappadocia which he then held, but have another part in addition. Then he gave a banquet to all, with prizes of gold for those who (Y.R. 673) should excel in drinking, eating, jesting, singing, and so (B.C. 81) forth, as was customary, in which Gabinius was the only one who did not engage. Thus the second war between Mithridates and the Romans, lasting about three years, came to an end.

CHAPTER X

New Troubles brewing — Mithridates forms an Alliance with Sertorius and prepares for War — Makes a Speech to his Troops — Invades Bithynia

(Y.R. 674)

[67] καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βόσπορον ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῶν υἱέων ἓνα ἀπεδείκνυ Μαχάρην. ἐς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Κόλχους ἐσβαλὼν, οἱ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίας κατὰ τὴν ἐπ'ἀνόδον πλανηθέντων, δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ πολέμῳ τε καὶ κρύει καὶ ἐνέδραις ἀποβαλὼν ἐπανήλθε, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε τοὺς συγγραφομένους τὰ συγκείμενα. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, εἴθ' ἐκὼν εἶτε πρὸς τινῶν ἐνοχλούμενος, οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνειν Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον αὐτῆς ἔτι Μιθριδάτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, Σύλλα κελεύοντος αὐτῷ μεθεῖναι Καππαδοκίαν, μεθῆκε, καὶ ἑτέραν πρεσβείαν ἐπέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν συνθηκῶν συγγραφάς: ἤδη δὲ Σύλλα τεθνεῶτος, οὐκ ἐπαγόντων αὐτὴν ὡς ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τῶν προβούλων ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, Τιγρὰν τὸν γαμβρὸν Μιθριδάτης ἔπεισεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν σόφισμα οὐκ ἔλαθε Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος Καππαδοκίαν σαγηνεύσας ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀνασπάστους ἐς Ἀρμένίαν ἐποίησε, καὶ συνάκιζεν αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔς τι χωρίον ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἀρμενίας τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸς περιεθήκατο, καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν: δύναται δ' εἶναι Τιγρανόπολις.

[67] As Mithridates was now at leisure he subdued the (B.C. 80) tribes of the Bosphorus and appointed Machares, one of his sons, king over them. Then he fell upon the Achæans beyond Colchis (who are supposed to be descended from those who lost their way when returning from the Trojan war), but lost two divisions of his army, partly by open war, partly by the severity of the climate, and partly by stratagem. When he returned home he sent ambassadors to Rome to sign the agreements. At the same time Ariobarzanes, either of his own notion or at the prompting of others, sent thither to complain that Cappadocia had not been delivered up to him, but that a greater part of it was yet retained by Mithridates. Sulla commanded Mithridates to give up Cappadocia. He did so, and then sent another embassy to sign the agreements. But now Sulla had just (Y.R. 676) died, and as the Senate was otherwise occupied the prætors (B.C. 78) did not admit them. So Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law, Tigranes, to make an incursion into Cappadocia as though it were on his own account. This artifice did not deceive the Romans. The Armenian king threw, as it were, a drag net around Cappadocia and made a haul of about 300,000 people, whom he carried off to his own country and settled them, with others, in a certain place where he had first assumed the diadem of Armenia and which he had called after himself, Tigranocerta, or the city of Tigranes.

[68] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ: Σερτώριος δ' Ἰβηρίας ἡγούμενος αὐτὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ περίοικα πάντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀνίστη, καὶ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν οἱ συνόντων, ἐς μῆμα τῆς συγκλήτου, κατέλεγεν. δύο δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν στασιωτῶν, Λεύκιοι, Μάγιός τε καὶ Φάννιος, Μιθριδάτην ἔπειθον συμμαχεῖσθαι τῷ Σερτωρίῳ, πολλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐγγύς ἐθνῶν ἐπελιπόντες. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σερτώριον ἔπεμψεν: ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον παραγαγὼν τε, καὶ μεγαλοφρονήσας ὅτι τὸ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον δίκετο καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξοι πολιορκεῖν ἀπὸ τε δύσεως καὶ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, συνετίθετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δώσειν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτῷ Μάρκον Οὐάριον καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς Λευκίους, Μάγιόν τε καὶ Φάννιον, ἔπεμψεν. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέφαινε τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖόν οἱ γενόμενον ἐς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν Σερτωρίου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐπιπεμφθέντων δὲ οἱ στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης προτέρου Λευκόλλου τοῦδε τοῦ νεναναρχηκότος Σύλλα, ὑστέρου δὲ Πομπηίου, ἐφ' οὗτο πάντα ὅσα ἦν Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῖς γειτονεύοντα, μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, προφάσει καὶ ὁρμῇ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντα περιηνέχθη.

[68] While these things were taking place in Asia Sertorius, the governor of Spain, incited that province and all the neighboring country to rebel against the Romans, and (Y.R. 679) selected from his associates a senate in imitation of that (B.C. 75) of Rome. Two members of his faction, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, proposed to Mithridates to ally himself with Sertorius, holding out the hope that he would acquire a large part of the province of Asia and of the neighboring nations. Mithridates fell in with this suggestion and sent ambassadors to Sertorius. The latter introduced them to his senate and felicitated himself that his fame had extended to Pontus, and that he could now besiege the Roman power in both the Orient and the Occident. So he made a treaty with Mithridates to give him Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, and sent Marcus Varius to him as a general and the two Luciuses, Magius and Fannius, as counsellors. With their assistance Mithridates began his third and last war against the Romans, in the course of which he lost his entire kingdom, and Sertorius lost his life in Spain. Two generals were sent against Mithridates from Rome; the first, Lucullus, the same who had served as prefect of the fleet under Sulla; the second, Pompey, by whom the whole of his dominions, and the adjoining territory as far as the river Euphrates, under the pretext and impetus of the Mithridatic war, were brought under Roman sway.

[69] Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις ἐς πείραν ἐλθόν, καὶ τότε μάλιστα τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ἀπροφασίστως δὴ καὶ ὀξέως γενόμενος, ἄσπειστον ἔξειν, πᾶσαν ἐπενόει παρασκευῆν ὡς ἄρτι δὴ κριθησόμενος περὶ πάντων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ὑλοτομῶν ἐπήγγυτο ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα, καὶ σίτου διακοσίας μεδίμων μυριάδας ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ διετίθει.

σύμμαχοί τε αὐτῷ προσεγίνοντο, χωρίς τῆς προτέρας δυνάμεως, Χάλυβες Ἀρμένιοι Σκύθαι Ταῦροι Ἀχαιοὶ Ἠνίοχοι Λευκόσυροι, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν γῆν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀμαζόνων λεγομένην. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν προσεγίνετο, περάσαντι δ' ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Σαυροματῶν οἱ τε βασιλῆες καὶ Ἰάζυγες καὶ Κόραλλοι, καὶ Θρακῶν ὅσα γένη παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον ἢ Ῥοδόπην ἢ τὸν Αἴμον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βαστέρναι, τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον αὐτῶν γένος. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τότε προσελάμβανεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ μυριάδες ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῷ συνελέγοντο τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μάλιστα πεζῶν, καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἑξακισχίλιοι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ὁδοποιῶν καὶ σκευοφόρων εἵπετο καὶ ἐμπόρων.

[69] Mithridates had been in collision with the Romans so often that he knew that this war, so inexcusably and hastily begun, would be an implacable one. He made every preparation with the thought that all was at stake. The remainder of the summer and the whole of the winter he spent in cutting timber, building ships, and making arms. He distributed 2,000,000 medimni of corn along the coast. Besides his former forces he had for allies the Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Taurians, Achæans, Heniochi, Leucosyrians, and those who occupy the territory about the river Thermodon, called the country of the Amazons. These additions to his former strength were from Asia. From Europe he drew of the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidæ and the Jazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Hæmus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnæ, the bravest nation of all. Altogether Mithridates recruited a fighting force of about 140,000 foot and 16,000 horse. A great crowd of road-makers, baggage-carriers, and sutlers followed. (Y.R. 680)

[70] ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ἀπόπειραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιησάμενος, ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὶ τὴν συνήθη θυσίαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι λευκῶν ἵππων ἄρμα καθείς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἠπείγετο, στρατηγούντων αὐτῷ Ταξίλου τε καὶ Ἑρμοκράτους. ὥς δ' ἀφίκετο, ἐδημηγόρησε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τε τῶν προγόνων μάλα σεμνολόγως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ μεγαληγόρως, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προαγαγὼν οὐποτε Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθεῖ παρών. εἶτα κατηγορήσεν αὐτῶν ἐς πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀμετρίαν, ὅφ' ἦς, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν δεδούλωνται. καὶ τὰς γενομένας οἱ τελευταίας συνθήκας ἐπέφερεν ὥς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀναγράψασθαι, καιροφυλακοῦντες αὐθις ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενος, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ὅλην καὶ παρασκευὴν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀσχολίαν πολεμουμένων ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου κατὰ κράτος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ στασιαζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. 'διὸ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης,' ἔφη, 'καταφρονοῦσι ληστευομένης πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, οὐδ' ὑπήκοος ἐκούσιος ἔτι. οὐχ ὁρᾷτε δ' αὐτῶν,' ἔφη, 'καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους,' ἐπιδεικνὺς Οὐάριόν τε καὶ τοὺς Λευκίους, 'πολεμίου μὲν ὄντας τῇ πατρίδι, συμμάχους δ' ἡμῖν.'

[70] At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial (B.C. 74) of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea. Then he hastened against Paphlagonia with his two generals, Taxiles and Hermocrates, in command of his army. When he arrived there he made a speech to his soldiers, eulogistic of his ancestors and still more so of himself, showing how his kingdom had grown to greatness from small beginnings, and how his army had never been defeated by the Romans when he was present. He accused the Romans of avarice and lust of power “to such an extent,” he said, “that they had enslaved Italy and Rome itself.” He accused them of bad faith respecting the last and still existing treaty, saying that they were not willing to sign it because they were watching for an opportunity to violate it again. After thus setting forth the cause of the war he dwelt upon the composition of his army and his apparatus, upon the preoccupation of the Romans, who were waging a difficult war with Sertorius in Spain, and were torn with civil dissensions throughout Italy, “for which reason,” he said, “they have allowed the sea to be overrun by pirates a long time, and have not a single ally, nor any subjects who still obey them willingly. Do you not see,” he added, “some of their noblest citizens (pointing to Varius and the two Luciuses) at war with their own country and allied with us?”

[71] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐρεθίσας ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Βιθυνίαν, Νικομήδους ἄρτι τεθνεῶτος ἄπαιδος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολιπόντος. Κόττας δ' ἡγούμενος αὐτῆς, ἀσθενῆς τὰ πολέμια πάμπαν, ἔφυγεν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε δυνάμεις. καὶ Βιθυνία μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, τῶν πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρὸς Κότταν συνθεόντων. ἐπιόντος δὲ καὶ τῇ Χαλκηδόνι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Κόττας μὲν ὑπ' ἀπραξίας οὐ προῆει, Νοῦδος δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτοῦ, σὺν μέρει τινὶ στρατοῦ τὰ ὀχυρώτατα τοῦ πεδίου καταλαβὼν καὶ ἐξελαθείς, ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς Χαλκηδόνης διὰ θριγκίων πολλῶν πάνυ δυσχερῶς. ἀμφὶ τε τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν ἐσπηδόντων ὁμοῦ· ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοῖς διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς βέλος ἦτύχει. ὥς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πυλῶν δέισαντες οἱ φύλακες τὰ κλεῖθρα καθῆκαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, Νοῦδον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τινὰς καλῶδίοις ἀνιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τε φίλων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς ἑκατέρους ὀρέγοντες. ὃ τε Μιθριδάτης τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας χρώμενος ἐπῆγεν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀλύσει χαλκῇ δεδεμένον ἀπορρήξας τέσσαρας μὲν ἐνέπρησε τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐξήκοντα ἀνεδέησεν, οὐδὲν οὔτε Νοῦδου κωλύοντος ἔτι οὔτε Κόττα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τεῖχη συγκεκλεισμένων. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ Λεύκιος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Μιθριδάτου δὲ Βαστερνῶν τῶν πρώτων ἐσπεσόντων ἐς τὸν λιμένα εἴκοσιν.

[71] When he had finished speaking and exciting his army, he invaded Bithynia. Nicomedes had lately died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Cotta, its governor, was a man altogether unwarlike. He fled to

Chalcedon with what force he had. Thus Bithynia again passed under the rule of Mithridates. The Romans from all directions flocked to Cotta at Chalcedon. When Mithridates advanced to that place Cotta did not go out to meet him because he was inexperienced in military affairs, but his naval prefect, Nudus, with a part of the army occupied a very strong position on the plain. He was driven out of it, however, and fled to the gates of Chalcedon over many walls which greatly obstructed his movement. There was a struggle at the gates among those trying to gain entrance simultaneously, for which reason no missile cast by the pursuers missed its mark. The guards at the gates, fearing for the city, let down the gate from the machine. Nudus and some of the other officers were drawn up by ropes. The remainder perished between their friends and their foes, holding out their hands in entreaty to each. Mithridates made good use of his success. He moved his ships up to the harbor the same day, broke the brazen chain that closed the entrance, burned four of the enemy's ships, and towed the remaining sixty away. Nudus offered no resistance, nor Cotta, for they remained shut up inside the walls. The Roman loss was about 3000, including Lucius Manlius, a man of senatorial rank. Mithridates lost twenty of his Bastarnæ, who were the first to break into the harbor.

CHAPTER XI

Lucullus takes the Command against him and cuts off his Supplies at Cyzicus — Mithridates besieges Cyzicus — Valiant Defence of the City — Famine in the Besieging Army — Flight of Mithridates — Lucullus pursues — Mithridates suffers Shipwreck

[72] Λεύκιος δὲ Λεύκολλος ὑπατεύειν καὶ στρατηγεῖν αἰρεθεὶς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέλος μέν τι στρατιωτῶν ἦγεν ἐκ Ῥώμης, δύο δ' ἄλλα τὰ Φιμβρίου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερα δύο προσλαβὼν, σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους ἐπὶ ἑξακοσίοις, παρεστρατοπέδευε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ περὶ Κύζικον. καὶ δι' αὐτομόλων ἐπιγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατιὰν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἀγορὰν δὲ εἴ τι σιτολογοῦντες ἢ ἐκ θαλάσσης λάβοιεν, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκελεύετο μνημονεῦειν. ὄρος δὲ ἰδὼν εὐκαιρον ἐς στρατοπεδεῖαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν εὐπορήσειν ἔμελλεν ἀγορᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀποκλείσειν, ἐπεχείρει καταλαβεῖν ὥς ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον ἔξων. μιᾶς δ' οὔσης ἐς αὐτὸ διόδου στενῆς, ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττεν ἐγκρατῶς, ὧδε καὶ Ταξίλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων αὐτῷ παραινοῦντων. Λεύκιος δὲ Μάγιος ὁ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους διαιτήσας, ἀνηρημένου τοῦ Σερτωρίου πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἐπετόμφει κρύφα, καὶ πίστιν λαβὼν μετέπειθε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὑπεριδεῖν Ῥωμαίων παροδευόντων τε καὶ στρατοπεδευόντων ὅπῃ θελήσειαν. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιμβρία γεγόμενα δύο τέλη βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν, καὶ αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέσεσθαι: τί οὖν χρήζειν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος καὶ φόνου, δυνάμενον ἀμαχὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων; οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης συνθέμενος ἀνοήτως μάλα καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, περιεῖδε Ῥωμαίους διὰ στενοῦ παροδεύοντας ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐπιτειχίζοντας αὐτῷ μέγα ὄρος, οὗ κρατοῦντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀπισθεν ἔμελλον ἀγορὰν ἀδεῶς ἐπάξεσθαι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ λίμνη καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀποκλείσειν τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων, ὃ τι μὴ γλίσχρως ποτὲ λάβοι, οὔτε ἐξόδους εὐρείας ἔτι ἔχοντα, οὔτε βιάζεσθαι δυνάμενον ἔτι Λεύκολλον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ἧς κρατῶν κατεφρόνησεν. ὃ τε χειμῶν ἤδη πλησιάζων ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταστήσειν. ἂ θεορῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος τοὺς φίλους ἀνεμίμνησκε τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγγελθὲν ὥς παρὸν ἐδείκνυ.

[72] Lucius Lucullus, who had been chosen consul and general for this war, led one legion of soldiers from Rome, joined with it the two of Fimbria, and added two others, making in all 30,000 foot and 1600 horse, with which he pitched his camp near that of Mithridates at Cyzicus. When he learned from deserters that the king's army contained about 300,000 men and that all his supplies were furnished by foragers or came by sea, he said to those around him that he would presently reduce the enemy without fighting, and he told them to remember his promise. Seeing a mountain well suited for a camp,

where he could readily obtain supplies, and could cut off those of the enemy, he moved forward to occupy it in order to gain a victory by that means without danger. There was only one narrow pass leading to it, and Mithridates held it by a strong guard. He had been advised to do so by Taxiles and his other officers. Lucius Magius, who had brought about the alliance between Sertorius and Mithridates, now that Sertorius was dead, opened secret communications with Lucullus, and having secured pledges from him persuaded Mithridates to allow the Romans to pass through and encamp where they pleased. "The two legions of Fimbria," he said, "want to desert, and will come over to you directly. What is the use of a battle and bloodshed when you can conquer the enemy without fighting?" Mithridates assented to this advice heedlessly and without suspicion. He allowed the Romans to go through the pass unmolested and to fortify the great hill on his front. When they had possessed themselves of it they were able to draw supplies from their rear without difficulty. Mithridates, on the other hand, was cut off by a lake, by mountains, and by rivers, from all provisions on the landward side, except an occasional supply secured with difficulty; he had no easy way out and he could not overcome Lucullus on account of the difficulty of the ground, which he had disregarded when he himself had the advantage. Moreover, winter was now approaching and would soon interrupt his supplies by sea. As Lucullus looked over the situation he reminded his friends of his promise, and showed them that his prediction was practically accomplished.

[73] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος διὰ μέσων ὤσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, τούτου μὲν ὑπερεῖδε, Κυζίκῳ δὲ οἷς παρεσκεύασε πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπετίθετο, νομίσας ἐν τῷδε διορθώσιν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἷα δὲ εὐπορῶν στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, πᾶσιν ἔργοις ἐπεχείρει, τὸν τε σταθμὸν ἀποτειχίζων τείχει διπλῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποταφρεύων. χώματά τε ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυτο, πύργους καὶ χελώνας κριοφόρους, ἐλέπολιν τε ἑκατὸν πήχεων, ἐξ ἧς ἕτερος πύργος ἐπῆρτο καταπέλτας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη ποικίλα ἀφιεῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας δύο πεντήρεις ἐξευγμέναι πύργον ἕτερον ἔφερον, ἐξ οὗ γέφυρα, ὅποτε προσπελάσειαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξήλλετο. ὥς δ' ἔτοιμα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐγεγένητο, πρῶτα μὲν τρισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους Κυζικηνούς ἐπὶ νεῶν τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν, οἱ χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὀρέγοντες ἐδέοντο σφῶν κινδυνευόντων φείσασθαι τοὺς πολίτας, μέχρι Πεισίστρατος αὐτοῖς, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἐκήρυξε φέρειν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐγκρατῶς, αἰχμαλώτους γεγονότας.

[73] Although Mithridates might perhaps even now have been able to break through the enemy's lines by force of numbers, he neglected to do so, but pressed the siege of Cyzicus with the apparatus he had prepared, thinking that he should find a remedy in this way both for the badness of his position and for his want of supplies. As he had plenty of soldiers he pushed the siege in every possible way. He blockaded the harbor with a double sea wall and drew

a line of circumvallation around the rest of the city. He raised mounds, built machines, towers, and rams protected by tortoises. He constructed a siege engine 100 cubits high, from which rose another tower furnished with catapults discharging stones and various kinds of missiles. Two quinqueremes joined together carried another tower against the port, from which a bridge could be projected by a mechanical device when brought near the wall. When all was in readiness he first sent against the city on ships 3000 inhabitants of Cyzicus whom he had taken prisoners. These raised their hands toward the wall in supplication and besought their fellow-citizens to spare them in their dangerous position, but Pisistratus, the Cyzicean general, proclaimed from the walls that as they were in the enemy's hands they must meet their fate bravely.

[74] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀπέγνω τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μηχανήν· καὶ ἥ τε γέφυρα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλατο ἄφνω, καὶ τέσσαρες ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄνδρες ἐξέδραμον. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ φανέντι καταπλαγέοντες οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τι ὑπεχώρησαν, οὐκ ὀξέως δὲ ἐτέρων ἐπιδραμόντων ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κατέωσαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ πῦρ καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέαντες ἠνάγκασαν πρύμναν τε κρούσασθαι καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ὀπίσω μετὰ τοῦ μηχανήματος. ὧδε μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπενεχθέντων ἐκράτουν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ· τρίτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπήγετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ μηχανήματα ὁμοῦ πάντα, πονουμένοις τε καὶ μεταθέουσιν ἐς τὸ αἰετίζομενον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κριοὺς λίθοις ἀπεκαύλιζον ἢ βρόχοις ἀνέκλων ἢ φορμοῖς ἐρίων τῆς βίας ἐξέλυον, τῶν δὲ βελῶν τοῖς μὲν πυρφόροις ὑπὴντων ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προβολαῖς ἱματίων ἢ ὀθόναις κεχαλασμέναις τῆς φορᾶς ἀνέλυον, ὅλως τε οὐδὲν προθυμίας ἀνδρὶ δυνατῆς ἐξέλειπον. καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς φερεπονώτατα δὴ κακοπαθοῦσιν ὅμως γε τοῦ τείχους ἐκαύθη τι καὶ συνέπεσεν ἐς ἐσπέραν. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασέ τις ἐσαλάμενος ἔτι θερμόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νυκτὸς αὐτίκα περιφκοδόμησαν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν πνεῦμα σφοδρὸν ἐπιγενόμενον περιέκλασε τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων τοῦ βασιλείως.

[74] When this attempt had failed Mithridates brought up the machine erected on the ships and suddenly projected the bridge upon the wall and four of his men ran across. The Cyziceans were at first dumbfounded by the novelty of the device and gave way somewhat, but as the rest of the enemy were slow in following, they plucked up courage and thrust the four over the wall. Then they poured burning pitch on the ships and compelled them to back out stern foremost with the machine. In this way the Cyziceans beat off the invaders by sea. Three times on the same day all the machines on the landward side were massed against the toiling citizens, who flew this way and that way to meet the constantly renewed assault. They broke the rams with stones, or turned them aside with nooses, or deadened their blows with baskets of wool. They extinguished the enemy's fire-bearing missiles with water and vinegar, and broke the force of others by means of garments suspended or linen cloth stretched before them. In short, they left nothing untried that was within the compass of human zeal. Although they toiled most perseveringly, yet a

portion of the wall, that had been weakened by fire, gave way toward evening; but on account of the heat nobody was in a hurry to dash in. The Cyziceans built another wall around it that night, and about this time a tremendous wind came and smashed the rest of the king's machines.

[75] λέγεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐμπροίκιον ὑπὸ Διὸς τῇ κόρῃ δοθῆναι, καὶ σέβουσιν αὐτὴν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μάλιστα θεῶν. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπλαττον ἀπὸ σίτου, μέλαινα δὲ βοῦς ἐκ πελάγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς διενήχeto, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον τοῦ στόματος ὑποδύσά τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσα ὥδευsen ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς παρέστη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μετὰ χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος ἔθουν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνεβούλευον ὥς ἱερᾶς τῆς πόλεως ἀποπλεῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Δίνδυμον ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον ἀνήει, καὶ χῶμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔχου, πύργους τε ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεκρήμνη. τοὺς δ' ἵππους ἀχρείους οἱ τότε ὄντας, καὶ ἀσθενεῖς δι' ἀτροφίαν καὶ χωλεύοντας ἐξ ὑποτριβῆς, ἐς Βιθυνίαν περιέπεμπεν: οἷς ὁ Λεύκολλος περῶσι τὸν Ῥύνδακον ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς, καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς μυρίουσ καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππους δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ σκευοφόρα πολλὰ.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Κύζικον, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Φρυγίαν Εὐμαχος Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐπιτρέχων ἔκτεινε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, Πισίδας τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὑπήγeto καὶ Κιλικίαν, μέχρι τῶν τις Γαλατικῶν τετραρχῶν Δηϊόταρος ἐπιπολάζοντα αὐτὸν συνεδίωξε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν.

[75] It is said that the city of Cyzicus was given by Zeus to Proserpina by way of dowry, and that of all the gods the inhabitants have most veneration for her. Her festival now came around, on which they are accustomed to sacrifice a black heifer to her, and as they had none they made one of paste. Just then a black heifer swam to them from the sea, dived under the chain at the mouth of the harbor, walked into the city, found her own way to the temple, and took her place by the altar. The Cyziceans sacrificed her with joyful hopes. Thereupon the friends of Mithridates advised him to sail away from the place since it was sacred, but he would not do so. He ascended Mount Dindymus, which overhung the city, and built a mound extending from it to the city walls, on which he constructed towers, and, at the same time, undermined the wall with tunnels. As his horses were not useful here, and were weak for want of food and had sore hoofs, he sent them by a roundabout way to Bithynia. Lucullus fell upon them as they were crossing the river Rhyndacus, killed a large number, and captured 15,000 men, 6000 horses, and a large amount of baggage. While these things were transpiring at Cyzicus Eumachus, one of Mithridates' generals, overran Phrygia and killed a great many Romans, with their wives and children, subjugated the Pisidians and the Isaurians and also Cilicia. Finally Deiotarus, one of the tetrarchs of Galatia, drove the marauder away and slew many of his men. Such was the course of events in and around

[76] καὶ περὶ μὲν Φρυγίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτου δὲ χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος ἀφήρητο καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγορὰν, εἴ τις ἦν, ὥστε ἀάμπαν ὁ στρατὸς ἐλίμωττε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σπλάγχχνων ἐγεύοντο βαρβαρικῶς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ποηφαγοῦντες ἐνόσουν. καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σφῶν ἀγχοῦ ἄταφα ῥιπτούμενα λοιμὸν ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμῷ. διεκαρτέρει δ' ὁμως ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἐλπίζων ἔτι τὴν Κύζικον αἰρήσειν τοῖς χώμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Δινδύμου. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπεσύροντο οἱ Κυζικηνοί, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν μηχανὰς ἐπίμπρασαν, καὶ αἰσθήσει τοῦ λιμοῦ πολλάκις ἐπεκθέοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενεστάτοις γεγονόσιν ἐπετίθεντο, δρασμὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐβούλευε, καὶ ἔφευγε νυκτὸς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐς Πάριον, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐς Λάμψακον. περὼντας δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Αἷσηπον ὃ τε ποταμὸς τότε μάλιστα ἀρθεὶς μέγας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Λεύκολλος ἐπιδραμὼν ἔφθειρεν. ὧδε μὲν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ πολλὴν βασιλέως παρασκευὴν διέφυγον, αὐτοὶ τε γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενοι, καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντος ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου. ἀγῶνά τε αὐτῷ θέμενοι μέχρι νῦν τελοῦσι, τὰ Λευκόλλεια καλούμενα. Μιθριδάτης δὲ τοὺς ἐς Λάμψακον ἐσφυγόντας, ἔτι τοῦ Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, ναῦς ἐπιτέμψας ἐξεκώμισε σὺν αὐτοῖς Λαμψακηνοῖς. μυρίους δ' ἐπιλέκτους ἐπὶ νεῶν πεντήκοντα Οὐαρίῳ, πεμφθέντι οἱ στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Παφλαγονίῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καταλιπόν, ταῖς πλέοσιν αὐτῶν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔπλει. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος πολλὰς ἐκατέρων διέφθειρεν.

[76] When winter came Mithridates was deprived of his supplies by sea, if he had any, so that his whole army suffered from hunger, and many of them died. There were some who ate the entrails according to a barbarian custom. Others were made sick by subsisting on herbs. Moreover the corpses that were thrown out in the neighborhood unburied brought on a plague in addition to that caused by famine. Nevertheless Mithridates continued his efforts, hoping still to capture Cyzicus by means of the mounds extending from Mount Dindymus. But when the Cyziceans undermined them and burned the machines on them, and made frequent sallies upon his forces, knowing that they were weakened by want of food, Mithridates began to think of flight. He fled by night, going himself with his fleet to Parus, and his army by land to Lampsacus. Many lost their lives in crossing the river Æsepus, which was then greatly swollen, and where Lucullus attacked them. Thus the Cyziceans escaped the vast siege preparations of the king by means of their own bravery and of the famine that Lucullus brought upon the enemy. They instituted games (Y.R. 681) in his honor, which they celebrate to this day, called the (B.C. 73) Lucullean games. Mithridates sent ships for those who had taken refuge in Lampsacus, where they were besieged by Lucullus, and carried them away, together with the Lampsaceans themselves. Leaving 10,000 picked men and fifty ships under Varius (the general sent to him by Sertorius), and Alexander the Paphlagonian, and Dionysius the eunuch, he sailed with the

bulk of his force for Nicomedia. A storm came up in which many of both divisions perished.

[77] Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ γῆν εἵργαστο διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγείρας διέδωκε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦσιν. καὶ Τριάριος μὲν Ἀπάμειαν εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ πολλὴ τῶν Ἀπαμέων συμφυγόντων ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο σφαγὴ· Βάρβας δὲ Προυσιάδα εἶλε τὴν πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, καὶ Νίκαιαν ἔλαβε, τῶν Μιθριδάτου φρουρῶν ἐκφυγόντων. Λεύκολλος δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς εἶλε τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐάριον δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Διονύσιον περὶ Λῆμον ἐν ἐρήμῃ νήσῳ καταλαβών, ἔνθα δεικνύται βωμὸς Φιλοκτήτου καὶ χαλκοῦς ὄφιν καὶ τόξα καὶ θώραξ ταινίαις περιδεδυμένος, μνήμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης, ἐπέπλει μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥοθίῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, εὐσταθῶς δ' ἐκείνων ὑπομενόντων ἔστησε τὴν εἰρεσίαν, καὶ κατὰ δύο ναῦς ἐπιπέμπων ἠρέθιζεν ἐς ἔκπλουν. οὐ σαλευόντων δ' ἐκείνων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμυνομένων, περιέπλευσε τὴν νῆσον ἐτέραις ναυσί, καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκβιάσας συνήλασε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πέλαγος οὐκ ἠφίεσαν, τὸν Λευκόλλου στρατὸν δεδιότες, παρὰ δὲ τὴν γῆν πλέοντες, ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι κατετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ φόνος πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ φυγὴ. ἐλήφθησαν δ' ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενοι Οὐάριός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ εὐνοῦχος. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος, πῶν ὅπερ ἤγετο φάρμακον, αὐτίκα ἀπέθανε, Οὐάριον δ' ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξε Λεύκολλος· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν θριαμβεύειν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς τὴν πομπὴν ἐφυλάσσετο. καὶ Λεύκολλος περὶ τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέστελλε, τὰ γράμματα δάφνῃ περιβαλὼν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ νίκαις· αὐτὸς δὲ ἠπείγετο ἐς Βιθυνίαν.

[77] When Lucullus had accomplished this result on land by starving his enemies, he collected a fleet from the Asiatic province and distributed it to the generals serving under him. Trirarius sailed to Apamea, captured it, and slew a great many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the temples. Barba took Prusias, situated at the base of a mountain, and occupied Nicæa, which had been abandoned by the Mithridatic garrison. At the harbor of the Achæans Lucullus captured thirteen of the enemy's ships. He overtook Varius and Alexander and Dionysius on a barren island near Lemnos (where the altar of Philoctetes is shown with the brazen serpent, the bows, and the breastplate bound with fillets, to remind us of the sufferings of that hero), and dashed at them in a contemptuous manner. They stoutly held their ground. He checked his oarsmen and sent his ships toward them by twos in order to entice them out to sea. As they declined the challenge, but continued to defend themselves on land, he sent a part of his fleet around to another side of the island, disembarked a force of infantry, and drove the enemy to their ships. Still they did not venture out to sea, but hugged the shore, because they were afraid of the army of Lucullus. Thus they were exposed to missiles on both sides, landward and seaward, and received a great many wounds, and after heavy slaughter took to flight. Varius, Alexander, and Dionysius the eunuch were

captured in a cave where they had concealed themselves. Dionysius drank poison which he had with him and immediately expired. Lucullus gave orders that Varius be put to death, since he did not want to have his triumph graced by a Roman senator, but he kept Alexander for that purpose. Lucullus sent letters wreathed with L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS In the Museum of the Hermitage (Duruy) laurel to Rome, as is the custom of victors, and then pressed forward to Bithynia.

[78] Μιθριδάτῃ δ' ἐς Πόντον ἐσπλέοντι χειμῶν ἐς δις ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξήκοντα διεφθάρησαν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διερρίφησαν, ὥς ἐκάστην ὁ χειμῶν ἐξήνεγκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ῥηγνυμένης τῆς στρατηγίδος ἐς ληστῶν σκάφος, ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν φίλων, ὅμως ἐνέβη. καὶ ἐς Σινώπην αὐτὸν οἱ ληστὰι διέσωσαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀμισὸν ἀπὸ κάλῳ διαπλέων, πρὸς τε τὸν κηδεστήν Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ ἐς Μαχάρην τὸν υἱόν, ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου, περιέπεμπεν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπείγων ἐκάτερον. ἐς τε Σκύθας τοὺς ὁμόρους χρυσὸν καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ Διοκλέα φέρειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτοῖς τε δώροις καὶ αὐτῷ χρυσίῳ πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἠυτομόλησε, Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ θρασέως προῖων ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα χειρούμενος προυνόμευεν. οἷα δ' εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπολεμήτου, τὸ μὲν ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων δραχμῶν αὐτίκα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ βοῦς μιᾶς, αἶγες δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούτων κατὰ λόγον. Λεύκολλος δ' Ἀμισὸν τε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν τινα τῇ Ἀμισῷ παρφοκοδόμησεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης Εὐπατορίαν τε ὠνόμαζεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ βασιλεία ἡγεῖτο, περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Θεμίσκυραν, ἥ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τινὸς ἐπώνυμος οὖσα παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν ἔστιν. τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν τοῖς Θεμισκυρίοις ἐπικαθήμενοι πύργους ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς καὶ χώματα ἐχώννυον καὶ ὑπονόμους ὥρυττον, οὕτω δὴ τι μεγάλους ὥς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπιχειρεῖν· καὶ οἱ Θεμισκύριοι ὅπας ἄνωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρύττοντες, ἄρκτους τε καὶ θηρία ἕτερα καὶ σμήνη μελισσῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀμισὸν ἕτερον τρόπον ἐμόχθουν, ἀπομαχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀμισέων καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθεόντων καὶ ἐς μονομαχίας προκαλουμένων. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Καβείρων, ἔνθα χειμάζων στρατὸν ἄλλον συνέλεγεν. καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

[78] As Mithridates was sailing to Pontus a second tempest overtook him and he lost about 10,000 men and sixty ships, and the remainder were scattered wherever the wind blew them. His own ship sprang a leak and he went aboard a small piratical craft although his friends tried to dissuade him. The pirates landed him safely at Sinope. From that place he was towed to Amisus, whence he sent appeals to his son-in-law, Tigranes the Armenian, and his son, Machares, the ruler of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, that they should hasten to his assistance. He ordered Diocles to take a large quantity of gold and other presents to the neighboring Scythians, but Diodes took the gold and the (Y.R.

682) presents and deserted to Lucullus. Lucullus moved to (B.C. 72) the front with the prestige of victory, subduing everything in his path and subsisting on the country. Presently he came to a rich district, exempt from the ravages of war, where a slave was sold for four drachmas, an ox for one, and goats, sheep, clothing, and other things in proportion. Lucullus laid siege to Amisus and also to Eupatoria, which Mithridates had built alongside of Amisus and named after himself and where he had fixed the royal residence. With another army he besieged Themiscyra, which is named after one of the Amazons and is situated on the river Thermodon. The besiegers of this place brought up towers, built mounds, and dug tunnels so large that great subterranean battles could be fought in them. The inhabitants cut openings into these tunnels from above and thrust bears and other wild animals and swarms of bees into them against the workers. Those who were besieging Amisus suffered in other ways. The inhabitants repelled them bravely, made frequent sallies, and often challenged them to single combat. Mithridates sent them plenty of supplies and arms and soldiers from Cabira, where he wintered and collected a new army. Here he brought together about 40,000 foot and 4000 horse.

CHAPTER XII

Second Campaign of Lucullus against Mithridates — Crosses a Mountain Range — A Panic in the Camp of Mithridates — Mithridates takes Refuge with Tigranes — Lucullus regulates the Pontic Cities — Demands the Surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes — Marches against Tigranes — Besieges Tigranocerta Battle of Tigranocerta — Total Defeat of Tigranes Capture of Tigranocerta

(Y.R. 683)

[79] ἰσταμένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Λεύκολλος διὰ τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐχώρει. προφυλακαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐκείνῳ κωλύειν τε Λεύκολλον, καὶ διαπυρσεύειν οἱ συνεχῶς, εἴ τι γίνοιτο. καὶ ἦρχε τῆσδε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου τις ἀνὴρ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· ὅς, ἐπεὶ Λεύκολλος ἐπέλαξε, Μιθριδάτῃ μὲν διεπύρσευσεν, ἐς δὲ Λεύκολλον ἠϋτομόλησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὰ ὄρη διεξελθὼν ἐς Κάβειρα κατέβη. γενομένης δ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὸς ἵππομαχίας, ἠττώμενος αὐθις ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέθορεν. ὁ δὲ ἵππαρχος αὐτοῦ Πομπώνιος ἐς Μιθριδάτην τετρωμένος ἀνήχθη· καὶ πυθομένῳ βασιλεῖ τίνα χάριν οἱ περισωθεὶς δύναιτο ἀποδοῦναι, 'εἰ μὲν,' ἔφη, 'σὺ φίλος γένοιο Λευκόλλῳ, πάντῳ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν· εἰ δ' ἐχθρὸς εἴης, οὐδὲ βουλευσομαι.' ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνειν ἀξιούντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν οὐκ ἐξυβριεῖν ἐς ἀτυχοῦσαν ἀρετήν. ἐκτάσσω δὲ συνεχῶς, οὐ κατιόντος ἐς μάχην τοῦ Λευκόλλου, περιῶν ἀνάβασιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήτει. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ Σκύθης, ὄνομα Ὀλκάβας, αὐτόμολος ὢν ἐς Λεύκολλον ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἵππομαχίαν πολλοὺς περισώσας, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τραπέζης τε καὶ γνώμης καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀξιούμενος, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀναπαυομένου, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐβιάζετο, βραχὺ καὶ σύνηθες ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωστήρος ἐγχειρίδιον περικείμενος. κωλυόμενος δ' ἠγανάκτει, καὶ χρειάν τινὰ ἐπείγειν ἔλεγεν ἐξαναστῆσαι τὸν στρατηγόν. τῶν δὲ θεραπευτῶν οὐδὲν εἰπόντων χρησιμώτερον εἶναι Λευκόλλῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπέβη τὸν ἵππον αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐξήλασεν, εἴτε ἐπιβουλευὼν καὶ δόξας ὑποπτεύεσθαι, εἴτε σὺν ὀργῇ, περιωβρίσθαι νομίζων. ἕτερόν τε Σκύθην, ὄνομα Σοβάδακον, ἐνέφηνε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ βουλεύειν ἐς Λεύκολλον αὐτομολίαν. Σοβάδακος μὲν δὴ συνελαμβάνετο,

[79] When spring came Lucullus marched over the mountains against Mithridates, who had stationed advanced posts to hinder his approach, and to start signal fires whenever anything important should happen. He appointed a member of the royal family, named Phœnix, commander of this advance guard. When Lucullus drew near, Phœnix gave the fire-signal to Mithridates and then deserted to Lucullus with his forces. Lucullus now passed over the mountains without difficulty and came down to Cabira, but was beaten by

Mithridates in a cavalry engagement and retreated again to the mountain. Pomponius, his master of horse, was wounded and taken prisoner and brought to the presence of Mithridates. The king asked him what favor he (Pomponius) could render him for sparing his life. Pomponius replied, "A great one if you make peace with Lucullus, but if you continue his enemy I will not even consider your question." The barbarians wanted to put him to death, but the king said that he would not do violence to bravery overtaken by misfortune. He drew out his forces for battle several days in succession, but Lucullus would not come down and fight; so he looked about for some way to come at him by ascending the mountain. At this juncture a Scythian, named Olcaba, who had deserted to Lucullus sometime before and had saved the lives of many in the recent cavalry fight, and for that reason was deemed worthy to share Lucullus' table, his confidence, and his secrets, came to his tent while he was taking his noonday rest and tried to force his way in. He was wearing a short dagger in his belt as was his custom. When he was prevented from entering he became angry and said that there was a pressing necessity that the general should be aroused. The servants replied that there was nothing more useful to Lucullus than his safety. Thereupon the Scythian mounted his horse and (B.C. 71) went immediately to Mithridates, either because he had plotted against Lucullus and now thought that he was suspected, or because he considered himself insulted and was angry on that account. He exposed to Mithridates another Scythian, named Sobdacus, who was about to desert to Lucullus. Sobdacus was accordingly arrested.

[80] Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν κάθοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἱποκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ περίοδον ἑτέραν οὐχ ὁρῶν, ἠὔρεν ἐν σπηλαίῳ κυνηγὸν ὀρείων ἀτραπῶν ἐπιστήμονα, ᾧ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι κατὰ ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς περιῆλθεν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ κατήει μὲν ἐκκλίνας καὶ τότε τὸ πεδίον διὰ τοὺς ἵππους, χαράδραν δὲ ὕδατος ἐν προβολῇ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἀπορῶν δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡκροβολίζετο, μέχρι, φευγόντων ποτὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ ἐπιπλήξας ἐπέστρεφεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ῥωμαίους οὕτω κατεφόβησεν ὥς ἄνω διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν φεύγοντας οὐδ' ἀποστάντων αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς πολὺ, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν συμφεύγοντά οἱ καὶ ἐπιόντα ὀπισθεν εἶναι πολέμιον: οὕτω πάνυ κατεπεπλήγεσαν. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης περὶ τῆσδε τῆς νίκης πανταχοῦ γράφων περιέπεμπεν. τῶν δ' ἱπέων πολὺ μέρος, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ μαχιμώτατον, ἐφεδρεύειν ἔταξε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τὴν ἀγορὰν τῷ Λευκόλλῳ φέρουσιν, ἐλπίζων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῶν αὐτὸν γενόμενον πείσεσθαι οἷον αὐτὸς ἔπαθε περὶ Κύζικον.

[80] Lucullus hesitated about going down directly to the plain since the enemy was so much superior in horse, nor could he discover any way around, but he found a hunter in a cave who was familiar with the mountain paths. With him for a guide he made a circuitous descent by rugged paths over

Mithridates' head. He avoided the plain on account of the cavalry, and came down and chose a place for his camp where he had a mountain stream on his front. As he was short of supplies he sent to Cappadocia for corn, and in the meantime had frequent skirmishes with the enemy. Once when the royal forces were put to flight Mithridates came running to them from his camp and, with reproachful words, rallied them to such good purpose that the Romans became terrified in turn and fled up the mountain side with such swiftness that they did not know for a long time that the hostile force had desisted from the pursuit, but each one thought that the fleeing comrade behind him was an enemy, so great was the panic that had overtaken them. Mithridates sent bulletins everywhere announcing this victory. He then sent a detachment composed of the bravest of his horse to intercept the convoy that was bringing supplies from Cappadocia to Lucullus, hoping to bring upon him the same scarcity of provisions from which he had himself suffered at Cyzicus.

[81] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα μέγα ἦν, ἀποκλεῖσαι τροφῶν Λεύκολλον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντα Καππαδοκίας· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς οἱ βασιλέως τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν σιτοφόρων ἐν στενῷ περιτυχόντες, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμεινάντες ἐς εὐρυχωρίαν προελθεῖν, ἀχρεῖον ὥς ἐν στενῷ σφίσι τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησαν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι φθάσαντες ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσασθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν τῶν βασιλικῶν, βοηθούσης οἷα πεζοῖς τῆς δυσχωρίας, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραζαν, τοὺς δὲ διέρριψαν ὑποφεύγοντας. ὀλίγοι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαδραμόντες τε καὶ μόνοι περιγενέσθαι λέγοντες, μέγα ὄν σφίσι τὸ συμβᾶν μειζόνως διεθρόησαν. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου πυθόμενός τε, καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τοσσηδε ἵππεων ἀπώλεια αὐτίκα οἱ προσπεσεῖσθαι, φυγὴν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπενόει, καὶ τότε τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἐξέφερεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δέ, πρὶν τι γενέσθαι παράγγελμα, νυκτὸς ἔτι, σπουδῇ τὰ ἴδια ἕκαστος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ ὠθουμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας σκευοφόρων πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν. ὅπερ ἡ στρατιὰ θεωμένη καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐπιγινώσκουσα, καὶ τοπάζουσα πολλὰ ἀτοπώτερα, σὺν δέει, καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλαι, τὸν χάρακα σφῶν ἐπιδραμόντες ἔλυνον, καὶ διέφευγον ὥς ἐκ πεδίου πάντοθεν ἀκόσμως, ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ἄνευ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάτου παραγγέλματος. ὣν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ σὺν ἀταξίᾳ γιγνομένων αἰσθόμενος, ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν τι ἐπεχειρεῖ, οὐδενὸς δ' ἑσακούοντος ἔτι, συνθλιβείς ὥς ἐν πλήθει κατέπεσε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵππον ἀναβληθεὶς ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐφέρετο.

[81] It was his great object to cut off Lucullus' supplies, which were drawn from Cappadocia alone, but when his cavalry came upon the advance guard of the convoy in a narrow defile, they did not wait till their enemies had reached the open country. Consequently their horses were useless in the narrow space, where the Romans hastily put themselves in line of battle across the road. Aided, as foot-soldiers would naturally be, by the difficulties of the ground, they killed some of the king's troops, drove others over precipices, and

scattered the rest in flight. A few of them arrived at their camp by night, and said that they were the only survivors, so that rumor magnified the calamity which was indeed sufficiently great. Mithridates heard of this affair before Lucullus did, and he expected that Lucullus would take advantage of so great a slaughter of his horsemen to attack him forthwith. Accordingly he fell into a panic and contemplated flight, and at once communicated his purpose to his friends in his tent. They did not wait for the signal to be given, but while it was still night each one sent his own baggage out of the camp, which made a great crush of pack animals around the gates. When the soldiers perceived the commotion, and saw what the baggage-carriers were doing, they imagined every sort of absurdity. Filled with terror, mingled with anger that the signal had not been given to them also, they demolished and ran over their own fortification and scattered in every direction over the plain, helter-skelter, without orders from the commanding general or any other officer. When Mithridates heard the disorderly rush he dashed out of his tent among them and attempted to say something, but nobody would listen to him. He was caught in the crowd and knocked from his horse, but remounted and was borne to the mountains with a few followers.

[82] Λεύκολλος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐπραγίας πυθόμενος, καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐκφυγόντας ἔπεμπε διώκειν ἱππέας πολλοὺς, τοῖς δὲ συσκευαζόμενοις ἔτι κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς πεζοὺς περιστήσας ἐκέλευε μὴ διαρπάζειν ἐν τῷ τότε μηδὲν, ἀλλὰ κτείνειν ἀφειδῶς. οἱ δὲ σκευὴ τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἄργυρᾶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆτας πολυτελεῖς θεώμενοι ἐξέστησαν τοῦ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην οἱ καταλαμβάνοντες, ἡμίονόν τινα τῶν χρυσοφόρων ἐς τὸ σάγμα πατάξαντες, προπεσόντος τοῦ χρυσίου περὶ τότε γινόμενοι διαφυγεῖν ἐς Κόμανα περιεῖδον: ὅθεν ἐς Τιγράνην ἔφυγε σὺν ἱππεῶσι δισχιλίῳ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς ὅσιν οὐ προσέμενος, ἐν χωρίοις ἐκέλευσε διαίτης βασιλικῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπογνοὺς ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βάκχον εὐνοῦχων ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παλλακάς, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, ἀνελοῦντα. αἱ μὲν δὴ διεφθείροντο ξίφεσι καὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ βρόχοις, δεῖνὰ ποιοῦσαι: ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οἱ φρούραρχοι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀθρόως ἐς τὸν Λεύκολλον μετετίθεντο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις περιπλέων ἦρει, Ἀμαστρίν τε καὶ Ἡράκλειαν καὶ ἑτέρας.

[82] When Lucullus heard of the success of his provision train and observed the enemy's flight, he sent out a large force of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. Those who were still collecting baggage in the camp he surrounded with his infantry, whom he ordered for the time to abstain from plunder, but to kill indiscriminately. But the soldiers, seeing vessels of gold and of silver in abundance and much costly clothing, disregarded the order. Those who overtook Mithridates himself cut open the pack saddle of a mule that was loaded with gold, which fell out, and while they were busy with it they allowed him to escape to Comona. From thence he fled to Tigranes with 2000

horse-men. Tigranes did not admit him to his presence, but ordered that royal entertainment be provided for him on his estates. Mithridates, in utter despair of his kingdom, sent the eunuch Bacchus to his palace to put his sisters, wives, and concubines to death as he could. These, with wonderful devotion, destroyed themselves with daggers, (Y.R. 684) poison, and ropes. When the garrison commanders of (B.C. 70) Mithridates saw these things they went over to Lucullus in crowds, all but a few. Lucullus marched among the others and regulated them. He also sent his fleet among the cities on the Pontic coast and captured Amastris, Heraclea, and some others.

[83] Σινώπη δ' ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι καρτερῶς, καὶ διενανμάχησεν οὐ κακῶς. πολιορκούμενοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς τὰς βαρυτέρας σφῶν διέπρησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας ἐμβάντες ἀπέδρασαν. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἠφίει δι' ἐνύπνιον, ὃ τοιόνδε ἦν. Αὐτόλυκόν φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι: ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς οὐ φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὀθόναίς καὶ καλωδίοις περιέδησαν: οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Λεύκολλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθὼν ἔδοξεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεὶς ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλῦσαι κελεύσας, εἶδεν οἷον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἑωρακέναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐνύπνιον τοιόνδε ἦν, Λεύκολλος δὲ καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Σινώπῃ συνώκιζεν, ἐκφυγόντων μὲν ὁμοίως τῶν Ἀμισέων διὰ θαλάσσης, πνυθανόμενος δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς θαλασσοκρατοῦντων συνφίσιςθαι, καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Περσικοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑπακούσαι, ἀναγαγόντος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκ προστάγματος Ἀλεξάνδρου πάλιν δουλεῦσαι τοῖς Ποντικοῖς. ἐφ' οἷς ἄρα συμπαθὴς ὁ Λεύκολλος γενόμενός τε, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενός γε καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ περὶ γένος Ἀττικόν, αὐτόνομον ἠφίει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμισέας κατὰ τάχος συνεκάλει. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Σινώπην καὶ Ἀμισὸν Λεύκολλος ἐπόρθει τε καὶ συνώκιζε, καὶ Μαχάρη τῷ παιδί τῷ Μιθριδάτου, Βοσπόρου τε βασιλεύοντι καὶ στέφανόν οἱ πέμψαντι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, φιλίαν συνέθετο, Μιθριδάτην δ' ἐξῆλτει παρὰ Τιγράνου. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν, ὀφείλουσαν ἔτι τῶν Συλλεῖων ἐπιβολῶν, τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριζεν. καὶ ἐπινίκια ἔθυσεν ὡς δὴ τὸν πόλεμον κατωρθώκως.

[83] Sinope continued to resist him vigorously, and the inhabitants fought him on the water not without success, but when they were besieged they burned their heavier ships, embarked on the lighter ones, and went away. Lucullus at once made it a free city, being moved thereto by the following dream. It is said that Autolycus, the companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, was driven by a tempest into Sinope and made himself master of the place, and that his consecrated statue gave oracles to the Sinopeans. As they were hastening their flight they could not embark it on shipboard, but wrapped it up with linen cloths and ropes. Nobody told Lucullus of this beforehand and he knew nothing about it, but he dreamed that he saw

Autolycus calling him, and the following day, when some men passed him carrying the image wrapped up, he ordered them to take off the covering and then he saw what he thought he had seen in the night. This was the kind of dream he had. After Sinope Lucullus restored to their homes the citizens of Amisus, who had fled by sea in like manner, because he learned that they had been settled there by Athens when she held the empire of the sea; that they had had a democratic form of government at first, and afterward had been subject for a long time to the kings of Persia; that their democracy had been restored to them by decree of Alexander; and that they had finally been compelled to serve the kings of Pontus. Lucullus sympathized with them, and in emulation of the favor shown to the Attic race by Alexander he gave the city its freedom and recalled the citizens with all haste. Thus did Lucullus desolate and repopulate both Sinope and Amisus. He entered into friendly relations with Machares, the son of Mithridates and ruler of the Bosphorus, who sent him a crown of gold. He demanded the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes. Then he went back to the province of Asia. When the instalment of tribute imposed by Sulla became due he levied upon one-fourth of the harvest, and imposed a house-tax and a slave-tax. He offered a triumphal sacrifice to the gods for the successful termination of the war. (Y.R. 685)

[84] ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην, οὐκ ἐκδιδόντα οἱ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἔστράτεψε σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις. καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας, μόνα τὰ χρήσιμα τοὺς βαρβάρους αἰτῶν διώδευεν: οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐπολέμουν, οὐδ' ἠξίουσαν τι πάσχειν, ἔστε Λεύκολλον καὶ Τιγράνην ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις διακριθῆναι. Τιγράνη δ' οὐδεὶς ἐμήνυνεν ἐπιόντα Λεύκολλον: ὁ γὰρ τοι πρῶτος εἰπὼν ἐκεκρέμαστο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνταράσσειν αὐτὸν τὰς πόλεις νομίσαντος. ὥς δέ ποτε ἦσθετο, Μιθροβαρζάνην προὔπεμπε μετὰ δισχιλίων ἱππέων, Λεύκολλον ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ δρόμου. Μαγκαίῳ δὲ Τιγρανόκερτα φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψε, ἣν τινα πόλιν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι τῷ χωρίῳ συνῳκίζε, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐς αὐτὴν συνεκάλει, ζημίαν ἐπιτιθεῖς, ὅσα μὴ μεταφέρειεν, δεδημεῖσθαι. τεῖχιν τε αὐτοῖς περιέβαλε πεντηκονταπῆχιν τὸ ὕψος, ἵπποστασίων ἐν τῷ βάθει γέμοντα, καὶ βασιλεία καὶ παραδείσους κατὰ τὸ προάστειον ἐποίει μακροῦς, καὶ κυνηγέσια πολλὰ καὶ λίμνας: ἀγχοῦ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἀνίστη καρτερόν. καὶ πάντα τότε Μαγκαίῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτρέψας, περιήει στρατιὰν ἀγείρων. Μιθροβαρζάνην μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεύκολλος εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκε, Μαγκαῖον δὲ Σεξτίλιος ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα κατακλείσας τὰ μὲν βασιλεία αὐτίκα, ἀτείχιστα ὄντα, διήρπασε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπετάφρυνε, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἀνεκρήμνη τὸ τεῖχος.

[84] After the sacrifices had been performed he marched (B.C. 69) with two legions and 500 horse against Tigranes, who had refused to surrender Mithridates to him. He crossed the Euphrates, but he required the barbarians,

through whose territory he passed, to furnish only necessary supplies since they did not want to fight, or to expose themselves to suffering by taking sides in the quarrel between Lucullus and Tigranes. No one told Tigranes that Lucullus was advancing, for the first man who brought this news he hanged, considering him a disturber of the good order of the cities. When he learned that it was true, he sent Mithrobarzanes forward with 2000 horse to hinder Lucullus' march. He intrusted to Mancæus the defence of Tigranocerta, which city, as I have already said, the king had built in this region in honor of himself, and to which he had summoned the principal inhabitants of the country under penalty of confiscation of all of their goods that they did not transfer to it. He surrounded it with walls fifty cubits high and wide enough to contain stables for horses. In the suburbs he built a palace and laid out large parks, enclosures for wild animals, and fish-ponds. He also erected a strong tower near by. All these he put in charge of Mancæus, and then he went through the country to collect an army. Lucullus, at his first encounter with Mithrobarzanes, defeated him and put him to flight. Sextilius shut up Mancæus in Tigranocerta, plundered the palace outside the walls, drew a ditch around the city and tower, moved machines against them, and undermined the wall.

[85] καὶ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Τιγράνης δέ, πεζῶν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀγείρας καὶ ἰππέας ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, προύπεμψεν αὐτῶν ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα περὶ ἑξακισχιλίου, οἱ διὰ μέσων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ φρούριον ὡσάμενοί τε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαρπάσαντες ἐπανήλθον. τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ στρατῷ Τιγράνης αὐτὸς ἤλauen ἐπὶ Λευκόλλων. καὶ αὐτῷ τότε πρῶτον Μιθριδάτης ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν συνεβούλευε μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἱππικῷ μόνῳ περιτρέχοντα καὶ τὴν γῆν λυμαίνόμενον ἐς λιμὸν αὐτοῦς, εἰ δύναιτο, περικλείσαι, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου περὶ Κύζικον ἀμαχί κάμνων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπολέσαι. ὁ δὲ γελάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν, προῆει συνεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγότητα ἰδὼν ἐπέσκωπεν οὕτως· ‘εἰ μὲν πρέσβεις εἰσὶν οἷδε, πολλοί, εἰ δὲ πολέμιοι, πάμπαν ὀλίγοι.’ Λευκόλλος δὲ λόφον εὐκαιρον ἰδὼν ὀπισθεν τοῦ Τιγράνου, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐκ μετώπου προσέτασεν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ περισπᾶν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἐκόντας, ἵνα τῶν βαρβάρων διωκόντων ἡ τάξις παραλυθεῖ· τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν λόφον περιδεύσας ἀνῆει λαθῶν. καὶ ὡς εἶδε τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῆς διώξεως οἷα νικῶντας ἐς πολλὰ διεσκεδασμένους, τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν πάντα ὑποκείμενα, ἀνεβόησε· ‘νικῶμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες,’ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα πρῶτος ἔieto δρόμῳ. τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα σὺν θορόβῳ φεύγοντα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. τροπὴ τε ἦν εὐθὺς ὀλοσχερής· οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ διώξει μακρὰν ἀπεσπασμένοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέπιπτεν ὡς ἐνοχλούμενα. πάντων τε ὡς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει θλιβομένων, καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδόντων, ὁπόθεν ἡ ἥσσα αὐτοῖς ἄρχοιτο, πολὺς ἦν φόνος, οὐδενὸς σκυλεύοντος οὐδέν· ἀπηγόρευτο γὰρ ἐκ Λευκόλλου μετ’ ἀπειλῆς, ὥστε καὶ ψέλια καὶ περιανχένια παροδεύοντες ἔκτεινον ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν

καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἔστε νῦν ἐπέλαβε. τότε δ' ἀναστρέφοντες ἐσκύλευον: ἐδίδου γὰρ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἥδη.

[85] While Sextilius was doing this Tigranes brought together some 250,000 foot and 50,000 horse. He sent about 6000 of the latter to Tigranocerta, who broke through the Roman line to the tower, and seized and brought away the king's concubines. With the rest of his army Tigranes marched against Lucullus. Mithridates, who was now for the first time admitted to his presence, advised him not to come to close quarters with the Romans, but to circle around them with his horse only, to devastate the country, and reduce them by famine if possible, in the same way that he had been served by Lucullus at Cyzicus, where he lost his army without fighting. Tigranes derided such generalship and advanced and made preparations for battle. When he saw how small the Roman force was, he said jestingly, "If they are here as ambassadors they are too many; if as enemies, altogether too few." Lucullus saw a hill favorably situated in the rear of Tigranes. He pushed his horse forward from his own front to worry the enemy and draw them upon himself, retiring as they came up, so that the barbarians should break their own ranks in the pursuit. Then he sent his own infantry around to the hill and took possession of it unobserved. When he saw the enemy pursuing as though they had won the fight, and scattered in all directions, with their entire baggage-train lying at the foot of the hill, he exclaimed, "Soldiers, we are victorious," and dashed first upon their baggage-carriers. These immediately fled in confusion and ran against their own infantry, and the infantry against the cavalry. Presently the rout was complete. Those who had been drawn a long distance in pursuit of the Roman horse, the latter turned upon and destroyed. The baggage-train came into collision with others tumultuously. They were all packed together in such a crowd that nobody could see clearly from what quarter their discomfiture proceeded. There was a great slaughter. Nobody stopped to plunder, for Lucullus had forbidden it with threats of punishment, so that they passed by bracelets and necklaces on the road, and continued killing for a distance of 120 stades until nightfall. Then they betook themselves to plunder with the permission of Lucullus.

[86] γιγνομένην δὲ τὴν ἦτταν ὁ Μαγκαῖος ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ Τιγρανοκέρτων, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἱ ἐμισθοφόρουν αὐτῷ, πάντας ἐξώπλισεν ὑποπτεύων: οἱ σύλληψιν δεδιότες, ἀθρόοι σκυτάλας ἔχοντες ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ ηῤύλιζοντο. Μαγκαίου δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπάγοντος αὐτοῖς ὀπλισμένους, διαδησάμενοι τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων, μετὰ τόλμης ἐσέδραμον ἐς αὐτούς: καὶ ὅσους ἀνέλοιεν, εὐθὺς ἐμερίζοντο τὰ ὅπλα. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἶχον αὐτάρκως, μεσοπύργιά τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξωθεν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας ἐδέχοντο. οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ πλοῦτος διηρπάζετο πολὺς, οἷα πόλεως νεοκατασκευοῦ, φιλοτίμως συνωκισμένης.

[86] When Mancæus beheld this defeat from Tigranocerta he disarmed all of

his Greek mercenaries because he suspected them. They, in fear of arrest, walked abroad or rested only in a body, and with clubs in their hands. Mancaeus set upon them with his armed barbarians. They wound their clothing around their left arms, to serve as shields, and fought their assailants courageously, killed some, and shared their arms with each other. When they were sufficiently provided with weapons they seized some of the towers, called to the Romans outside, and admitted them when they came up. In this way was Tigranocerta taken, and the immense wealth, appertaining to a newly built and nobly peopled city, plundered.

CHAPTER XIII

Tigranes collects a New Army — Indecisive Movements — Mithridates defeats the Romans under Fabius and overwhelms Triarius — Intrigue against Lucullus at Rome

(Y.R. 686)

[87] Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτης στρατὸν ἄλλον ἡθροίζον περιιόντες, οὗ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπετέτραπτο Μιθριδάτης, ἡγουμένου Τιγράνου αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὰ παθήματα διδάγματα. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες. ἀντιπρεσβεύοντος δὲ Λευκόλλου, καὶ ἀξιούντος ἢ οἱ συμμαχῆσαι ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὁ μὲν κρύφα συντιθέμενος ἐκατέροις, οὐκ ἔφθασεν οὐδετέροις ἀμῦναι, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην, καὶ ἐστρατολόγει σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἀρμενίους. ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἐς ἐπακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἡμίσεας, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέλυσε, τοὺς δ' ἐς Ἰλας τε καὶ σπεύρας ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἰταλικῆς συντάξεως καταλέγων Ποντικοῖς ἀνδράσι γυμνάζειν παρεδίδου. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λευκόλλου, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ λόφου συνεῖχε, τῇ λοιπῇ δ' ἵππῳ Τιγράνης τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις περιπεσὼν ἡσῶτο. καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλησίον αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐσιτολόγουν τε καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον. κονιορτὸς δ' αὖθις ἡγείρετο πολὺς ὥς ἐπιόντος τοῦ Τιγράνου: καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Λεύκολλον ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους τῶν ἵππεων προῦπεμψε πορρωτάτῳ συμπλέκεσθαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ καλύειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὁδοιορίας ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην ... καὶ περιταφρεύων οὐκ ἡρέθιζεν, ἕως χειμῶν ἐπιπεσὼν διέλυσε τὸ ἔργον ἅπασιν.

[87] Now Tigranes and Mithridates traversed the country (B.C. 68) collecting a new army, the command of which was committed to Mithridates, because Tigranes thought that his disasters must have taught him some lessons. They also sent messengers to Parthia to solicit aid from that quarter. Lucullus sent opposing legates asking that the Parthians should either help him or remain neutral. Their king made secret agreements with both, but was in no haste to help either of them. Mithridates manufactured arms in every town. The soldiers he recruited were almost wholly Armenians. From these he selected the bravest to the number of about 70,000 foot and half that number of horse and dismissed the rest. He divided them into companies and cohorts as nearly as possible according to the Italian system, and turned them over to Pontic officers to be trained. When Lucullus moved toward them Mithridates, with all the foot-soldiers and a part of the horse, held his forces together on a hill. Tigranes, with the rest of the horse, attacked the Roman foragers and was beaten, for which reason the Romans foraged more freely afterward even in

the vicinity of Mithridates himself, and encamped near him. Again a great dust arose indicating the approach of Tigranes. The two kings had resolved to surround Lucullus. The latter perceived their movement and sent forward the best of his horse to engage Tigranes at as great a distance as possible, and prevent him from deploying from his line of march into order of battle. He also challenged Mithridates to fight. He began to surround him with a ditch, but could not draw him out. Finally, winter came on and interrupted the work on both sides.

[88] καὶ Τιγράνης μὲν ἐξ ὅλης Ἀρμενίας ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς ἀνεξεύγνυνεν, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς ἠπείγετο, τετρακισχίλιους οἰκείους ἔχων, καὶ τοσοῦσδε ἐτέρους παρὰ Τιγράνους λαβών. ἐφείπετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος, ἀναξευγνὺς καὶ ὅδε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. φθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέθετο Φαβίῳ τῷ δεῦρο ἐκ Λευκόλλου στρατηγεῖν ὑπολελειμμένῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε πεντακοσίους. ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θεράποντας ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας αὐθις ἀγωνιζομένου, παλίντροπος ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν, μέχρι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, πληγέντα λίθῳ τε ἐς τὸ γόνυ καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βέλει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀποκομισθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς σωτηρίας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων ἡρεμῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν οὖν ἐθεράπευον Ἄγαροι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, ἰοῖς ὄφεων ἐς τὰς θεραπείας χρώμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αἰὲ βασιλεῖ συνόντες· Φαβίῳ δὲ Τριάριος, ἕτερος Λευκόλλου στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν μετ' οἰκείου στρατοῦ, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα παρελαμβάνεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ χωροῦντων ἐς μάχην αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου, πνεῦμα, οἷον οὐκ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, τὰς τε σκηνὰς ἀμφοτέρων διέρριψε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια παρέσυρε καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν οὗς κατεκρήμνισεν.

[88] Tigranes now withdrew into the interior of Armenia and Mithridates hastened to what was left of his own kingdom of Pontus, taking with him 4000 of his own troops and as many more that he had received from Tigranes. Lucullus slowly followed him, but was obliged to turn back frequently for want of provisions. Mithridates made haste and attacked Fabius, who had been left in command by Lucullus, put him to flight, and killed 500 of his men. Fabius freed the slaves who had been in his camp and fought again an entire day, but the battle was going against him until Mithridates was struck by a stone on the knee and wounded by a dart under the eye, and was hastily carried out of the fight. For many days thereafter his forces were alarmed for his safety, and the Romans were quiet on account of the great number of wounds they had received. Mithridates was cured by the Agari, a Scythian tribe, who make use of the poison of serpents as remedies. Some of this tribe always accompanied the king as physicians. Triarius, the other general of Lucullus, now came with his own army to the assistance of Fabius and received from the latter his forces and authority. He and Mithridates not long afterward joined battle, during which a tempest of wind, the like of which had

not been known in the memory of man, tore down the tents of both, swept away their beasts of burden, and even dashed some of their men over precipices. Both sides then retreated. (Y.R. 687)

[89] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἑκάτεροι, ἀπαγγελλομένου δὲ Λευκόλλου προσιέναι, προλαβεῖν τὸ ἔργον ὁ Τριάριος ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει ταῖς Μιθριδάτου προφυλακαῖς. ἰσομάχου δ' ἐς πολὺν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἐπιβαρήσας ἔκρινε τὴν μάχην, καὶ διασπάσας τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατέκλεισεν ἐς διώρυχα πηλοῦ, ἔνθα διεφθείροντο στήναι μὴ δυνάμενοι. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐδίωκεν, ἐκθύμως τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας καταχρώμενος, ἔστε τις αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖος λοχαγός, οἷα θεράπων αὐτῷ συντροχάζων, ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε ξίφει πληγὴν βαθεῖαν, οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ νῶτα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐφίξεσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν εὐθὺς οἱ πλησίον συνέκοπτον, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπεφέρετο ὀπίσω, καὶ οἱ φίλοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ νίκης λαμπρᾶς ἀνεκάλουν σὺν ἐπεῖξει βαρεῖα. ἐνέπιπτε δὲ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἀνακλήσεως θόρυβός τε καὶ ἀπορία, μὴ τι δεινὸν ἐτέρωθεν εἴη, μέχρι μαθόντες εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὸ σῶμα περίσταντο καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἕως Τιμόθεος αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰατρός, ἐπισχὼν τὸ αἷμα, ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ μετεώρου, οἷόν τι καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεδιόσιν, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶς θεραπευόμενον ἐπέδειξεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀνῆνεγκεν, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἀνακαλέσασιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κατεμέμφετο, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἤγεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἐπεφεύγεσαν ἤδη σὺν δέει. σκυλευομένων δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐφαίνοντο χιλίαρχοι μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ἑκατόνταρχοι δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ὅσον ἡγεμόνων πληθὸς οὐ ῥαδίως συνέπεσε Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἥττῃ μιᾷ.

[89] News having been received that Lucullus was coming, Triarius hastened to anticipate his action and made a night attack upon the outposts of Mithridates. The fight continued for a long time doubtful, until the king made a powerful charge on that division of the enemy that was opposed to him and decided the battle. He broke through their ranks and drove their infantry into a muddy trench, where they were unable to stand and were slaughtered. He pursued their horse over the plain and made the most spirited use of the stroke of good luck until a certain Roman centurion, who was riding with him in the guise of an attendant, gave him a severe wound with a sword in the thigh, as he could not expect to pierce his back through his corselet. Those who were near immediately cut the centurion in pieces. Mithridates was carried to the rear and his friends recalled the army, by a hasty signal, from their (B.C. 67) splendid victory. Confusion befell them by reason of the unexpectedness of the signal, and fear lest some disaster had happened elsewhere. When they learned what it was they gathered around the person of the king on the plain in consternation, until Timotheus, his physician, had stanchd the blood and lifted the king up so that he could be seen. In like manner in India, when Alexander was cured, he showed himself on a ship to the Macedonians, who

were alarmed about him. As soon as Mithridates came to himself he reproved those who had recalled the army from the fight, and led his men again the same day against the camp of the Romans. But they had already fled from it in terror. In stripping the dead there were found 24 tribunes and 150 centurions. So great a number of officers had seldom fallen in any single Roman defeat.

[90] ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι βραχυτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀνεζεύγνυ, τὰ μὲν εὐκόμιστα πάντα σιτολογῶν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερῆ διαφθείρων τε καὶ Λευκόλλων ἐπιόντα προαφαιρούμενος. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Ἀττίδιος ὄνομα, διὰ δίκην φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐς Μιθριδάτην πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ φιλίας ἀξιούμενος, ἐάλω τότε ἐπιβουλευὼν αὐτῷ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ δικαίων βασανίσαι, Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ βουλευτὴν γενόμενον, ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ συναμαρτόντας ἠκίσαστο δεινῶς. ἀπελεύθεροι δ' ὅσοι τῷ Ἀττίδιῳ συνεγνώκεσαν, ἀπαθεῖς ἀφήκεν ὡς δεσπότη διακονησαμένους. Λευκόλλου δ' ἤδη τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς περιπέμπων ἐκήρυσσε Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλεῖν Λευκόλλω πέρα τοῦ δέοντος πολεμοῦντι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῶν οὐ πειθομένων τὰ ὄντα δημεύσειν. ὧν ἐξαγγελθέντων ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα διελύετο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. ὅσοι πάνυ πένητες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ δεδιότες τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέμενον.

[90] Mithridates withdrew into the country which the Romans now call Lesser Armenia, taking all the provisions he could and spoiling what he could not carry, so as to prevent Lucullus from getting any on his march. At this juncture a certain Roman of senatorial rank, named Attidius, a fugitive from justice, who had been with Mithridates a long time and had enjoyed his friendship, was detected in a conspiracy against him. The king condemned him to death, but not to torture, because he had once been a Roman senator. His fellow-conspirators were subjected to dreadful tortures. The freedmen who were cognizant of the designs of Attidius he dismissed unharmed, because they were under obligations to their patron. When Lucullus was already encamped near Mithridates, the proconsul of Asia sent heralds to proclaim that Rome had accused Lucullus of unnecessarily prolonging the war, and had ordered that the soldiers under him be dismissed, and that the property of those who did not obey this order should be confiscated. When this information was received the army disbanded at once, all but a few, who remained with Lucullus because they were very poor and did not fear the penalty.

CHAPTER XIV

Pompey invested with the Command — The Pirates in the Mediterranean — Distress and Anxiety at Rome — Pompey assigned to Command against the Pirates — His Arrangements for attacking them — Proceeds to Cilicia — Captures and destroys their Strongholds

[91] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Λευκόλλου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πόλεμος ἐς οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδὲ κεκριμένον τέλος ἔλξηεν: ἀφισταμένης γὰρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνοχλοῦμενοι, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς θαλάσσης λιμῶ πιεζόμενοι, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο πολεμεῖν ἄλλον τοσόνδε πόλεμον, πρὶν τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα διαθέσθαι. ὦν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης αἰσθανόμενος ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐσέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ὠχύρου. καὶ τάδε αὐτὸν πράσσοντα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περιεώρων ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἡ θάλασσα ἐκαθαίρετο. ὥς δ' ἐκεκάθαρτο καὶ ὁ καθήρας Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν Μιθριδάτειον πόλεμον ἀνελάμβανον αὐτίκα, καὶ ἐπέστελλον καὶ τοῦδε τῷ Πομπήῳ στρατηγῆσαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ μέρος ὄντα τῆς Πομπηίου στρατείας τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτῷ πρὸ Μιθριδάτου κατειργασμένα, καὶ ἐς οὐδεμίαν συγγραφὴν οἰκείαν ἄλλην ἀπαντῶντα, ἐς τόδε τὸ μέρος συναγαγεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν, ὥς ἐγένετο.

[91] So it turned out that the Mithridatic war under Lucullus came to no fixed and definite conclusion. The Romans, torn by revolts in Italy and threatened with famine by pirates on the sea, considered it inopportune to undertake another war of this magnitude until their present troubles were ended. When Mithridates perceived this he again invaded Cappadocia and fortified his own kingdom. The Romans overlooked these transactions while they were clearing the sea. When this was accomplished, and while Pompey, the destroyer of the pirates, was still in Asia, the Mithridatic war was at once resumed and the command of it given to Pompey. Since the campaign at sea was a part of the operations under his command, which was begun before his Mithridatic war, and has not found proper mention elsewhere in my history, it seems well to introduce it here and to run over the events as they occurred. (Y.R. 666)

[92] Μιθριδάτης ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτει, Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πονοῦμένου, ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξειν τῆς Ἀσίας, τά τε ἄλλα, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πάντα ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πειρατὰς καθῆκεν, οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοις σκάφεσι καὶ μικροῖς οἷα λησταὶ περιπλέοντες ἐλύπουν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐμηκύνετο, πλέονες ἐγίνοντο καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλας ἐπέπλεον. γευσάμενοι δὲ κερδῶν μεγάλων, οὐδ' ἡττωμένου καὶ σπενδομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος ἔτι ἐπαύοντο: οἱ γὰρ βίου καὶ πατρίδων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφηρημένοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροαν, ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκαρποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν, μυοπάρωσι πρῶτον καὶ ἡμιολίας, εἶτα δικρότοις καὶ τριήρεσι κατὰ μέρη περιπλέοντες, ἡγουμένων ληστάρχων οἷα πολέμου στρατηγῶν. ἐς τε ἀτειχίστους πόλεις ἐμπίπτοντες, καὶ

ἐτέρων τὰ τεῖχη διορύττοντες ἢ κόπτοντες ἢ πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνοντες, ἐσύλων· καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἷς τι πλεον εἶη, ἐς ναυλοχίαν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἀπῆγον. καὶ τάδε τὰ λήμματα, ἀδοξοῦντες ἤδη τὸ τῶν ληστῶν ὄνομα, μισθοὺς ἐκάλουν στρατιωτικούς. χειροτέχνας τε εἶχον ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους, καὶ ὕλην ξύλου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συμφέροντες οὐποτε ἐπαύοντο· ἐπαιρόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κέρδους, καὶ τὸ ληστεύειν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες ἔτι μεθεῖναι, βασιλεῦσι δ' ἤδη καὶ τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοιοῦντες, καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅτε συνέλθοιεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες, ἅμαχοι γενήσεσθαι, ναῦς τε καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο, μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τραχεῖαν λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὕφορμον ἢ στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι, φρούρια μὲν καὶ ἄκρας καὶ νήσους ἐρήμους καὶ ναυλοχίας ἔχοντες πολλαχοῦ, κυριωτάτας δὲ ἀφέσεις ἡγούμενοι τὰς περὶ τήνδε τὴν Κιλικίαν, τραχεῖαν τε καὶ ἀλίμενον οὖσαν καὶ κορυφαῖς μεγάλαις ἐξέχουσαν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ πάντες ὀνόματι κοινῷ Κίλικες ἐκαλοῦντο, ἄρξαμένου μὲν ἴσως τοῦ κακοῦ παρὰ τῶν Τραχεωτῶν Κιλικῶν, συνεπιλαβόντων δὲ Σύρων τε καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ τῶν Ποντικῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐφ' ἑθνῶν οἱ πολλοὺ καὶ χρονίου σφίσιν ὄντος τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου δρᾶν τι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσχειν αἰρούμενοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπελέγοντο,

[92] When Mithridates first went to war with the Romans (B.C. 88) and subdued the province of Asia (Sulla being then in difficulties respecting Greece), he thought that he should not hold the province long, and accordingly plundered it in all sorts of ways, as I have mentioned above, and sent out pirates on the sea. In the beginning they prowled around with a few small boats worrying the inhabitants like robbers. As the war lengthened they became more numerous and navigated larger ships. Relishing their large gains, they did not desist when Mithridates was defeated, made peace, and retired. Having lost both livelihood and country by reason of the war and fallen into extreme destitution, they harvested the sea instead of the land, at first with pinnaces and hemiolii, then with two-bank and three-bank ships, sailing in squadrons under pirate chiefs, who were like generals of an army. They fell upon unfortified towns. They undermined or battered down the walls of (Y.R. 669) others, or captured them by regular siege and plundered 85 (B.C. 85) them. They carried off the wealthier citizens to their haven of refuge and held them for ransom. They scorned the name of robbers and called their takings the prize of warfare. They had artisans chained to their tasks and were continually bringing in materials of timber, brass, and iron. Being elated by their gains and determined not to change their mode of life yet, they likened themselves to kings, rulers, and great armies, and thought that if they should all come together in the same place they would be invincible. They built ships and made all kinds of arms. Their chief seat was at a place called the Crag in Cilicia, which they had chosen as their common anchorage and encampment. They had castles and towers and desert islands and retreats everywhere. They chose for their principal rendezvous the coast of Cilicia where it was rough and harborless and rose in high mountain peaks,

for which reason they were all called by the common name of Cilicians. Perhaps this evil had its beginning among the men of the Crags of Cilicia, but thither also men of Syrian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Pontic origin and those of almost all the Eastern nations had congregated, who, on account of the long continuance of the Mithridatic war, preferred to do wrong rather than to suffer it, and for this purpose chose the sea instead of the land.

[93] ὥστε πολλαὶ τάχιστα αὐτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐ μόνης ἔτι τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπάσης· καὶ γὰρ τινες ἤδη Ῥωμαίων στρατηγούς ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνενικήκεσαν, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας περὶ αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ. ἅπλωτά τε ἤδη πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἡ γῆ τῶν ἔργων ἐνδεὴς διὰ τὴν ἀνεπιμιζίαν. ἦ τε πόλις ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἦσθετο μάλιστα τοῦ κακοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπηκόων σφίσι καμνόντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἴδιον ἐπιπόνως λιμώττοντες. τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο μέγα καὶ δυσχερές, ἐξελεῖν τοσάδε στρατόπεδα ἀνδρῶν ναυτικῶν, μεμερισμένα μὲν ἐς πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, κοῦφα δὲ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐς τὸ ὑποφεύγειν, οὐκ ἐκ πατρίδων ἢ φανερᾶς χώρας ὀρμώμενα, οὐδ' οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἴδιον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸ προστυχὸν ἔχοντα. ὥστε πολὺς ὢν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παράλογος, ἔννομον οὐδὲν ἔχοντος οὐδὲ βέβαιον οὐδὲ φανερόν, ἀμηχανίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον εἰργάζετο. Μουρήνας τε ἐγχειρήσας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξείργαστο μέγα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Μουρήνᾳ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰταλικῆς τοῖς παραλίοις, ἀμφὶ τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἐπέβαινον οἱ λησταὶ σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ γύναια παροδεύοντα τῶν εὐπατρίδων καὶ δύο στρατηγούς αὐτοῖς σημείους συνηρπάκεσαν.

[93] Thus, in a very short time, they increased in number to tens of thousands. They dominated now not only the Eastern waters, but the whole Mediterranean to the Pillars of Hercules. They vanquished some of the Roman prætors in naval engagements, and among others the prætor of Sicily on the Sicilian coast itself. No sea could be navigated in safety, and land remained untilled for want of commercial intercourse. The city of Rome felt this evil most keenly, her subjects being distressed and herself suffering grievously from hunger by reason of her very greatness. It appeared to them to be a great and difficult task to destroy so large a force of seafaring men scattered everywhither on land and sea, and so nimble of flight, sallying out from no particular country or any known places, having no habitation or anything of their own, but only what they might chance to light upon. Thus both the greatness and the unexampled nature of this war, which was subject to no laws and had nothing tangible or visible about it, caused perplexity and fear on all sides. Murena had attacked them, but accomplished nothing worth mention, nor had Servilius Isauricus, who succeeded him. And now the pirates contemptuously assailed the coasts of Italy, around Brundisium and Etruria, and seized and carried off some women of noble families who were travelling, and also two prætors with their very insignia of office. (Y.R. 687)

[94] ὧν οὐτε τὴν βλάβην οὐτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ἔτι φέροντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τότε σφῶν ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντα μεγίστης Γναῖον Πομπήιον αἰροῦνται νόμῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τριετὲς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι θαλάσσης τε ἀπάσης ἢ στηλῶν Ἑρακλείων ἐντός ἐστι, καὶ γῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους ἄνω. βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ἐπέστελλον ἐς πάντα συλλαμβάνειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν καταλέγειν ἔδοσαν καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν. συνέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ σφῶν στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ καταλόγου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, καὶ χρημάτων ἐς ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα Ἀττικά. οὕτω μέγα καὶ δυσεργές ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τοσῶνδε κρατῆσαι στρατοπέδων, ἐν τοσῇδε θαλάσσῃ καὶ μυχοῖς τοσοῖσδε διαλανθανόντων τε εὐμαρῶς καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ῥαδίως καὶ ἐμπιπτόντων αὐθις ἀφανῶς. ἀνὴρ τε οὐδεὶς πω πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐπὶ τοσῇδε ἀρχὴν αἰρεθείς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπλευσεν, ᾧ στρατιὰ μὲν αὐτίκα ἦν ἐν δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισχίλιοι, νῆες δὲ σὺν ἡμιολίαις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, ὑπηρεταὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οὓς καλοῦσι πρεσβευτάς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδιήρει τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ναῦς ἐδίδου καὶ ἱππείας ἐκάστω καὶ στρατὸν πεζόν, καὶ στρατηγίας σημεῖα περικεῖσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐντελὴς οὗ πιστεύοιτο μέρους ἕκαστος ὑπάρχῃ, αὐτὸς δ', οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, αὐτοὺς περιθέοι καὶ ἐφορῇ μένοντας ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθησαν, μηδὲ μεταδιώκων τοὺς ληστὰς περιφέροιο ἐξ ἔργων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὄντων ἐς ἕτερα, ἀλλ' εἶεν οἱ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶντές τε καὶ τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαδρομας ἀποκλείοντες.

[94] When the Romans could no longer endure the damage (B.C. 67) and disgrace they made Gnaeus Pompey, who was then their man of greatest reputation, commander by law for three years, with absolute power over the whole sea within the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for a distance of 400 stades from the coast. They sent letters to all kings, rulers, peoples, and cities, that they should aid Pompey in all ways. They gave him power to raise troops and to collect money from the provinces, and they furnished a large army from their own enrolment, and all the ships they had, and money to the amount of 6000 Attic talents, — so great and difficult did they consider the task of overcoming such great forces, dispersed over so wide a sea, hiding easily in so many nooks, retreating quickly and darting out again unexpectedly. Never did any man before Pompey set forth with so great authority conferred upon him by the Romans. Presently he had an army of 120,000 foot and 4000 horse, and 270 ships, including hemioliæ. He had twenty-five assistants of senatorial rank, whom they call lieutenant-generals, among whom he divided the sea, giving ships, cavalry, and infantry to each, and investing them with the insignia of prætors, in order that each one might have absolute authority over the part intrusted to him, while he, Pompey, like a king of kings, should course among them to see that they remained where they were stationed, lest, while he was pursuing the pirates in one place, he should be drawn to something else before his work was finished, and so that there might be forces to encounter them everywhere and to prevent them from

forming junctions with each other.

[95] οὕτω διαθεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντα, ἐπέστησεν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείοις στήλαις Τιβέριον Νέρωνα καὶ Μάλλιον Τορκουάτον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν τε καὶ Κελτικὴν θάλασσαν Μάρκον Πομπώνιον, Λιβύῃ δὲ καὶ Σαρδόνι καὶ Κύρνῳ, καὶ ὅσαι πλησίον νῆσοι, Λέντλον τε Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ Πόπλιον Ἀτίλιον, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν Λεύκιον Γέλλιον καὶ Γναῖον Λέντλον. Σικελίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἴονιον ἐφύλασσον αὐτῷ Πλώτιος τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων μέχρι Ἀκαρνανίας, Πελοπόννησον δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἔτι δ' Εὐβοίαν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Βοιωτίαν Λεύκιος Σισινῶς, τὰς δὲ νήσους καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἅπαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Λεύκιος Λόλλιος, Βιθυνίαν δὲ καὶ Θράκην καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πόντου στόμα Πούπλιος Πείσων, Λυκίαν δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην Μέτελλος Νέπως. ὧδε μὲν αὐτῷ διετετάχατο οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν τε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκφεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ διώκοντες ἀφίσταντο μακράν, μηδὲ ὡς ἐν δρόμῳ περιφέροιντο, καὶ χρόνιον εἴη τὸ ἔργον, αὐτὸς δ' ἅπαντας ἐπέπλει. καὶ τὰ ἐς δύσιν πρῶτα ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ἐπιδὼν ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθεν. ὅθεν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, καὶ ἐκ Βρεντεσίου τοσῶδε διαστήματι τὴν ἑω περιπλεύσας, ἐξέπληξεν ἅπαντας τάχει τε ἐπίπλου καὶ μεγέθει παρασκευῆς καὶ φόβῳ δόξης, ὥστε τοὺς ληστὰς ἐλπίσαντας αὐτῷ προεπιχειρήσειν, ἢ οὐκ εὐμαρές γε τὸ κατὰ σφῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξειν, δείσαντας εὐθὺς τῶν τε πόλεων ἃς ἐπολιόρκουν ἐξαναχθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνήθεις ἄκρας καὶ ναυλοχίας ὑποφεύγειν, καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν αὐτίκα ἀμαχί κεκαθάρθαι, τοὺς δὲ ληστὰς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πανταχοῦ κατὰ μέρη.

[95] Pompey disposed of the whole in the following manner. He put Tiberius Nero and Manlius Torquatus in command of Spain and the Straits of Hercules. He assigned Marcus Pomponius to the Gallic and Ligurian waters. Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and the neighboring islands were committed to Lentulus Marcellinus and Publius Atilius, and the coast of Italy itself to Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus Lentulus. Sicily and the Adriatic as far as Acarnania were assigned to Plotius Varus and Terentius Varro; the Peloponnesus, Attica, Eubœa, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Bœotia to Lucius Sisenna; the Greek islands, the whole Ægean sea, and the Hellespont in addition, to Lucius Lollius; Bithynia, Thrace, the Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine to Publius Piso; Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, and Phœnicia to Metellus Nepos. Thus were the commands of the prætors arranged for the purpose of attacking, defending, and guarding their respective assignments, so that each might catch the pirates put to flight by others, and not be drawn a long distance from their own stations by the pursuit, nor carried round and round as in a race, and the time for doing the work protracted. Pompey himself made a tour of the whole. He first inspected the western stations, accomplishing the task in forty days, and passing through Rome on his return. Thence he went to Brundisium and, proceeding from this place, he occupied an equal time in visiting the eastern

stations. He astonished all by the rapidity of his movement, the magnitude of his preparations, and his formidable reputation, so that the pirates, who had expected to attack him first, or at least to show that the task he had undertaken against them was no easy one, became straightway alarmed, abandoned their assaults upon the towns they were besieging, and fled to their accustomed citadels and inlets. Thus the sea was cleared by Pompey forthwith and without a fight, and the pirates were everywhere subdued by the prætors at their several stations.

[96] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Κιλικίαν ἠπείγετο μετὰ ποικίλου στρατοῦ καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν, ἐλπίσας παντοίας μάχης καὶ πολιορκίας αὐτῷ δεῖσιν ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀποκρήμνους. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐδέησε: τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ λησταὶ καταπλαγέοντες, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ μὴ διὰ μάχης ἔλθοιεν, τεύζεσθαι φιλανθρώπου, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, ὅπλα τε ὁμοῦ πολλά, τὰ μὲν ἔτοιμα τὰ δὲ χαλκευόμενα, παρέδωκαν, καὶ ναῦς τὰς μὲν ἔτι πηγνυμένας τὰς δ' ἤδη πλεούσας, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἐς ταῦτα συνενηνεγμένον καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ κάλως καὶ ὕλην ποικίλην, αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔργοις δεδεμένων. ὣν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἐνέπρησε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀπήγαγε, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀφῆκε: καὶ πολλοὶ κενotáφια σφῶν κατέλαβον ὥς ἐπὶ νεκροῖς γενόμενα. τοὺς δὲ πειρατὰς οἱ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν οὐχ ὑπὸ μοχθηρίας ἀλλ' ἀπορία βίου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, ἐς Μαλλὸν καὶ Ἄδανα καὶ Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἥ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα ἔρημον ἢ ὀλιγάνθρωπον ἦν τῆσδε τῆς τραχείας Κιλικίας, συνώκιζε: τοὺς δὲ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐξέπεμπεν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ ληστρικὸς πόλεμος, χαλεπώτατος ἔσεσθαι νομισθεὶς, ὀλιγήμερος ἐγένετο τῷ Πομπήϊῳ: καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε τὰς μὲν ἀλούσας μίαν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, τὰς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδοθείσας ἑξ καὶ τριακοσίας, πόλεις δὲ καὶ φρούρια καὶ ὀρμητήρια ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. λησταὶ δ' ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

[96] Pompey himself hastened to Cilicia with forces of various kinds and many engines, as he expected that there would be need of every kind of fighting and every kind of siege against the rock-bound citadels; but he needed nothing. The terror of his name and the greatness of his preparations had produced a panic among the robbers. They hoped that if they did not resist they might receive lenient (Y.R. 688) treatment. First, those who held Cragus and Anticragus, their largest citadels, surrendered themselves, and after them the mountaineers of Cilicia, and, finally, all, one after another. They gave up at the same time a great quantity of arms, some completed, others in the workshops; also their ships, some still on the stocks, others already afloat; also brass and iron collected for building them, and sailcloth, rope, and various kinds of materials; and finally a multitude of captives either held for ransom or chained to their tasks. Pompey burned the materials, carried away the ships, and sent the captives back to their respective countries. Many of

them there found their own cenotaphs, for they were supposed to be dead. Those pirates who had evidently fallen into this way of life not from wickedness, but from poverty consequent upon the war, Pompey settled in Mallus, Adama, and Epiphanea, or any other uninhabited or thinly peopled town in Craggy Cilicia. Some of them he sent to Dyme in Achaia. Thus the war against the pirates, which it was supposed would prove very difficult, was brought to an end by Pompey in a few days. He took seventy-one ships by capture and 306 by surrender from the pirates, and i 20 of their towns, castles, and other places of rendezvous. About 10,000 of the pirates were slain in battles.

CHAPTER XV

*Extraordinary Powers given to Pompey — He marches against Mithridates —
The King retreats by Night — Pompey overtakes and defeats him —
Mithridates again flees to Armenia, and thence to the Scythians — Pompey
advances to Colchis — Fights a Battle with the Barbarians — Marches
against Tigranes — Tigranes comes to him as a Suppliant — Pompey pardons
him, and settles the Affairs of Armenia*

[97] ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ὀξέως τε οὕτω καὶ παραδόξως γενομένοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πομπήιον μέγα ἐπαίροντες, ἔτι ὄντα περὶ Κιλικίαν εἵλοντο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα, ὅπη θέλοι, συντίθεσθαι τε καὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ φίλους ἢ πολεμίους Ῥωμαίοις οὓς δοκιμάσειε ποιεῖσθαι: στρατιᾶς τε πάσης, ὅση πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν ἔδωκαν. ἅπερ οὐδενὶ πω παντάπασι πρὸ τοῦδε ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐδόθη. καὶ ἴσως αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τὰδε μέγαν ὀνομάζουσιν: ὁ γάρ τοι πόλεμος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν ἐξήνυστο ἤδη.

Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατὸν ἀγείρας μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου: Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἦν ἐπίλεκτος οἰκεῖος στρατός, τρισμῦριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ προῦκάθητο τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι δ' αὐτὴν Λευκόλλου διεφθαρκότος ἀπόρως εἶχεν ἀγορᾶς: ὅθεν αὐτομολίαις ἐπετίθεντο πολλοί. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐρευνώμενος ἐκρήμνη καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἔκαιεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν αὐτομολιῶν ἦσσαν ἠνώχλει διὰ φόβον τῶν κολάσεων, ἐπέτριβε δ' ἡ ἀπορία.

[97] For this victory, so swiftly and unexpectedly gained, the Romans extolled Pompey beyond measure; and while he was still in Cilicia they chose him commander of the war against Mithridates, giving him the same unlimited powers as before, to make war and peace as he liked, and to proclaim nations friends or enemies according to his own judgment. They gave him command of all the forces (Y.R. 687) beyond the borders of Italy. All these powers had never been given to any one general before. This was perhaps the reason why they gave him the title of Pompey the Great, for the Mithridatic war had been successfully prosecuted by other generals before him. He accordingly collected his army and marched to the territory of Mithridates. The latter had an army selected from his own forces, of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, stationed on his frontier; but since Lucullus had lately devastated that region there was a scant supply of provisions, and for this reason many of his men deserted. The deserters whom he caught he crucified, or put out their eyes, or burned them alive. But while the fear of punishment lessened the number of deserters, the scarcity of provisions weakened him.

[98] πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Πομπήιον πέμψας ἡξίου μαθεῖν, τίς ἂν εἴη τοῦ πολέμου

διάλυσιν. οἱ δ' ἑνὶ τούτοις αὐτομόλους ἡμῖν παραδῶς' ἔφη, 'καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψης.' ὣν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος τοῖς αὐτομόλοις τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔφρασε, καὶ δεδιότας ὁρῶν ὤμοσεν ὅτι οἱ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐστὶν ἄσπονδα διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσει τινά, οὐδὲ πράξει ποτὲ ὃ μὴ κοινῇ πᾶσι συνοίσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐνέδραν ποι καθεὶς ἱπέων, ἐτέρους ἔπεμπεν ἐκ φανεροῦ τοῖς προφύλαξι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνοχλεῖν: καὶ εἰρητο αὐτοῖς ... ἐρεθίζειν καὶ ὑποφεύγειν ὥσπερ ἡττωμένους, ... ἔστε περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας περιλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ φεύγουσι τάχ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνεσεπήδησαν, εἰ μὴ δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς προήγαγε τὸ πεζόν. οἱ δ' ἀπεχώρουν. καὶ τέλος ἦν τοῦτο τῇ πρώτῃ Πομπηίου καὶ Μιθριδάτου πεῖρα ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵππομαχία.

[98] Mithridates sent envoys to Pompey asking on what terms he could obtain peace. Pompey replied, "By delivering up our deserters and surrendering at discretion." When Mithridates was made acquainted with these terms he communicated them to the deserters, and when he observed their consternation he swore that on account of the cupidity of the Romans he would never make peace with them, nor would he give up anybody to them, nor would he ever do anything that was not for the common advantage of all. So spake Mithridates. Then Pompey placed a cavalry force in ambush, and sent forward others to harass the king's outposts openly, and ordered them to provoke the enemy and then retreat, as though vanquished. This was done until those in ambush took their enemy in the rear and put them to flight. The Romans might have broken into the enemy's camp along with the fugitives had not the king, apprehending this danger, led forward his infantry. Then the Romans retired. This was the result of the first trial of arms and cavalry engagement between Pompey and Mithridates. (Y.R. 688)

[99] ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄκων ὑπεχώρει, καὶ ἐσεδέχετο Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐλπίζων καθήμενον ἐν τῇδε τῇ διεφθαρμένῃ κακοπαθήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀγορὰν μὲν ἐπακτὸν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν εἶχε, περιελθὼν δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἑω τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ φρουρία αὐτῷ καὶ στρατόπεδα πολλὰ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους περιθίς ἀπετάφρευε τοῦ μὴ σιτολογεῖν αὐτὸν ἐτι εὐμαρῶς. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποταφρεύοντι μὲν οὐκ ἐπετίθετο, εἴθ' ὑπὸ δέους εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας, ἢ νᾶσιν ἐγγίγνεται πλησιαζόντων τῶν κακῶν, κάμνων δ' αὖθις ἐξ ἀπορίας τὰ ὑποζύγια ὅσα εἶχε κατέκοπτε, τοὺς ἵππους μόνους περιποιούμενος, ἔστε μόλις ἐς πεντήκοντα διαρκέσας ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἀπεδίδρασκε σὺν σιωπῇ βαθεῖα δι' ὁδῶν δυσχερῶν. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν μόλις ἡμέρας ὁ Πομπήιος καταλαβὼν εἶχετο τῶν ὑστάτων, ὁ μὲν καὶ τότε τῶν φίλων ἐκτάξει κελευόντων οὐκ ἐμάχετο, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μόνοις τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀνακόπτων ἐσπέρας ἐν ὕλαις ἠϋλίστατο πυκναῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ χωρίον κατέλαβε περίκρημον, οὗ μία ἐς αὐτὸ ἄνοδος ἦν, καὶ τέσσαρες αὐτὴν σπεῖραι προφύλασσαν. ἀντεφύλασσαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν Μιθριδάτην.

[99] The king, being short of provisions, retreated reluctantly and allowed Pompey to enter his territory, expecting that he also would suffer from scarcity when encamped in the devastated region. But Pompey had arranged to have his supplies sent after him. He passed around to the eastward of Mithridates, established a series of fortified posts (B.C. 66) and camps extending a distance of 150 stades, and drew a line of circumvallation around him which made foraging still difficult for him. The king did not oppose this work, being either afraid or mentally paralyzed, as often happens on the approach of calamity. Being again pressed for supplies he slaughtered his pack animals, keeping only his horses. When he had scarcely fifty days' provisions left he fled by night, in profound silence, by bad roads. Pompey overtook him with difficulty in the daytime and assailed his rear guard. The king's friends then urged him to prepare for battle, but he would not fight. He merely drove back the assailants with his horse and retired into the thick woods in the evening. The following day he took up a strong position defended by rocks, to which there was access by only one road, which he held with an advance guard of four cohorts. The Romans put an opposing force on guard there to prevent Mithridates from escaping.

[100] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτῶν ὥπλιζεν ἑκάτερος, οἱ προφύλακες δ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ πρηνὲς ἀπεπειρῶντο· καὶ τινες ἱππεῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χωρὶς τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐβοήθουν τοῖς σφετέροις προφύλαξιν. πλείονων δέ σφισι Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων ἐπιόντων, οἱ ἄνιπποι τῶν Μιθριδατείων οἶδε ἀθρόως ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, ἀναβησόμενοί τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐπιούσι Ῥωμαίοις συνοισόμενοι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνω ἔτι ὀπλιζόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ προσθέοντες, καὶ τὸ γινόμενον οὐκ εἰδότες ἀλλὰ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβόντες, ὥς εἰλημμένου σφῶν ἤδη καθ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὰ ὅπλα μεθέντες ἔφευγον. ἀδιεξόδου δ' ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου προσέπταιον ἀλλήλοις ἀναστρεφόμενοι, μέχρι καθήλαντο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ προπέτειαν τῶν ἄνευ προστάγματος τοῖς προμάχοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐλομένων θορυβηθεῖσα διέφθαρτο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον εὐκόλον ἦν τῷ Πομπήῳ, κτείνοντι καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι ἀνόπλους ἔτι καὶ ἐν περικρήμῳ συγκεκλεισμένους. καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν ἐς μυρίου, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅλη τῇ παρασκευῇ κατελήφθη.

[100] At daybreak both commanders put their forces under arms. The outposts began skirmishing along the defile, and some of the king's horsemen, without their horses and without orders, went to the assistance of their advance guard. A larger number of the Roman cavalry came up against them, and the horseless Mithridateans rushed back to their camp to mount their horses and thus to make themselves a more equal match for the advancing Romans. When those who were still arming on the higher ground looked down and saw their own men running toward them with haste and outcries, but did not know the reason, they thought that they had been put to flight. They threw down

their arms and fled as though their own camp had already been captured on the other side. As there was no road out of the place they fell foul of each other in the confusion, until finally they leaped down the precipices. Thus the army of Mithridates perished through the rashness of those who caused a panic by going to the assistance of the advance guard without orders. The remainder of Pompey's task was easy, in the way of killing and capturing men not yet armed and shut up in a rocky defile. About 10,000 were slain and the camp with all its apparatus was taken.

[101] Μιθριδάτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν μόνων ὥσάμενος ἐς τὰ κατάκρημνα καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐνέτυχέ τισιν ἱππεῦσι μισθοφόροις καὶ πεζοῖς ὡς τρισχιλίοις, οἱ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συνείμοντο ἐς Σινόρηγα φρούριον, ἔνθα αὐτῷ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐσεσώρευτο: καὶ δωρεὰν καὶ μισθὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς συμφυγοῦσι διέδωκεν. φέρων δ' ἐς ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πηγὰς ἠπείγετο ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Κόλχους περάσων. δρόμῳ δ' ἀπαύστῳ χρώμενος τὸν μὲν Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα τετάρτῃ, τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις καθιστάμενος καὶ ὀπλίζων τοὺς συνόντας ἢ προσιόντας ἐς τὴν Χωτηνὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ἔνθα Χωτηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἰβήρας, κωλύοντας αὐτὸν βέλεσι καὶ σφενδόναϊς, ἐλαύνων διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψαρον ποταμόν. Ἰβήρας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ οἱ μὲν προγόνους οἱ δ' ἀποίκους ἡγοῦνται τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἰβήρων, οἱ δὲ μόνον ὁμωνύμους: ἔθος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅμοιον, ἢ γλῶσσα. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκοούροις χειμάζων, ἦν τινα πόλιν οἱ Κόλχοι σύμβολον ἡγοῦνται τῆς Διοσκοούρων σὺν Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιδημίας, οὐδὲν σμικρόν, οὐδ' οἷον ἐν φυγῇ, διανοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πόντον ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Βόσπορον ἐμβαλεῖν, τὴν τε Μαχάρους τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν, ἀχαρίστου περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένου, παραλαβὼν αὐθις ἐκ μετώπου Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης οὓσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν πόρον ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος, ὃν κληθῆναι νομίζουσι Βόσπορον Ἰούδς διανηξαμένης, ὅτε βοῦς γενομένη κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν Ἥρας ἔφρευγεν.

[101] Mithridates made his escape through the cliffs with his attendants only, and fled. He fell in with a troop of mercenary horse and about 3000 foot who accompanied him directly to the castle of Simorex, where he had accumulated a large sum of money. Here he gave rewards and a year's pay to those who had fled with him. Taking 6000 talents he hastened to the head waters of the Euphrates, intending to proceed thence to Colchis. As his march was uninterrupted, he crossed the Euphrates on the fourth day. Three days later he put in order and armed the forces that had accompanied or joined him, and entered Chotene in Armenia. There the Choteneans and Iberians tried with darts and slings to prevent him from coming in, but he advanced and proceeded to the river Apsarus. Some people think that the Iberians of Asia were the ancestors of the Iberians of Europe; others think that the former emigrated from the latter; still others think they merely have the same name, as their customs and languages are not similar. Mithridates wintered at Dioscurias in Colchis, which city, the Colchians think, preserves the

remembrance of the sojourn there of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, with the Argonautic expedition. Mithridates here made no small plans, nor yet plans suitable for a fugitive, but conceived the idea of making the circuit of the whole Pontic coast, passing from Pontus to the Scythians around the sea of Azov and thus arriving at the Bosphorus. He intended to take away the kingdom of Machares, his ungrateful son, and confront the Romans once more; wage war against them from the side of Europe while they were in Asia, and to put between them as a dividing line the strait which is believed to have been called the Bosphorus because Io swam across it when she was changed into a cow and fled from the jealousy of Hera. (Y.R. 689)

[102] ἐς τοσοῦτο παραδοξολογίας ἐπειγόμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐφικέσθαι ὅμως ἐπενόει, καὶ δίδωδεν ἔθνη Σκυθικὰ καὶ πολεμικὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια πείθων ἢ βιαζόμενος: οὕτω καὶ φεύγων καὶ ἀτυχῶν αἰδέσιμος ἔτι καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν. ἡνιόχους μὲν οὖν δεχομένους αὐτὸν παρῶδενεν, Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἐτρέψατο διώκων: οὓς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανιόντας φασὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ὡς Ἑλληνας ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, πέμψαντας δ' ἐπὶ ναῦς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὑπεροφθέντας μηνῖσαι τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ γένει, καὶ Σκυθικῶς ὅσους ἔλοιεν Ἑλλήνων καταθῦειν, πρῶτα μὲν ἅπαντας ὑπ' ὀργῆς, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ τοὺς καλλίστους αὐτῶν μόνους, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κληρουμένους. καὶ τότε μὲν περὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν: ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιν ἐμβαλὼν, ἧς εἰσὶ πολλοὶ δυνάσται, πάντων αὐτὸν κατὰ κλέος ἔργων τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ δυνάμεως ἔτι οἱ παρούσης ἀξιολόγου, δεχομένων τε καὶ παραπεμπόντων, καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ φερόντων καὶ κομιζομένων ἕτερα, ὁ δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, ἐπινοῶν ἕτερα καινότερα, διὰ Θράκης ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ διὰ Μακεδόνων ἐς Παίονας ἐμβαλὼν ὑπερελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη: γάμους τε θυγατέρων ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δυνατωτέροις αὐτῶν ἡγγύα. Μαχάρης δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς πυνθανόμενος ὁδόν τε τοσαύτην ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἄγρια ἔθνη καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν, οὐδενὶ πῶ γεγονότα περατά, διοδεῦσαι, πρέσβεις μὲν τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεμπεν ἀπολογησομένους ὡς ἀνάγκη θεραπεύσειε Ῥωμαίους, ὀργὴν δὲ ἄκρον εἰδὼς ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ χερρόνησον, τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσας, ἵνα μὴ διώξειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ. ἑτέρας δ' ἐπιπέμψαντος ἐκείνου, προλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιόντι ἐδεδώκει, πάντα ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαθεῖς ὡς ὑπηρέτας ἰδίου φίλου γενομένους ἀφῆκεν.

[102] Such was the chimerical undertaking that Mithridates now set about. He imagined, nevertheless, that he should accomplish it. He pushed on through strange and warlike Scythian tribes, partly by permission, partly by force, for although a fugitive and in misfortune he was still respected and feared. He passed through the country of the Heniochi, who received him willingly. The Achæans, who resisted him, he put to flight. These, it is said, when returning from the siege of Troy, were driven by a storm (B.C. 65) into the Euxine sea and underwent great sufferings there at the hands of the barbarians because

they were Greeks; and when they sent to their home for ships and their request was disregarded, they conceived such a hatred for the Grecian race that whenever they captured any Greeks they immolated them, Scythian fashion. At first in their anger they served all in this way, afterwards only the handsomest ones, and finally a few chosen by lot. So much for the Achæans of Scythia. Mithridates finally reached the Azov country, of which there were many princes, all of whom received him, escorted him, and exchanged presents with him, on account of the fame of his deeds, his empire, and his power, which were still not to be despised. He formed alliances with them in contemplation of other and more novel exploits, such as marching through Thrace to Macedonia, through Macedonia to Pannonia, and passing over the Alps into Italy. With the more powerful of these princes he cemented the alliance by giving his daughters in marriage. When his son, Machares, learned that he had made such a journey in so short a time among savage tribes, and through the so-called Scythian Gates, which had never been passed by any one before, he sent envoys to him to defend himself, saying that he was under the necessity of conciliating the Romans. But, knowing his father's in. exorable temper, he fled to the Pontic Chersonesus, burning the ships to prevent his father from pursuing him. When the latter procured other ships and sent them after him, he anticipated his fate by killing himself. Mithridates put to death all of his own friends whom he had left here in places of authority when he went away, but those of his son he dismissed unharmed, as they had acted under the obligations of private friendship. This was the state of things with Mithridates. (Y.R. 688)

[103] καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μέχρι Κόλχων ἐδίωξε, μετὰ δέ, οὐδαμὰ δόξας αὐτὸν οὔτε τὸν Πόντον οὔτε τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην περιελεύσεσθαι, οὐδὲ μεγάλοις ἔτι πράγμασιν ἐγχειρήσειν ἐκπεσόντα, τοὺς Κόλχους ἐπῆει καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπιδημίας, τὸ πάθος μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐθέλων ὁ Προμηθεὶ φασὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος. χρυσοφοροῦσι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου πηγαὶ πολλαὶ ψῆγμα ἀφανές· καὶ οἱ περίοικοι κώδια τιθέντες ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα βαθύμαλλα, τὸ ψῆγμα ἐνισχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκλέγουσιν. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν ἴσως καὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον Αἰήτου δέρος. τὸν οὖν Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀνιόντα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρέπεμπον, ὅσα ἔθνη γείτονα· Ὀροΐζης δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρτώκης ὁ Ἰβήρων ἐπτά μυριάσιν ἐλόχων ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρτον ποταμόν, ὃς δώδεκα στόμασι πλωτοῖς ἐς τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν ἐρεύγεται, πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντων ποταμῶν, καὶ μεγίστου πάντων Ἀράξου. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξεύγνυ, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους συνελάσας ἐς λόχμην βαθεῖαν ὑλομαχῆσαι δ' εἰσὶ δεινοί, κρυπτόμενοί τε καὶ ἐπιόντες ἀφανῶς· αὐτῇ λόχμῃ τὸν στρατὸν περιστήσας ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ἅπαντες ὄμηρά τε καὶ δῶρα ἤνεγκαν. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε. πολλὰ δὲ ἔν τε τοῖς ὁμήροις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ηὔρεθηνσαν γυναῖκες, οὐ μείονα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τραύματα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἐδόκουν Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι, εἴτε τι ἔθνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς

γειτονεῖον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἐπὶ κλητοὶ τότε ἐς συμμαχίαν γενόμεναι, εἴτε τινὰς πολεμικὰς ὅλως γυναῖκας οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν Ἀμαζόνας.

[103] Pompey pursued Mithridates in his flight as far as Colchis, but he thought that his foe would never get around to Pontus or to the sea of Azov, or undertake anything great even if he should escape. He advanced to Colchis in order to gain knowledge of the country visited by the Argonauts, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules, and especially he desired to see the place where they say that Prometheus was fastened to Mount Caucasus. Many streams issue from (B.C. 66) Caucasus bearing gold-dust so fine as to be invisible. The inhabitants put sheepskins with shaggy fleece into the stream and thus collect the floating particles. Perhaps the golden fleece of Ætes was of this kind. All the neighboring tribes accompanied Pompey on his exploring expedition. Only Oræses, king of the Albanians, and Artoces king of the Iberians, placed 70,000 men in ambush for him at the river Cyrtus, which empties into the Caspian sea by twelve navigable mouths, receiving the waters of several large streams, the greatest of which is the Araxes. Pompey, gaining knowledge of the ambush, bridged the river and drove the barbarians into a dense forest. These people are terrible forest fighters, hiding in the woods and darting out unexpectedly. Pompey surrounded this forest with his army, set it on fire, and pursued the fugitives when they ran out, until they all surrendered and brought him hostages and presents. Pompey was afterward awarded one of his triumphs at Rome for these exploits. Among the hostages and prisoners many women were found, who had suffered wounds no less than the men. These were supposed to be Amazons, but whether the Amazons are a neighboring nation, who were called to their aid at that time, or whether certain warlike women are called Amazons by the barbarians there, is not known.

[104] ἐπανιών δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἔγκλημα ἐς Τιγράνῃ τιθέμενος ὅτι συνεμάχει Μιθριδάτῃ· καὶ ἦν ἥδη περὶ Ἀρτάξата τὴν βασιλείον. Τιγράνῃ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωστο μὲν πολεμεῖν ἔτι, παῖδες δ' ἐκ τῆς Μιθριδάτου θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, ὧν δύο μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης ἀνῆρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἐν μάχῃ, πολεμοῦντά οἱ, τὸν δ' ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ, αὐτοῦ πεσόντος ἀμελήσαντα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενον ἔτι κειμένον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Τιγράνης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίῳ ὑπεραλγῆσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστεφάνωτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπὼν ἀπέστη καὶ ὅδε, καὶ πολεμῶν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡττώμενος ἐς Φραάτην ἐπεφεύγει τὸν Παρθυαίων βασιλέα, ἄρτι τὴν Σιντρίκου τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν διαδεδεγμένον. πλησιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου κοινωσάμενος Φραάτῃ, συγχωροῦντός τι κάκεινον καὶ φιλίαν ἰδίαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον μνωμένου, κατέφυγεν ὁ παῖς ἰκέτης ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Μιθριδάτου θυγατρίδους. ἀλλὰ μέγα δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως κλέος ἦν τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ᾧ δὴ πίσυνος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Τιγράνης οὐδ' ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ἦι, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ δίκαια Πομπηίῳ, καὶ κατηγορήσων τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ Πομπηίου. χιλιάρχους δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱπάρχους ἐπὶ τιμῇ κελεύσαντος ὑπαντᾶν τοῦ Πομπηίου, οἱ μὲν ὄντες ἀμφὶ

τὸν Τιγράνη τὸ ἀκήρυκτον τῆς ὁδοῦ δεδιότες ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, ὁ δὲ Τιγράνης ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς κρείττονα βαρβαρικῶς προσεκύνησεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις αὐτὸν ἄχθῆναι, μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενον. ὁποτέρως δ' ἦλθεν, ἐξελογεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ μὲν αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἑξακισχίλια, τῇ στρατιᾷ δὲ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἐκάστω, καὶ λοχαγῷ χιλίας, καὶ χιλιάρχῳ μυρίας.

[104] On his return from that quarter Pompey marched against Armenia, making it a cause of war against Tigranes that he had assisted Mithridates. He was now not far from the royal residence, Artaxata. Tigranes was resolved to fight no longer. He had had three sons by the daughter of Mithridates, two of whom he had himself killed, — one in battle, where the son was fighting against the father, and the other in the hunting-field because he had neglected to assist his father who had been thrown, but had put the diadem on his own head while the father was lying on the ground. The third one, whose name was Tigranes, had seemed to be much distressed by his father's hunting accident, and had received a crown from him, but, nevertheless, he also deserted him after a short interval, waged war against him, was defeated, and fled to Phraates, king of the Parthians, who had lately succeeded his father Sintricus, in the government of that country. As Pompey drew near, this young Tigranes, after communicating his intentions to Phraates and receiving his approval (for Phraates also desired Pompey's friendship), took refuge with Pompey as a suppliant; and this although he was a grandson of Mithridates. Pompey's reputation among the barbarians for justice and good faith was great. Tigranes the father, trusting to it, came to Pompey unheralded to submit all his affairs to the latter's decision and to make complaint against his son. Pompey ordered tribunes and prefects of horse to meet him on the road, as an act of courtesy, but those who accompanied Tigranes feared to advance without the sanction of a herald and fled to the rear. Tigranes came forward, however, and prostrated himself before Pompey as his superior, in barbarian fashion. There are those who relate that he was led up by lictors when sent for by Pompey. However that may be, he came and made explanations of the past, and gave to Pompey for himself 6000 talents, and for the army fifty drachmas to each soldier, 1000 to each centurion, and 10,000 to each tribune.

[105] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε τῶν γεγονότων καὶ συνήλασσε τῷ παιδί, καὶ διήτησε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυνῆς, αἱ νῦν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ παιδί κληρονόμῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶκτητον αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευεν ἤδη μεθεῖναι. καὶ μεθίει Συρίαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης· εἶχε γὰρ δὴ καὶ τήνδε καὶ Κιλικίας τινὰ ὁ Τιγράνης, Ἀντίοχον ἐκβαλὼν τὸν εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα. Ἀρμενίων δ' ὅσοι τὸν Τιγράνη πρὸς Πομπήιον ὁδεύοντα ἐγκατελελοίπεσαν, ἐν ὑποψία τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔτι ὄντα πειθουσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἐδέθη, καὶ μεταξὺ Παρθυαίους ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐθριαμβεύθη καὶ

ἀνηρέθη: ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκτετελέσθαι οἱ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ὥκισε πόλιν ἔνθα τὴν μάχην ἐνίκα Μιθριδάτην, ἣ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου Νικόπολις κλῆζεται, καὶ ἔστιν Ἀρμενίας τῆς βραχυτέρας λεγομένης. Ἀριοβαρζάνη δ' ἀπεδίδου βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας, καὶ προσεπέδωκε Σωφηνὴν καὶ Γορδυηνήν, ἃ τῷ παιδὶ ἐμεμέριστο τῷ Τιγράνου: καὶ στρατηγεῖται νῦν ἅμα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τάδε. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν Καστάβαλα καὶ ἄλλας. Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ παιδὶ περιὼν ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ πολλαὶ μεταβολαὶ μέχρι Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ, καθάπερ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ ἦδε ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἐς στρατηγίαν.

[105] Pompey pardoned him for the past, reconciled him with his son, and decided that the latter should rule Sophene and Gordyene (which are now called Lesser Armenia), and the father the rest of Armenia, and that at his death the son should succeed him in that also. He required that Tigranes should at once give up the territory that he had gained by war. Accordingly he gave up the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the sea; for he held that and a part of Cilicia, which he had taken from Antiochus, surnamed Pius. Those Armenians who deserted Tigranes on the road, when he was going to Pompey, because they were afraid, persuaded his son, who was still with Pompey, to make an attempt upon his father. Pompey seized him and put him in chains. As he still tried to stir up the Parthians against Pompey, he was led in the latter's triumph and afterward put to death. And now Pompey, thinking that the whole war was at an end, founded a city on the place where he had overcome Mithridates in battle, which is called Nicopolis (the city of victory) from that affair, and is situated in Lesser Armenia. To Ariobarzanes he gave back the kingdom of Cappadocia and (Y.R. 689) added to it Sophene and Gordyene, which he had partitioned (B.C. 65) to the son of Tigranes, and which are now administered as parts of Cappadocia. He gave him also the city of Castabala and some others in Cilicia. Ariobarzanes intrusted his whole kingdom to his son while he was still living. Many changes took place until the time of Cæsar Augustus, under whom this kingdom, like many others, became a Roman province.

CHAPTER XVI

Other Wars of Pompey — Brings Syria under Roman Rule — Mithridates in the Crimea — Prepares for Another War — Revolt against Mithridates — He plans an Invasion of Italy — His Son Pharnaces forms a Plot against him — Mutiny in the Army — Mithridates takes Poison, but without Effect — Is killed at his Own Request — Character and Career of Mithridates — He is buried at Sinope

(Y.R. 690)

[106] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερελθὼν ἐπολέμησε μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ, ἕως ἐς φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ τῷ Μήδῳ, μέχρι ἔφυγεν, εἴτε Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχῶν εἴτε Τιγράνῃ πρότερον. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Ἀραψι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις, Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ἕως εἶλεν Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν. καὶ Κιλικίας δὲ ὅσα οὐπω Ῥωμαίοις ὑπῆκουε, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν, ὅση τε περὶ Εὐφράτην ἐστὶ καὶ κοίλη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Παλαιστίνη λέγεται, καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Ἰτουραίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὀνόματα Συρίας, ἐπὶ ὧν ἀμαχὶ Ῥωμαίοις καθίστατο, ἐγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐσεβοῦς, παρόντα καὶ δεόμενον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς πατρῴας, ἡγούμενος δέ, Τιγράνῃ τὸν κρατήσαντα τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τῆς γῆς ἀπελάσας, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατὰ τόδε προσκεκτῆσθαι. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διοικουμένῳ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο Φραάτου καὶ Τιγράνου ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις συμπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν Τιγράνους ὡς φίλῳ συμμαχεῖν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀξιοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Παρθυαίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τιθέμενοι. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀξίων Παρθυαίοις πολεμεῖν ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσματος, ἐπεμψεν ἀμφοτέροις διαλλακτάς.

[106] Pompey then passed over Mount Taurus and made (B.C. 64) war against Antiochus, the king of Commagene, until the latter entered into friendly relations with him. He also fought against Darius the Mede, and put him to flight, either because he had helped Antiochus, or Tigranes before him. He made war against the Arabs of Nabathæi, whose king was Aretas, and against the Jews (whose king, Aristobulus, had revolted), until he had captured their holiest city, Jerusalem. He advanced against, and brought under Roman rule without fighting, those parts of Cilicia that were not yet subject to it, and the remainder of Syria which lies along the Euphrates, and the countries called Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, also Idumea and Ituræa, and the other parts of Syria by whatever name called; not that he had any complaint against Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, who was present and asked for his paternal kingdom, but because he thought that since he (Pompey) had dispossessed Tigranes, the conqueror of Antiochus, it belonged to the Romans by the law of war. While he was settling these affairs

ambassadors came to him from Phraates and Tigranes, who had gone to war with each other. Those of Tigranes asked the aid of Pompey as an ally, while those of the Parthians sought to secure for him the friendship of (Y.R. 691) the Roman people. As Pompey did not think it best to (B.C. 63) fight the Parthians without a decree of the Senate, he sent mediators to compose their differences. (Y.R. 689)

[107] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἦνυστο τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ Παντικᾶπαιον, ἐμπόριον Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Πόντου καταλαβὼν κτείνει τῶν υἱέων Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου διὰ μητρὸς ἀμάρτημα τοιόνδε. φρούριον ἦν τι Μιθριδάτῃ, ἔνθα λανθάνοντες ὑπόγειοι θησαυροὶ πολλῶν σιδηροδέτων χαλκῶν πολλὰ χρήματα ἔκρυπτον. Στρατονίκη δέ, μία τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακῶν ἢ γυναικῶν, ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπετέτραπτο, περιόντος ἔτι τὸν Πόντον τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὸ φρούριον ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀγνοουμένους ἐμήνυσεν, ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ μόνῃ τῇδε, ὅτι οἱ τὸν υἱὸν Ξιφάρην ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰ λάβοι, περισώσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπιτυχὼν ὑπέσχητο αὐτῇ τὸν Ξιφάρην καὶ ἐδεδόκει φέρεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια· αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ὁ Μιθριδάτης κτείνει τὸν Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου, ἐφορώσης τῆς μητρὸς πέραθεν, καὶ ἐξέρριπεν ἄταφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν υἱοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἐς ἀνίαν τῆς ἀμαρτούσης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἔτι περὶ Συρίαν ὄντα καὶ οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ἔπεμπε, οἱ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις τελέσειν φόρους ὑπισχνοῦντο· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δεῖσθαι τὸν Μιθριδάτην κελεύοντος, καθὰ καὶ Τιγράνης ἀφίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔφη ποτὲ ὑποστήσεσθαι, Μιθριδάτης γε ὦν, πέμψειν δὲ τῶν παίδων τινὰς καὶ φίλους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ στρατιὰν ἀθρόως κατέλεγεν ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυ, φειδόμενος οὔτε τινὸς ὕλας οὔτε βοῶν ἀροτήρων ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, ἐσφοράς τε πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βραχύτατα τῆς περιουσίας ἐπέγραφεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται τούτου πολλοὺς ἐνύβριζον, οὐκ αἰσθανομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· νόσον γάρ τινα ἐλκῶδη τοῦ προσώπου νοσῶν ὑπὸ τριῶν εὐνούχων ἐθεραπεύετο καὶ ἐωρᾶτο.

[107] While Pompey was about this business Mithridates (B.C. 65) had completed his circuit of the Euxine and occupied Panticapæum, a European market-town at the outlet of that sea. There at the Bosphorus he put to death Xiphares, one of his sons, on account of the following fault of his mother. Mithridates had a castle where, in a secret underground treasury, a great deal of money lay concealed in numerous iron-bound brazen vessels. Stratonice, one of the king's concubines or wives, had been put in charge of this castle, and while he was still making his journey around the Euxine she delivered it up to Pompey and revealed to him the secret treasures, on the sole condition that he should spare her son, Xiphares, if he should capture him. Pompey took the money and promised her that he would spare Xiphares, and allowed her to take away her own things. When Mithridates learned these facts he killed Xiphares at the straits, while his mother was looking on from the opposite

shore, and cast his body out unburied, thus wreaking his spite on the son in order to grieve the mother who had offended him. And now he sent ambassadors to Pompey, who was still in Syria and who did not know that the king was at that place. They promised that the king would pay tribute to the Romans if they would let him have his paternal kingdom. When Pompey required that Mithridates should come himself and make his petition as Tigranes had done, he said that as long as he was Mithridates he would never agree to that, but that he would send some of his sons and his friends to do so. Even while he was saying these things he was levying an army of freemen and slaves promiscuously, manufacturing arms, projectiles, and machines, helping himself to timber, and killing plough-oxen for the sake of their sinews. He levied tribute on all, even those of the slenderest means. His ministers made these exactions with harshness to many, without his knowledge, for he had fallen sick with ulcers on his face and allowed himself to be seen only by three eunuchs, who cured him. (Y.R. 690)

[108] ὥς δ' ἔληγε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ ἀγήμερος ἦδη, ἐπὶλεκτοὶ μὲν ἐξήκοντα σπεῖραι, ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας, πολλὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος καὶ νῆες, καὶ χωρία ὅσα οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρὰ τὴν νόσον ἤρήκεσαν, ἐπέρα τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς Φαναγόρειαν, ἕτερον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔξω τὰς ἐσβολάς, ἔτι Πομπηίου περὶ Συρίαν ὄντος. Κάστωρ δὲ Φαναγορεὺς ἠκισμένος ποτὲ ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος εὐνούχου βασιλικῷ, τὸν Τρύφωνα ἐσιόντα κτείνειν προσπεσών, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει. οἱ δέ, καίπερ ἦδη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐχομένης ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ ἐτέρων υἱῶν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, ξύλα περιθέντες τὴν ἄκραν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης καὶ Ὀξάρης καὶ Εὐπάτρα, παῖδες τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, δέισαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀρταφέρνης ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μόνος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παῖδες εὐμορφοί. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀντεῖχεν, ἑτέρα παῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου: καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγάμενος τῆς εὐψυχίας, δίκροτα πολλὰ ἐπιπέμπας ἐξήρπασεν. ὅσα δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν φρούρια, ἀρτίληπτα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενα, πρὸς τὴν θερμουργίαν τῶν Φαναγορέων ἀφίστατο τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Χερρόνησός τε καὶ Θεοδοσία καὶ Νύμφαιον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐστὶν εὐκαιρα ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀποστάσεις ὁρῶν πυκνάς, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων μὴ οὐ βέβαιος ἦ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς στρατείας καὶ δι' ἐσφορῶν βαρύτητα καὶ τὴν αἰεὶ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς ἡγεμόνας ἀτυχοῦντας ἀπιστίαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας δι' εὐνουχῶν τοῖς δυνάσταις τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς γάμους, αἰτῶν στρατιὰν κατὰ τάχος ἦδη οἱ παρεῖναι. πεντακόσιοι δ' αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἄνδρες: οἱ Μιθριδάτου βραχὺ διασχόντες ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς ἄγοντας εὐνούχους, αἰεὶ πρὸς εὐνούχους κρατοῦντας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πεπολεμωμένοι, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήγαγον.

[108] When he had recovered from his illness and his army (B.C. 64) was collected (it consisted of sixty picked cohorts of 6000 men each and a great multitude of other troops, besides ships and strongholds that had been

captured by his generals while he was sick) he sent a part of it across the strait to Phanagoria, another trading-place at the mouth of the sea, in order to possess himself of the passage on either side while Pompey was still in Syria. Castor of Phanagoria, who had once been maltreated by Trypho, the king's eunuch, fell upon the latter as he was entering the town, killed him, and summoned the citizens to revolt. Although the citadel was already held by Artaphernes and other sons of Mithridates, the inhabitants piled wood around it and set it on fire, in consequence of which Artaphernes, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres, sons, and Eupatra, a daughter, of Mithridates, in fear of the fire, surrendered themselves and were led into captivity. Of these Artaphernes alone was about forty years of age; the others were handsome children. Cleopatra, another daughter, resisted. Her father, in admiration of her courageous spirit, sent a number of row-boats and rescued her. All the neighboring castles that had been lately occupied by Mithridates now revolted from him in emulation of the Phanagoreans, namely, Chersonesus, Theodosia, Nymphæum, and others around the Euxine which were well situated for purposes of war. Mithridates, observing these frequent defections, and having suspicions of the army itself, lest it should fail him because the service was compulsory and the taxes very heavy, and because soldiers always lack confidence in unlucky commanders, sent some of his daughters in charge of eunuchs to be married to the Scythian princes, asking them at the same time to send him reinforcements as quickly as possible. Five hundred soldiers accompanied them from his own army. Soon after they left the presence of Mithridates they killed the eunuchs who were leading them (for they always hated these persons, who were all-powerful with Mithridates) and conducted the young women to Pompey.

[109] ὁ δὲ καὶ τέκνων τοσῶνδε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἀφηρημένος, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἀξίωμαχος ἔτι ὢν, οὐδὲ τῆς Σκυθῶν συμμαχίας ἡγούμενος ἂν τυχεῖν, ὅμως οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ συμφορῶν ἄξιον ἐνεθυμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς Κελτούς, ἐκ πολλοῦ φίλους ἐπὶ τῷδὲ οἱ γεγονότας, ἐπενόει διελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐλπίζων οἱ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς ἔχθαι Ῥωμαίων προσέσεσθαι, πυνθανόμενος ὧδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν πράττει πολεμούμενον ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ἐπιφοβώτατον ἐκ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. ἦδει δὲ καὶ ἑναγχος τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσαν ὑπὸ ἔχθους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτοῖς πεπολεμηκυῖαν, Σπαρτάκῳ τε μονομάχῳ συστᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνδρὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιώσεως ὄντι. ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐς Κελτούς ἠπείγετο. τοῦ δὲ τολμήματος ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτου γενομένου, ὁ στρατὸς ὥκνει δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῆς τόλμης τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τε χρόνιον στρατείαν καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριάν γῆν ἀγόμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ὧν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ κρατοῦσιν. αὐτόν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἡγούμενοι, πάντων ἀπογινώσκοντα, βούλεσθαι τι δρῶντα καὶ βασιλιζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀργίας ἀποθανεῖν, ὅμως ἐνεκαρτέρουν καὶ ἡσύχαζον: οὐ γάρ τοι σμικρὸς οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

[109] Although bereft of so many children and castles and of his whole kingdom, and in no way fit for war, and although he could not expect any aid from the Scythians, still no inferior position, none corresponding to his present misfortunes, even then found a place in his mind. He proposed to turn his course to the Gauls, whose friendship he had cultivated a long time for this purpose, and with them to invade Italy, hoping that many of the Italians themselves would join him on account of their hatred of the Romans; for he had heard that such had been Hannibal's policy after the Romans had waged war against him in Spain, and that he had become in this way an object of the greatest terror to them. He knew that almost all of Italy had lately revolted from the Romans by reason of their hatred and had waged war against them for a very long time, and had sustained Spartacus, the gladiator, against them, although he was a man of no repute. Filled with these ideas he was for hastening to the Gauls, but his soldiers, though the very bold enterprise might be attractive, were deterred chiefly by its magnitude, and by the long distance of the expedition in foreign territory, against men whom they could not overcome even in their own country. They thought also that Mithridates, in utter despair, wanted to end his life in a valiant and kingly way rather than in idleness. So they tolerated him and remained silent, for there was nothing mean or contemptible about him even in his misfortunes. (Y.R. 691)

[110] ὁδε δ' ἐχόντων ἀπάντων, Φαρνάκης ὁ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ τιμιώτατός τε καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἔσσεσθαι διάδοχος, εἴτε δείσας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥς νῦν μὲν ἔτι συγγνωσμένων τι Ῥωμαίων, ἀπολουμένης δὲ πάμπαν ὁλοκλήρως εἰ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ πατὴρ στρατεύσειεν, εἴθ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρί. ληφθέντων δὲ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς βασάνους ἀγομένων, Μηνοφάνης μετέπεισε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὥς οὐ δέον, ἀποπλέοντα ἤδη, τὸν ἔτι οἱ τιμιώτατον υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν: εἶναι δ' ἔφη τὰς τοιαύτας τροπὰς ἔργα πολέμων, ὧν παυσαμένων καὶ τάδε καθίστασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς προὔτεινε τῷ παιδὶ συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ δείσας τι μῆνιμα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν εἰδὼς κατοκνοῦντα τὴν στρατείαν, νυκτὸς ἐς πρώτους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτομόλους, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπεδεύοντας, ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅσος εἴη, σαφῶς εἰδόσιν ὑπερεπαίρων, πολλὰ δὲ μένουσιν ἐπελπίσας ἔσσεσθαι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, προήγαγεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ὥς δ' ἐπείσθησαν οἶδε, τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ ἐγγὺς ἄλλα στρατόπεδα ἔπεμπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης. συνθεμένων δὲ κάκείνων, πρῶτοι μὲν ἅμα ἔφ' ἡλάλαζαν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις οἱ ἀεὶ πλησίον τὴν βοὴν μετελάμβανον. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπήχησεν, οὐ προειδότες μὲν ἅπαντες ἴσως, ὁξύρροποι δ' ὄντες ἐς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸ δυστυχοῦν ὑπερορῶντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ καινῷ τὸ εὐέλπι ἀεὶ τιθέμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συνεγνωκότων, ἡγούμενοι πάντας διεφθάρθαι καὶ μόνον ἔτι ὄντες ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς πλείοσιν εὐκαταφρόνητοι, φόβῳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ συνεπήχουν. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐγρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐρησομένους ὅ τι χρῆζοιεν οἱ βοῶντες. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, 'τὸν υἱόν,' ἔφασαν, 'βασιλεύειν, νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος

ευνούχοις τε ἐκδεδομένου καὶ κτείναντος ἤδη πολλοὺς υἱέας τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους.’

[110] While affairs were in this plight Pharnaces, the son whom he was most fond of and whom he had often designated as his successor, either alarmed about the expedition and the kingdom (for he still had hopes of pardon from the Romans, but reckoned that he should lose everything completely if his father should invade Italy), or spurred by other motives, formed a conspiracy against his father. His fellow-conspirators were captured and put to the torture, but Menophanes persuaded the king that it would not be seemly, just as he was starting on his expedition, to put to death the son who had been until then the dearest to him. People were liable to such turns, he said, in time of war, and when they came to an end things quieted down again. In this way Mithridates was persuaded to pardon his son, but the latter, still fearing his father's anger, and knowing that the army shrank from the expedition, went by night to the leading Roman deserters who were encamped very near the king, and by representing to (B.C. 63) them in its true light, and as they well knew it, the danger of their advancing against Italy, and by making them many promises if they would refuse to go, induced them to desert from his father. After Pharnaces had persuaded them he sent emissaries the same night to other camps near by and won them over. Early in the morning the first deserters raised a shout, and those next to them repeated it, and so on. Even the naval force joined in the cry, not all of them having been advised beforehand perhaps, but eager for a change, despising failure, and always ready to attach themselves to a new hope. Others, who were ignorant of the conspiracy, thought that all had been corrupted, and that if they remained alone they would be scorned by the majority, and so from fear and necessity rather than inclination joined in the shouting. Mithridates, being awakened by the noise, sent messengers out to inquire what the shouters wanted. The latter made no concealment, but said, “We want your son to be king; we want a young man instead of an old one who is ruled by eunuchs, the slayer of so many of his sons, his generals, and his friends.”

[111] ὣν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος, ἐξήει διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς. καὶ τι πλῆθος ἐκ φρουρίου τοῖς αὐτομόλοις συνέτρεχεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς προσήσσεσθαι πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον ἐς πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, δεικνύντες ὁμοῦ τὸν Μιθριδάτην. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἵππον ἔφθασαν αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι φυγόντος, καὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ὡς ἤδη κρατοῦντες ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα: καὶ βύβλον τις πλατεῖαν φέρων ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ διαδήματος. ἅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ περιπάτου θεώμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὸν Φαρνάκην ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλω, φυγὴν αἰτῶν ἀσφαλῆ. οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν πεμπομένων ἐπανιόντος, δέισας μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδοθεῖν, τοὺς μὲν σωματοφύλακας αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους ἔτι παραμένοντας ἐπαινέσας ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὸν νέον βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς προσιόντας ἔκτεινεν ἢ στρατιὰ παραλόγως, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλύσας ὁ περὶ τῷ ξίφει φάρμακον αἰεὶ περιέκειτο ἐκίρνη. δύο δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρες ἔτι κόραι συντρεφόμεναι, Μιθριδᾶτις τε καὶ Νύσσα, τοῖς

Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου βασιλεῦσιν ἡγγυημένοι, προλαβεῖν τοῦ φαρμάκου παρεκάλουν, καὶ σφόδρα εἶχοντο, καὶ πίνοντα κατεκώλουν ἕως ἔπιον λαβοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ φάρμακον ἤπτετο, τοῦ δὲ Μιθριδάτου, καίτοι συντόνως ἐξεπίτηδες βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτο δι' ἔθος καὶ συντροφίαν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων, οἷς ἐς ἄμυναν δηλητηρίων ἐχρήτο συνεχῶς: καὶ νῦν ἐτι φάρμακα Μιθριδάτεια λέγεται. Βίτοιτον οὖν τινὰ ἰδὼν, ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν, 'πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς,' ἔφη, 'δεξιᾶς ἐς πολεμίους ὠνάμην, ὀνήσομαι δὲ μέγιστον εἰ νῦν με κατεργάσαιο, κινδυνεύοντα ἐς πομπὴν ἀπαχθῆναι θριάμβου τὸν μέχρι πολλοῦ τοσσησδε ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βασιλέα, ἀδυνατοῦντα ἐκ φαρμάκων ἀποθανεῖν δι' εὐήθη προφυλακὴν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων: τὸ γὰρ δὴ χαλεπώτατον καὶ σύνοικον ἂε βασιλεῦσι φάρμακον, ἀπιστίαν στρατοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ φίλων, οὐ προειδόμην ὃ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ πάντα προῖδὼν καὶ φυλαζάμενος.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Βίτοιτος ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐπεκούρησε χρίζοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ,

[111] When Mithridates heard this he went out to reason with them. A part of his own guard then ran to join the deserters, but the latter refused to admit them unless they would do some irreparable deed as a proof of their fidelity, pointing at the same time to Mithridates. So they hastened to kill his horse, for he himself had fled, and at the same time saluted Pharnaces as king, as though the rebels were already victorious, and one of them brought a broad papyrus leaf from a temple and crowned him with it in place of a diadem. The king saw these things from a high portico, and he sent messenger after messenger to Pharnaces asking permission to fly in safety. When none of his messengers returned, fearing lest he should be delivered up to the Romans, he praised the body-guards and friends who had been faithful to him and sent them to the new king, but the army killed some of them under a misapprehension as they were approaching. Mithridates then took out some poison that he always carried next to his sword, and mixed it. There two of his daughters, who were still girls growing up together, named Mithridatis and Nyssa, who had been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and of Cyprus, asked him to let them have some of the poison first, and insisted strenuously and prevented him from drinking it until they had taken some and swallowed it. The drug took effect on them at once; but upon Mithridates, although he walked around rapidly to hasten its action, it had no effect, because he had accustomed himself to other drugs by continually trying them as a means of protection against poisoners. These are still called the Mithridatic drugs. Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, "I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me, and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been an autocrat so many years, and the ruler of so great a kingdom, but who is now unable to die by poison because, like a fool, he has fortified himself against the poison of others. Although I have kept watch and ward against all the poisons that one takes with his food, I have not provided against that domestic poison, always the most dangerous to kings, the treachery of army, children,

and friends.” Bituitus, thus appealed to, rendered the king the service that he desired.

[112] καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθνησκεν, ἑκκαίδεκατος ὦν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου Περσῶν βασιλέως, ὄγδοος δ' ἀπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀποστάντος τε καὶ κτησαμένου τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀρχήν. ἐβίω δ' ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι, καὶ τούτων ἑπτὰ καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβασίλευσεν: ἐς γὰρ ὄρφανόν ὄντα περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. ἐχειρώσατο δὲ τὰ περίοικα τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ Σκυθῶν ὑπηγάγετο πολλούς, Ῥωμαίοις τεσσαρακοντούτῃ πόλεμον ἐγκρατῶς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν ᾧ Βιθυνίας ἐκράτησε πολλάκις καὶ Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίαν τε ἐπέδραμε καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμβαλὼν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔδρασε, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἤρξε, μέχρι Σύλλας αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν συνέκλεισεν, ἑκκαίδεκα στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἀποβαλόντα. καὶ τοσῶδε πταίσματι συμπεσὼν ὁμως ἀνεκίνησε τὸν πόλεμον εὐμαρῶς. στρατηγοῖς τε συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, Σύλλα μὲν ἡττᾶτο καὶ Λευκόλλου καὶ Πομπηίου, πολλὰ καὶ τῶνδε πλεονεκτήσας πολλάκις, Λεύκιον δὲ Κάσσιον καὶ Ὀππιον Κόιντον καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον αἰχμαλώτους ἐλὼν περιήγετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ἐνῖκα δὲ καὶ Φιμβριαν καὶ Μουρήναν καὶ Κότταν ὑπατον καὶ Φάβιον καὶ Τριάριον. τὸ φρόνημα δ' ἦν αἰεὶ, κἂν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, μέγας καὶ φερέπονος. οὐδεμίαν γέ τοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπιχείρησιν, οὐδ' ἡττώμενος, παρέλειπεν, ὃς καὶ Σαυνιταῖς καὶ Κελτοῖς συνετίθετο, καὶ ἐς Σερτώριον ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. τρωθεὶς τε τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὸ πολεμίων, καὶ ἐτέρων κατ' ἐπιβουλᾶς, οὐκ ἀπέστη τινὸς οὐδ' ὥς, καίπερ ὦν πρεσβύτης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν τις αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν, οὐδ' ἡ τελευταία, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν ταύτην ὑπεριδὼν ἀπώλετο δι' αὐτήν: οὕτως ἀχάριστον ἡ πονηρία συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσα. φονικὸς δὲ καὶ ὠμὸς ἐς πάντα ἦν, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔκτεινε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρας. τὸ σῶμα δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν, ὥς ὑποδεικνύουσιν ὅσα ὄπλα αὐτὸς ἔπεμπεν ἐς Νεμέαν τε καὶ Δελφούς, εὐρωστός δέ, ὥς μέχρι τέλους ἱππευσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίσαι καὶ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας, περιμενόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ διαστημάτων ἵππων, δραμεῖν. καὶ ἄρμα ἤλαυνεν ἑκκαίδεκα ἵππων ὁμοῦ. καὶ παιδείας ἐπεμέλετο Ἑλληνικῆς, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἤσθετο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ μουσικὴν ἠγάπα. καὶ σώφρων ἐς πολλὰ καὶ φερέπονος ὦν περὶ μόνας ἡττᾶτο τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡδόνας.

[112] So died Mithridates, who was the sixteenth in descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and the eighth from that Mithridates who left the Macedonians and acquired the kingdom of Pontus. He lived sixty-eight or sixty-nine years, and of these he reigned fifty-seven, for the kingdom came to him when he was an orphan. He subdued the neighboring barbarians and many of the Scythians, and waged a formidable war against the Romans for forty years, during which he frequently conquered Bithynia and Cappadocia, besides making incursions into the Roman province of Asia

and into Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Macedonia. He invaded Greece, where he performed many remarkable exploits, and ruled the sea from Cilicia to the Adriatic until Sulla confined him again to his paternal kingdom after destroying 160,000 of his soldiers. Notwithstanding these great losses he renewed the war without difficulty. He fought with the greatest generals of his time. He was vanquished by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey, although several times he got the better of them also. Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius he took prisoners and carried them around with him. The last he killed because he was the cause of the war. The others he surrendered to Sulla. He defeated Fimbria, Murena, the consul Cotta, Fabius, and Triarius. He was always high-spirited and indomitable even in misfortunes. Until finally overthrown he left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried. He made alliances with the Samnites and the Gauls, and he sent legates to Sertorius in Spain. He was often wounded by enemies and by conspirators, but he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man. None of the conspiracies ever escaped his detection, not even the last one, but he voluntarily overlooked it and perished in consequence of it — so ungrateful is the wickedness that has been once pardoned. He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all — the slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons, and three daughters. He had a large frame, as his armor, which he sent to Nemea and to Delphi, shows, and was so strong that he rode horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride 1000 stades in one day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with sixteen horses at once. He cultivated Greek learning, and thus became acquainted with the religious cult of Greece, and was fond of music. He was abstemious and patient of labor for the most part, and yielded only to pleasures with women.

[113] ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐπάτωρ τε καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπικληθεὶς Μιθριδάτης ὧδε ἐτελεύτα, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἐώρταζον ὡς ἐχθροῦ δυσχεροῦς ἀπηλλαγμένοι. Φαρνάκης δὲ Πομπηίῳ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Σινώπην ἐπὶ τριήρους ἔπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Μάνιον ἐλόντας, ὅμηρά τε πολλὰ ὅσα ἦν Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βαρβαρικά, δεόμενος ἢ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς ἢ Βοσπόρου γε βασιλεύειν μόνου, ἦν τινα καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν παρὰ Μιθριδάτου παρειλήφει. Πομπήιος δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χορηγίαν ἔδωκε, καὶ θάψαι βασιλείῳ ταφῇ τοῖς θεραπευτήρσιν αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθέσθαι τάφοις, ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας ὡς τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων ἄριστον. Φαρνάκην δὲ ἀπαλλάξαντα πόνου πολλοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησατο, καὶ βασιλεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Βοσπόρου, χωρὶς Φαναγορέων, οὓς ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι πρῶτοι μάλιστα οἶδε ἀναρρωννυμένῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὀρμητήρια ἔχοντι, ἐπεχείρησαν, ἡγεμόνες τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ καταλύσεως αἵτιοι.

[113] Such was the end of Mithridates, who bore the surnames of Eupator and Dionysus. When the Romans heard of his death they held a festival because

they were delivered from a troublesome enemy. Pharnaces sent his father's corpse to Pompey at Sinope in a trireme, together with the persons who captured Manius, and many hostages, both Greek and barbarian, and asked that he should be allowed to rule either his paternal kingdom, or Bosporus alone, which his brother, Machares, had received from Mithridates. Pompey provided for the expenses of the funeral of Mithridates and directed his servants to give his remains a royal interment, and to place them in the tombs of the kings in Sinope, because he admired his great achievements and considered him the first of the kings of his time. Pharnaces, for delivering Italy from much trouble, was inscribed as a friend and ally of the Romans, and was given Bosporus as his kingdom, except Phanagoria, whose inhabitants were made free and independent because they were the first to resist Mithridates when he was recovering his strength, collecting ships, creating a new army and military posts, and because they led others to revolt and were the cause of his final collapse.

CHAPTER XVII

Pompey's Exploits in the East — Cities founded by him — Pompey's Triumph — Captives led in his Procession — Inscription on his Tablet — New Countries added to the Roman Sway — The Armaments of Mithridates — The Career of Pharnaces — Later History of Pontus

[114] αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνὶ τῷδε πολέμῳ τὰ τε ληστήρια καθήρας καὶ βασιλέα καθελὼν μέγιστον, καὶ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας, ἄνευ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πόλεμου, Κόλχοις τε καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ Ἰβηρσι καὶ Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ Ἀραβι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν ἑώοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥρισато Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἐς δὲ Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν οὐ παρῆλθε, καίτοι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐσθίτης ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα, εἴτε δέισας μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἔτι εὐτυχούσης, εἴτε φυλαξάμενος ἐχθρῶν φθόνον ἢ χρησμῶν ἀπαγόρευσιν, εἴτε ἑτέροις λογισμοῖς, οὓς ἐξοίσω κατὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἐθνῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἠφίει συμμαχίας οὐνεκα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἐγίγνετο, τὰ δ' ἐς βασιλεία διεδίδου, Τιγράνει μὲν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Φαρνάκη Βόσπορον καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνη Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ ὅσα προεῖπον ἕτερα. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγενῷ Σελεύκειαν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμεν. ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τετράρχας, Γαλλογραικῶν μὲν, οἱ νῦν εἰσὶ Γαλάται Καππαδόκαις ὁμοροὶ, Δηϊόταρον καὶ ἑτέρους, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Ἄτταλον καὶ Κόλχων Ἀρίσταρχον δυνάστην. ἀπέφηνε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαον ἱερέα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βασιλική, καὶ τὸν Φαναγορέα Κάστορα Ῥωμαίων φίλον. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις χώραν τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκεν.

[114] Pompey, having cleaned out the robber dens, and prostrated the greatest king then living, in one and the same war, and having fought successful battles, besides those of the Pontic war, with Colchians, Albanians, Iberians, Armenians, Medes, Arabs, Jews, and other Eastern nations, extended the Roman sway as far as Egypt. But he did not advance into Egypt, although the king of that country invited him there to suppress a sedition, and sent gifts to himself and money and clothing for his whole army. He either feared the greatness of this still prosperous kingdom, or wished to guard against the envy of his enemies, or the warning voice of oracles, or for other reasons which I will publish in my Egyptian history. He let some of the subjugated nations go free and made them allies. Others he placed at once under Roman rule, and others he distributed to kings — to Tigranes, Armenia; to Pharnaces, Bosphorus; to Ariobarzanes, Cappadocia and the other provinces before mentioned. To Antiochus of Commagene he turned over Seleucia and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered. He made Deiotarus and others tetrarchs of the Gallogræcians, who are now the Galatians bordering on Cappadocia. He made Attalus prince of Paphlagonia and Aristarchus prince of Colchis. He also appointed Archelaus to the priesthood of the goddess

worshipped at Comana, which is a royal prerogative. Castor of Phanagoria was inscribed as a friend of the Roman people. Much territory and money were bestowed upon others.

[115] καὶ πόλεις ᾠκισεν ἐν μὲν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ Νικόπολιν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἐν δὲ Πόντῳ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ εὐπάτωρ Μιθριδάτης ἔκτισε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ὑποδεξαμένην δὲ Ῥωμαίους καθηρήκει, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐγείρας Μαγνόπολιν ἐκάλει. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ Μάζακα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λελυμασμένην ἐς τέλος, ἤγειρεν αὖθις. καὶ ἐτέρας πολλαχοῦ κατενεχθείσας ἢ βεβλαμμένας διωρθοῦτο περὶ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἐν ἧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ληστὰς συνώκιζε. καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ πάλαι Σόλοι νῦν Πομπηιόπολις ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ Ταλαύροις, ἣν τινα πόλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἶχε ταμιεῖον τῆς κατασκευῆς, δισχίλια μὲν ἐκπώματα λίθου τῆς ὀνυχίτιδος λεγομένης ἠϋρέθη χρυσοκόλλητα, καὶ φιάλαι καὶ ψυκτῆρες πολλοὶ καὶ ρυτὰ καὶ κλῖναι καὶ θρόνοι κατάκοσμοι, καὶ ἵππων χαλινοὶ καὶ προστερνίδια καὶ ἐπωμίδια, πάντα ὁμοίως διάλιθα καὶ κατάχρυσα, ὧν ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας παρέτεινεν. καὶ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅσα Κλεοπάτρα Κῶις παρέθετο καὶ Κῶιοι Μιθριδάτῃ ἐδεδώκεσαν: τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ συνεῖλετο, φιλοκάλου καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν γενομένου.

[115] He founded cities also, — in Lesser Armenia Nicopolis, named for his victory; in Pontus Eupatoria, which Mithridates Eupator had built and named after himself, but destroyed because it had received the Romans. Pompey rebuilt it and named it Magnopolis. In Cappadocia he rebuilt Mazaca, which had been completely ruined by the war. He restored other towns in many places, that had been destroyed or damaged, in Pontus, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, and Cilicia, in which he had settled the greater part of the pirates, and where the city formerly called Soli is now known as Pompeiopolis. The city of Talaury Mithridates used as a storehouse of furniture. Here were found 2000 drinking-cups made of onyx welded with gold, and many cups, wine-coolers, and drinking-horns, also ornamental couches and chairs, bridles for horses, and trappings for their breasts and shoulders, all ornamented in like manner with precious stones and gold. The quantity of this store was so great that the inventory of it occupied thirty days. Some of these things had been inherited from Darius, the son of Hystaspes; others came from the kingdom of the Ptolemies, having been deposited by Cleopatra at the island of Cos and given by the inhabitants to Mithridates; still others had been made or collected by Mithridates himself, as he was a lover of the beautiful in furniture as well as in other things. (Y.R. 692)

[116] λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος διέδωκεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ, καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα χιλίας πεντακοσίας Ἀττικάς, καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον: καὶ φασὶ γενέσθαι τάλαντα μύρια καὶ ἐξακισχίλια. αὐτὸς δ' ἐς

Ἐφесσον καταβάς διέπλευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, διαφεῖς ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα: ἐφ' ὅτ' μάλιστα ὡς δημοτικῶ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπληξεν. καὶ αὐτῷ προσιόντι ἀπὴντων κατὰ μέρος, πορρωτάτω μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἐξῆς δὲ ὡς ἐδύναντο καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡ βουλή θαυμάζουσα τῶν γεγονότων: οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐχθρὸν τηλικούτον ἐλὼν τοσάδε ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσειλήφει, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὠρίκει. ὁ δὲ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ λαμπροτάτης καὶ ἥς οὔτις πρὸ τοῦ δόξης, ἔτι ἔχων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, δύο ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας ὅλης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν καὶ Ἡνιόχων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἑφας. καὶ παρήγεν ἐς μὲν τοὺς λιμένας ἐπτακοσίας ναῦς ἐντελεῖς, ἐς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ θριάμβου ζεύγη καὶ φορεῖα χρυσοφόρα καὶ ἕτερα κόσμου ποικίλου, καὶ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου κλίνην, καὶ τὸν τοῦ εὐπάτορος αὐτοῦ θρόνον. καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκόνα ὀκτάπηχυν ἀπὸ στερεοῦ χρυσίου παρήγε, καὶ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἐπτακισχυλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ δέκα, ἀμάξας δὲ ὅπλων ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ νεῶν ἔμβολα, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων τε καὶ ληστῶν, οὐδένα δεδεμένον ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ πατρία ἐσταλμένους.

[116] At the end of the winter Pompey distributed rewards to the army; 1500 Attic drachmas to each soldier and in like proportion to the officers, the whole, it was said, (B.C. 62) amounting to 16,000 talents. Then he marched to Ephesus, embarked for Italy, and hastened to Rome, having dismissed his soldiers at Brundisium to their homes, by which act his popularity was greatly increased among the Romans. As he approached the city he was met by successive processions, first of youths, farthest from the city, then bands of men of different ages came out as far as they severally could walk; last of all came the Senate, which was lost in wonder at his exploits, for no one had ever before vanquished so powerful an enemy, and at the same time brought so many great nations under subjection and extended the Roman rule to the Euphrates. He was awarded a triumph exceeding in brilliancy any that had gone before, being now only thirty-five years of age. It occupied two successive days, and many nations were represented in the procession from Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, all the peoples of Syria, besides Albanians, Heniochi, Achæans, Scythians, and Eastern Iberians. Seven hundred complete ships were brought into the harbor. In the triumphal procession were two-horse carriages and litters laden with gold or with other ornaments of various kinds, also the couch of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the throne and sceptre of Mithridates Eupator himself, and his image, eight cubits high, made of solid gold, and 75,100,000 drachmas of silver coin. The number of wagons carrying arms was infinite, and the number of the beaks of ships. After these came the multitude of captives and pirates, none of them bound, but all arrayed in their native costumes.

[117] αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου προῆγον ὅσοι τῶν πεπολεμημένων βασιλέων

ἡγεμόνες ἢ παῖδες ἢ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἐς ὀμηρεῖαν δεδομένοι, τριακόσιοι μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Τιγράνους ἦν παῖς Τιγράνης, καὶ πέντε Μιθριδάτου, Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Ὀξάθρης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης, καὶ θυγατέρες Ὀρσάβαρις τε καὶ Εὐπάτρα. παρήγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κόλχων σκηπτοῦχος Ὀλθάκης, καὶ Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ οἱ Κιλικῶν τύραννοι, καὶ Σκυθῶν βασιλῆες γυναῖκες, καὶ ἡγεμόνες τρεῖς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δύο, καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ Λαοδικεύς, ἵππαρχος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου γενόμενος. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀφικομένων εἰκόνες παρεφέροντο, Τιγράνους καὶ Μιθριδάτου, μαχομένων τε καὶ νικωμένων καὶ φευγόντων. Μιθριδάτου δὲ καὶ ἡ πολιορκία, καὶ ἡ νύξ ὅτε ἔφευγεν, εἴκαστο, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἐδείχθη καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανεν αἱ τε παρθέναι αἱ συναποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐλόμεναι παρεζωγράφητο, καὶ τῶν προαποθανόντων υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἦσαν γραφαί, θεῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν εἰκόνες καὶ κόσμοι πατέριοι. παρεφέρετο δὲ καὶ πίναξ ἐγγεγραμμένων τῶνδε: ‘νῆες ἐάλωσαν χαλκέμβολοι ὀκτακόσιαι: πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν Καππαδοκῶν ὀκτώ, Κιλικῶν δὲ καὶ κοιλῆς Συρίας εἴκοσι, Παλαιστίνης δὲ ἡ νῦν Σελευκίς: βασιλεῖς ἐνικήθησαν Τιγράνης Ἀρμένιος, Ἀρτώκης Ἰβηρ, Ὀροΐζης Ἀλβανός, Δαρεῖος Μῆδος, Ἀρέτας Ναβαταῖος, Ἀντίοχος Κομμαγενός.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου τὸ διάγραμμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, γλαμύδα ἔχων, ὥς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πίστον ἔστιν: ἔοικε δ’ αὐτὴν εὐρεῖν ἐν Μιθριδάτου, Κῶν παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἄρμα οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων οἱ δὲ πεζοί. παρελθὼν δ’ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον οὐδένα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔκτεινεν ὥς ἕτεροι τῶν θριάμβους παραγόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπεμψε δημοσίοις δαπανήμασι, χωρὶς τῶν βασιλικῶν. καὶ τούτων μόνος Ἀριστόβουλος εὐθὺς ἀνηρέθη, καὶ Τιγράνης ὕστερον. ὁ μὲν δὴ θρίαμβος ἦν τοιόσδε.

[117] Before Pompey himself were led the satraps, sons, and generals of the kings against whom he had fought, who were present (some having been captured and others given as hostages) to the number of 324. Among them were Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, and five sons of Mithridates, namely, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Darius, and Xerxes, also his daughters, Orsabarhis and Eupatra. Olthaces, chief of the Colchians, was also led in the procession, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, the tyrants of the Cilicians, and the female rulers of the Scythians, three chiefs of the Iberians, two of the Albanians, and Menander the Laodicean, who had been chief of cavalry to Mithridates. There were carried in the procession images of those who were not present, of Tigranes and of Mithridates, representing them as fighting, as vanquished, and as fleeing. Even the besieging of Mithridates and his silent flight by night were represented. Finally it was shown how he died, and the daughters who perished with him were pictured also, and there were figures of the sons and daughters who died before him, and images of the barbarian gods decked out in the fashion of their countries. A tablet was borne also with this inscription: “Ships with brazen beaks captured, 800; cities founded in

Cappadocia, 8; in Cilicia and Cœle-Syria, 20; in Palestine the one which is now Seleucis. Kings conquered: Tigranes the Armenian, Artoces the Iberian, Oræzes the Albanian, Darius the Mede, Aretas the Nabataean, Antiochus of Commagene.” These were the facts recorded on the inscription. Pompey himself was borne in a chariot studded with gems, wearing, it was said, a cloak of Alexander the Great, if any one can believe that. This was supposed to have been found among the possessions of Mithridates that the inhabitants of Cos had received from Cleopatra. His chariot was followed by the officers who had shared the campaigns with him, some on horseback and others on foot. When he arrived at the Capitol he did not put any of the prisoners to death as had been the custom at other triumphs, but sent them all home at the public expense, except the kings. Of these Aristobulus alone was shortly put to death and Tigranes somewhat later. Such was the character of Pompey’s triumph.

[118] ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιθυνοὺς καὶ Καππαδόκας ὅσα τε αὐτοῖς ὁμορα ἔθνη ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον κατοικεῖ τὸν Εὐξείνιον, βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἔτεσι μάλιστα καθελόντες, ὑπηγάγοντο σφίσιν ὑπήκοα εἶναι. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Κιλικίας τὰ μήπω σφίσι κατήκοα καὶ Συρίας τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ προσήκοντα, ρύμη τῆσδε τῆς νίκης προσέλαβον, καὶ φόρους τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἔταξαν. Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Μυσίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Λυδίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν, Μιθριδάτου περισπάσαντος ὁξέως ἀνέλαβοντο: καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐπω σφίσιν ὑποτελέσιν οὖσιν, ἐπέθηκαν φόρους. δι’ ἃ μοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡγεῖσθαι μέγαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ νίκην μεγάλην καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγήσαντα Πομπήιον μέγαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μέχρι νῦν ἐπονομάζειν, ἐθνῶν τε πλήθους ἔνεκα ὧν ἀνέλαβον ἢ προσέλαβον, καὶ χρόνου μήκους, τεσσαρακονταετοῦς γενομένου, τόλμης τε αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φερεπονίας, δυνατοῦ σφίσιν ἐς ἅπαντα ὀφθέντος,

[118] Thus the Romans, having conquered King Mithridates at the end of forty-two years, reduced to subjection Bithynia, Cappadocia, and other neighboring peoples dwelling near the Euxine sea. In this same war that part of Cilicia which was not yet subject to them, together with the Syrian countries, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and the territory lying between them and the river Euphrates, although they did not belong to Mithridates, were gained by the impetus of the victory over him and were required to pay tribute, some immediately and others later. Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and the part of Mysia adjoining Phrygia, and in addition Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all the rest of Asia Minor formerly belonging to Pergamus, together with old Greece and Macedonia, that Mithridates had drawn away from them, were completely recovered. Many of these peoples, who did not pay them tribute

before, were now subjected to it. For these reasons I think they especially considered this a great war and called the victory which ended it the Great Victory and gave the title of Great to Pompey who gained it for them (by which peculiar appellation he is called to this day); on account of the great number of nations recovered or added to their dominion, the length of time (forty years) that the war had lasted, and the courage and endurance that Mithridates had shown himself capable of in all emergencies.

[119] ὃ νῆες μὲν ἦσαν οἰκεῖαι πολλάκις πλείους τετρακοσίων, ἱππεῖς δ' ἔστιν ὅτε πεντακισμύριοι καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ μηχαναὶ καὶ βέλη κατὰ λόγον, συνεμάχουν δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται ὃ τε Ἀρμένιος καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐπὶ τε Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὸν Θράκιον Βόσπορον περιπλέοντι. ἔς τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίων δυνατοῦς, στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις τότε μάλιστα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀνιστάντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, περιέπεμπε, καὶ Κελτοῖς φιλίαν ἐτίθετο ὥς καὶ τῇδε ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ληστῶν τε ἐνεπίμπλη τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Κυλικίας ἐπὶ στήλας Ἡρακλείους, οἱ πάντα ἄμικτα καὶ ἄπλωτα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐποίουν, καὶ λιμὸν ἐπίπονον ἐξεργάσαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ δυνατόν ἐξέλειπεν ἢ πράττων ἢ διανοούμενος, ὥς μέγιστον δὴ τότε τὸ κίνημα ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν γενόμενον ἐνοχλῆσαι πᾶσιν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ πολεμουμένοις ἢ συμμαχοῦσιν ἢ ληστευομένοις ἢ γειτονεύουσιν. τοσόσδε εἰς οὗτος πόλεμος καὶ ποικίλος ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λήγων συνήνεγκε Ῥωμαίους: ὥρισαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ δύσεως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην. διελεῖν δ' αὐτὰ κατὰ ἔθνος οὐκ ἦν, ὁμοῦ τε πραχθέντα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀναπεπλεγμένα. ἃ δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐδύνατο αὐτῶν κεχωρῖσθαι, κατὰ μέρη τέτακται.

[119] Many times he had over 400 ships of his own, 50,000 cavalry, and 250,000 infantry, with engines and arms in proportion. For allies he had the king of Armenia and the princes of the Scythian tribes around the Euxine and the sea of Azov and beyond, as far as the Thracian Bosphorus. He held communications with the leaders of the Roman civil wars, which were then fiercely raging, and with those who were inciting insurrection in Spain. He established friendly relations with the Gauls for the purpose of invading Italy. From Cilicia to the Pillars of Hercules he filled the sea with pirates, who stopped all commerce and navigation between cities and caused severe famine for a long time. In short, he left nothing within the power of man undone or untried to start the greatest possible movement, extending from the Orient to the Occident, to vex, so to speak, the whole world, which was warred upon, tangled in alliances, harassed by pirates, or vexed by the neighborhood of the warfare. Such and so diversified was this one war, but in the end it brought the greatest gains to the Romans, for it pushed the boundaries of their dominion from the setting of the sun to the river Euphrates. It has been impossible to distinguish all these exploits by nations, since they were performed at the same time and were complicated with each other. Those which could be separated I have arranged each by itself.

[120] Φαρνάκης δ' ἐπολιόρκει Φαναγορέας καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Βοσπόρου, μέχρι τῶν Φαναγορέων διὰ λιμὸν ἐς μάχην προελθόντων ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ βλάψας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ φίλους ποιησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὄμηρα, ἀνεχώρει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Σινώπην εἴλε καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐνθυμιζόμενος καὶ Καλουίνῳ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπολέμησεν, ᾧ χρόνῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἦσαν, ἕως αὐτὸν Ἀσανδρος ἐχθρὸς ἴδιος, Ῥωμαίων οὐ σχολαζόντων, ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καθελόντι Πομπήιον, ἐπανιόντι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, περὶ τὸ Σκότιον ὄρος, ἔνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τριάριον ἐεκρατήκει· καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφευγε σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς Σινώπην. Καῖσαρος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας οὐ διώξαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ Δομίτιον, παραδούς τὴν Σινώπην Δομιτίῳ ὑπόσπονδος ἀφείθη μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔκτεινε πολλὰ δυσχεραίνόντων τῶν ἱππέων, ναυσὶ δ' ἐπιβάς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔφυγε, καὶ Σκυθῶν τινας καὶ Σαυροματῶν συναγαγὼν Θεοδοσίαν καὶ Παντικάπαιον κατέλαβεν. ἐπιθεμένου δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἐχθὸς Ἀσάνδρου, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀπορία τε ἵππων καὶ ἀμαθία πεζομαχίας ἐνικῶντο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκης μόνος ἡγωνίζετο καλῶς, μέχρι κατατρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, πεντηκοντούτης ὢν καὶ βασιλεύσας Βοσπόρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

[120] Pharnaces besieged the Phanagoreans and the towns neighboring to the Bosphorus until the former were compelled by hunger to come out and fight, when he overcame them in battle; yet he did them no other harm, but made friends with them, took hostages, and withdrew. Not long (Y.R. 707) (B.C. 47) afterward he took Sinope and had a mind to take Amisus also, for which reason he made war against Calvinus, the Roman commander, at the time when Pompey and Cæsar were contending against each other, until Asander, an enemy of his own, drew him away from Asia, while the Romans were still preoccupied. Afterward he fought with Cæsar himself (when the latter had overthrown Pompey and returned from Egypt), near Mount Scotius, where his father had defeated the Romans under Triarius. He was beaten and fled to Sinope with 1000 cavalry. Cæsar was too busy to follow him, but sent Domitius against him. He surrendered Sinope to Domitius, who agreed to let him go away with his cavalry. He killed his horses, though his men were extremely dissatisfied at this, then took ship and fled to the Bosphorus. Here he collected a force of Scythians and Sarmatians and captured Theodosia and Panticapæum. His enemy, Asander, attacked him again, and his men were defeated for want of horses, and because they were not accustomed to fighting on foot. Pharnaces alone fought valiantly until he died of his wounds, being then fifty years of age and having been king of Bosphorus fifteen years.

[121] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Φαρνάκης ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Γάιος μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔδωκε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ συμμαχήσαντί οἱ προθύμως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· νῦν δ' εἰσὶν οἰκεῖοι, Πόντου δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας πέμπεταιί τις ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στρατηγὸς ἐτήσιος τὰ δ' ἑτέροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου δεδομένα ὁ μὲν Γάιος, ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὅτι Πομπηίῳ καθ' αὐτοῦ συνεμάχουν, ὅμως ἐφύλαξε, πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις ἱερωσύνης, ἣν ἐς

Λυκομήδην μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελαίου: πάντα δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, καὶ τάδε καὶ ὅσα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἢ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἔχειν ἑτέροις ἐδεδώκεσαν, ἐς στρατηγίας Ῥωμαίων περιῆλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλόντος Αἴγυπτον, ὀλίγης ἔτι Ῥωμαίων προφάσεως ἐς ἐκάστους δεομένων. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ προελθούσης ἔς τε τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξεινὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ψάμμον τὴν πρὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν παρὰ στήλαις Ἑρακλείοις, εἰκότως ἢ τε νίκη μεγάλη καὶ ὁ στρατηγὴσας Πομπήιος μέγας ἐκλήθη. ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Λιβύην, ὅση μέχρι Κυρήνης Κυρήνην γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἀπίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ Λαγιδῶν γένους νόθος ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν, Αἴγυπτος ἐς περίοδον τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης ἔτι ἔλειπεν.

[121] Thus Pharnaces was cut off from his kingdom and Cæsar bestowed it upon Mithridates of Pergamus, who had rendered him very important help in Egypt. But the people of Bosphorus now had rulers of their own and a prætor was sent by the Senate yearly to govern Pontus and Bithynia. Although Cæsar was offended with the other rulers who held their possessions as gifts from Pompey, since they had aided Pompey against him, nevertheless he confirmed their titles, except the priesthood of Comana which he took from Archelaus and gave to Lycomedes. Not long after, all these countries, and those which Gaius Cæsar or Mark Antony had given to others, were made Roman provinces by Augustus Cæsar, after he had taken Egypt, as the Romans needed only the slightest pretext in each case. Thus, since their dominion had been advanced in consequence of the Mithridatic war, from Spain and the Pillars of Hercules to the Euxine sea, and the sands which border Egypt, and the river Euphrates, it was fitting that this victory should be called the great one, and that Pompey, who commanded the army, should be styled the Great. As they held Africa also as far as Cyrene (for Apion, the king of that country, a bastard of the house of the Lagidæ, left Cyrene itself to the Romans in his will), Egypt alone was lacking to their grasp of the whole Mediterranean.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES EUPATOR (Duruy)

THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK 1

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν· οὐ μὴν τι χειρῶν ἔργον ἔμφυλον ἦν, ἀλλὰ διαφοραὶ μόναι καὶ ἔριδες ἔννομοι, καὶ τάδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἰκοντες ἀλλήλοις διετίθεντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμός ποτε καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσὼν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅπλοις παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμών, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληζόμενον ἱερόν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρουμένων μὴ ἐντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶναι. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δυσμενέστερον ἔτι καὶ φιλονεικότερον ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ ἀρχαὶ διετίθεντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὥς ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε πλεονεξίαις ἑκάτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες. Μάρκιός τε ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἔρισιν ἐξελαθεὶς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἔφυγέ τε καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πατρίδι.

INTRODUCTION

THE plebeians and Senate of Rome [in the olden time] were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not bring them to blows, however; these were dissensions merely and contests within the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for (Y.R. 260) each other. Once when the plebeians were going to a war (B.C. 494) they fell into such a controversy, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from this time on was called the Sacred Mount. Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the tribune of the plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that the political power should not be exclusively in their hands. Whence arose still greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other after this event, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. In the midst of contests of this kind Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished contrary (Y.R. 262) to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war (B.C. 492) against his country.

[2] καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἄν τις εὖροι τῶν πάλαι στάσεων ἔργον ἔνοπλον, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτομόλου γενόμενον, ξίφος δὲ οὐδὲν πω παρενεχθὲν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐδὲ φόνον ἔμφυλον, πρὶν γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχῶν καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων πρῶτος ὁδε ἐν στάσει ἀπώλετο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἰλούμενοι περὶ τὸν νεὼν ἀνῆρέθησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ

τῷδε τῷ μύσει, διαιρουμένων ἐκάστοτε σαφῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων κτιννυμένης τέτινος ἀρχῆς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἀγοραῖς, δημάρχων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ ὑπάτων ἢ τῶν ἐς ταῦτα παραγγελλόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὕβρις τε ἄκοσμος ἐπεῖχεν αἰεὶ δι' ὀλίγου καὶ νόμων καὶ δίκης αἰσχροὶ καταφρόνησις. προϊόντος δ' ἐς μέγα τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανεραὶ καὶ στρατεῖαι μεγάλαι καὶ βίαιοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγίνοντο φυγάδων ἀνδρῶν ἢ καταδίκων ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς τιнос ἢ στρατοπέδου φιλονικούντων ἐς ἀλλήλους. δυναστεῖαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ στασίαρχοι μοναρχικοί, οἱ μὲν οὐ μεθιέντες ἔτι τὰ πιστευθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ καὶ σφᾶς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ξενολογοῦντες. ὁπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα: ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὥς ἐς πολεμίαν, καὶ σφαγαὶ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐγίνοντο νηλεεῖς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάνπαν ἐπαχθεῖς.

[2] This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly (Y.R. 621) and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus (B.C. 133) while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and many others besides, who were assembled with him at the Capitol, were slain around the temple. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and occasionally in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some one serving as tribune, or praetor, or consul, or a candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against the country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There were chiefs of factions in different places aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops intrusted to them by the people, others levying forces against each other on their own account, without public authority. Whichever of them first got possession of the city, the others made war nominally against their adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like a foreign enemy. Ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Men were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and some were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

(Y.R. 672)

[3] ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς ἀπῆν, μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν στασιάρχων εἰς ἔτει πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Γράκχου, Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰώμενος μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον: οὗς δικτάτορας ἐκάλουν τε

καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φοβερωτάταις χρεαίαις ἑξαμήνουσ τιθέμενοι ἐκ πολλοῦ διελελοίπεσαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας βία μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκη, λόγῳ δ' αἰρετός, ἐς αἰεὶ δικτάτωρ γενόμενος ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκορέσθη τῆς δυναστείας, πρῶτος ἀνδρῶν ὁδε μοι δοκεῖ θαρρῆσαι τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ἐπειπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μεμφομένοις εὐθύνas ὑφέξει, ιδιώτης τε ὁρῶντων ἀπάντων ἐς πολὺ βαδίσαι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθῆς οἴκαδε. τυσοῦτον ἦν ἄρα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέος ἢ τῆς ἀποθέσεως κατὰπληξίς ἢ τῶν εὐθυνῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αἰδῶς ἢ ἄλλη φιλάνθρωπία καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι.

ὧδε μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἔλξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἦν ὧν ὁ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο:

[3] No unseemly deed was wanting until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the absolute master of the state for an indefinite period. Such officials were formerly called dictators — an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated (B.C. 82) with power and was the first man, so far as I know, holding (Y.R. 675) supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily (B.C. 79) and to declare that he would render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call for an accounting, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state. Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the evils which Sulla had wrought.

[4] μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αὐθις ὅμοια ἀνερριπίζετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αἰρετὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναστεύων ἐν Γαλατία, τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι κελευούσης αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ Πομπήιον, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα οἱ καὶ στρατοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγούμενον, ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα παραλύειν, προυτίθει προκλήσεις ἢ ἄμφω τὰ στρατεύματα ἔχειν ἐς τῆς ἐχθρας τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον οὓς ἔχοι μεθέντα ιδιωτεύειν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ νόμοις. οὐ πειθὼν δ' ἐς οὐδέτερα ἐκ Γαλατίας ἤλυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐσβαλὼν τε ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ διώκων ἐκφυγόντα περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἐνίκησε μεγάλη μάχη λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐδίωκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑποφεύγοντα. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπηίου πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ρώμην, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐργασάμενός τε καὶ ἐπιμείνας, μέχρι καταστήσαιο αὐτῇ τοὺς βασιλέας. στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ᾧ διὰ μεγαλουργίαν πολεμικὴν Μέγας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελών,

οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεῦτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηγεκὲς ἡρέθη: καὶ στάσεις αὐθις κατεπαύοντο πᾶσαι, ἔστε καὶ τόνδε Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ζήλω τε τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατέκανον, δημοτικώτατον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον ἀρχῆς γενόμενον. ὃ γέ τοι δῆμος αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἐπεπόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐζήτουν περιόντες καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση καὶ νεῶν ἐπωκοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

[4] After his death the troubles broke out afresh and (Y.R. 705) continued until Gaius Cæsar, who had held the command (B.C. 49) in Gaul by election for some years, was ordered by the Senate to lay down his command. He charged that it was not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So he sent a proposal that both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey should dismiss his forces also and live as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with him-self. Both requests being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey in the Roman territory, entered it, put him to flight, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant (Y.R. 706) victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to (B.C. 48) Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by the Egyptians Cæsar set to work on the affairs of Egypt and remained there until he had settled the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate this most popular man, who was also the one most experienced in the art (Y.R. 710) of government. The people mourned for him greatly.

(B.C. 44) They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. They buried him in the middle of the forum and built a temple on the place of his funeral pile, and offered sacrifice to him as a god.

(Y.R. 711)

[5] αἱ δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐθις ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προῆλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ βουλευτῶν τε καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, κατὰ πλῆθος ἀθρώως ἐκατέρων, ἐγίνοντο, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελούντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν: τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα εὐνοίας ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία. προιόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὡς ιδιωτικὸν σφῶν κτῆμα διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἶδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτῳ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ὄνομα ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὦν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦδε μετωνομάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῇδε μετὰ βραχὺ

συμπεσόντες, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προύχων Λέπιδον μὲν πρότερον αὐτῶν ἦν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Αντώνιον πολέμῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, μεγίστοις δὴ φανεῖσι καὶ ἐς ἐκπληξιν ἅπαντας ἐμβαλοῦσιν, εἴλε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπιπλεύσας, ἥ χρονιωτάτη τε ἦν ἐς τότε καὶ δυνατωτάτη μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρχὴ καὶ μόνη Ῥωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥστε Σεβαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔτι περιών, ὅδε πρῶτος ὀφθῆναι τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ Γάιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δυνατότερον ἔτι Γαίῳ, ἄρχοντα ἀποφῆναι τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, οὐδὲν αἰρέσεως ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ προσποιήματος ἔτι δεηθεῖς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, ἐπιτυχὴς ἐς πάντα καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν γένος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ κατέλειπεν.

[5] And now civil discord broke out again worse than (B.C. 43) ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments, and proscriptions of both senators and the so-called knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chief of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much does animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Cæsar from his relationship to the other Cæsar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius (Y.R. 718) who was the superior in understanding and skill, first (B.C. 36) deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and (Y.R. 723) afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from (B.C. 31) Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In consequence of these (Y.R. 727) exploits he was at once elevated to the rank of a deity while (B.C. 27) still living, and was the first to be thus distinguished by the Romans, and was called by them Augustus. He assumed to himself an authority like Cæsar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Cæsar's, not needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government being strengthened by time and mastery, and himself successful in all things and revered by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

[6] ὧδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη: ταῦτα δ' ὅπως ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὄντα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἄμετρον καὶ

φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἄτρυτον καὶ κακῶν ιδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ', ὅτι μοι τῆς Αἰγυπτίας συγγραφῆς τάδε προηγούμενα καὶ τελευτήσοντα εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προαναγράψασθαι: ὧδε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Ἀντωνίῳ Κλεοπάτρας συμμαχοῦσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνθάδε μέν, ὅσα ἐπὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, ἐξῆς δ', ὅσα μέχρι Γαῖου Καίσαρος τῆς τελευτῆς. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν, ὅσα οἱ τρεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, τὸ περὶ Ἰακτίον Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς συγγραφῆς ἔσται.

[6] Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into solidarity and monarchy. To show how these things came about I have written and compiled piled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. It is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Cæsar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, until the end of these conflicts, and the greatest achievement, the battle of Actium, fought by Octavius Cæsar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

CHAPTER I

The Roman Public Domain — The Licinian Law — The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus — Struggle over its Enactment — Public Harangue of Gracchus — The Tribune Octavius vetoes the Bill — Gracchus deposes him — The Bill passed

[7] Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμῳ κατὰ μέρη χειρούμενοι γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνέγκιζον ἢ ἐς τὰς πρότερον οὔσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων ἐπενόουν, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς δορικτικτοῦ σφίσιν ἐκάστοτε γιγνομένης τὴν μὲν ἐξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκίζομένοις ἐπιδηήρουν ἢ ἐπίπρασκον ἢ ἐξεμίθουν, τὴν δ' ἄργον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὔσαν, ἢ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυνεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές ποω σχολὴν διαλαχεῖν ἐπεκέρυττον ἐν τοσῶδε τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκπνεῖν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτη μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτη δὲ τῶν φυτευομένων. ὥριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ ἐλαττόνων ζώων. καὶ τάδε ἔπραττον ἐς πολυανδρίαν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν ὀφθέντος, ἵνα συμμάχους οἰκείους ἔχοιεν. ἐς δὲ τοῦναντίον αὐτοῖς περιήει. οἱ γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὐ τίνα σφᾶς ἔτι ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὰ τε ἀγχοῦ σφίσιν ὅσα τε ἦν ἄλλα βραχεὰ πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ὠνούμενοι πειθοῖ, τὰ δὲ βία λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγέωργουν, ὠνητοῖς ἐς αὐτὰ γεωργοῖς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης ἅμα καὶ τῆσδε τῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολὺ κέρδος ἐκ πολυπαιδίας θεραπόντων ἀκινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ἀστρατείας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ ἀμπαν ἐπλούτουν, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήθυε, τοὺς δ' Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενία τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρατείαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἀργίας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

[7] The Romans, as they subdued the Italian nations successively in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them in place of garrisons. Of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers, or leased or sold it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a share of the yearly crops a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being

emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, and adding to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors, partly by purchase and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for this purpose slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. The ownership of slaves itself brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because they were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful ones became enormously rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

[8] ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὥς οὔτε συμμάχων ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔτι εὐπορήσων οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γενησομένης ἀκινδύνου διὰ πλῆθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων: διόρθωσιν δ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦντες, ὥς οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ὄν οὐδὲ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἄνδρας τοσοῦσδε ἐκ τοσοῦδε χρόνου κτήσιν τοσήνδε ἀφελέσθαι φυτῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἔκριναν μηδὲνα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα μηδὲ προβατεύειν ἑκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταζαν, οἱ τὰ γινόμενα φυλάττειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἔμελλον.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε νόμῳ περιλαβόντες ἐπώμοσαν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ζημίαν ὥρισαν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ' ὀλίγον διαπεπράσεσθαι: φροντίς δ' οὐδεμία ἦν οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε τῶν ὅρκων, ἀλλ' οἷτινες καὶ ἐδόκουν φροντίσαι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει διένεμον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τέλεον κατεφρόνουν,

[8] For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. Not perceiving any remedy, as it was not easy, nor exactly just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was once (Y.R. 387) passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that (B.C. 367) nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of this land, or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on. Those who held possession of lands under the law were required to take an oath to obey the law, and penalties were fixed for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them

conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater part disregarded it altogether.

(Y.R. 621)

[9] μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν εἰπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ὁμοῦ πάντων γνωριμώτατος ἅπασι, δημαρχῶν ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους ὡς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγγενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ἀπορίαν καὶ ὀλιγανδρίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς διώρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας ὡς ἀστρατεύτῳ καὶ οὐποτε ἐς δεσπότης πιστῷ, τὸ ἔναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθος ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενον, ἠϋξημένων κἀκείνων ἀπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ ῥᾶδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε μῆκος χρόνου καὶ τροπᾶς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέντα. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα τῶν πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλέον ἔχειν. παισὶ δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων: καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τρεῖς αἵρετοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν τοῖς πένησι.

[9] At length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustrious man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and blood relations to the Romans, were declining little by little in pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes (B.C. 133) and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

[10] τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὃ μάλιστα ἠνώχλει τοὺς πλουσίους, οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ὡς προτερον τοῦ νόμου καταφρονεῖν διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας οὐδὲ ὠνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κληρουμένων: ὁ γάρ τοι Γράκχος καὶ τότε προϋδόμενος ἀπηγόρευε μὴ πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος ὠλοφύροντο καὶ προὔφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχαῖα τε ἔργα ἑαυτῶν καὶ φυτὰ καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμὴν ἔνιοι δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εἰ καὶ τήνδε μετὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπολέσουσι, τάφους τε ἔνιοι πατέρων ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὡς πατρώοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ προῖκας γυναικῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλωμένας ἢ τὴν γῆν παισὶν ἐμπροκίων δεδομένην, δανεισταὶ τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης ἐπεδείκνυνον, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἦν ὅλως οἰμωγὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις. οἱ δ' αὖ πένητες ἀντωδύροντο ἐξ εὐπορίας ἐς πενίαν

ἐσχάτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς ἀγονίαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι παιδοτροφεῖν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε ὅσας στρατεύσαιντο τὴν γῆν τήνδε περιποιούμενοι, κατέλεγον καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται, ὠνείδιζόν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς αἰρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν θεράποντας, ἄπιστον ἔθνος καὶ δυσμενὲς αἰεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀστράτευτον. τοιαῦθ' ἐκατέρων ὀδυρομένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικαλούντων, πλῆθος ἄλλο, ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκαις πόλεσιν ἢ ταῖς ἰσοπολίτισιν ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, δεδιότες ὁμοίως ἐπήεσαν καὶ ἐς ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν διμερίζοντο. πλῆθει τε θαρροῦντες ἐξετραχύνοντο καὶ στάσεις ἐξάπτοντες ἀμέτρους τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου περιέμενον, οἱ μὲν ὥς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρήσοντες αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κύριον, οἱ δ' ὥς κυρώσοντες ἐξ ἅπαντος. φιλονικία δὲ ἐκατέροις προσέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.

[10] This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor — that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they attached themselves to turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law, some trying to prevent its enactment by all means, and others supporting it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the day of the comitia.

[11] Γράκχῳ δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλευματος ἦν οὐκ ἐς εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τῇ ὠφελείᾳ μάλιστα αἰωρούμενος, ὥς οὐ τι μεῖζον

οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον δυναμένης ποτὲ παθεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμεῖτο. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προεῖπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ δίκαιον τὰ κοινὰ κοινῇ διανεμέσθαι καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰεὶ θεράποντος ὁ πολίτης καὶ χρησιμώτερος ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνοώστερος ὁ κοινωνός. οὐκ ἔς πολὺ δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν ὡς ἄδοξον ἐπενεγκὼν αὐθις ἐπῆει τὰς τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας καὶ φόβους διεξιὼν, ὅτι πλείστης γῆς ἐκ πολέμου βία κατέχοντες καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης χώραν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχοντες κινδυνεύουσιν ἐν τῷδε περὶ ἀπάντων, ἢ κτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ φθόνον ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ὦν τοῦ μὲν τὴν δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον ὑπερεπαίρων ἐκέλευε τοὺς πλουσίους ἐνθυμουμένους ταῦτα ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας τοῖς παιδοτροφοῦσι χαρίσασθαι καὶ μὴ, ἐν ᾧ περὶ μικρῶν διαφέρονται, τῶν πλεόνων ὑπεριδεῖν, μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους τὴν ἐξαιρέτον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτήσιν ἐς αἰεὶ βέβαιον ἐκάστω πεντακοσίων πλέθρων, καὶ παισίν, οἷς εἰσὶ παῖδες, ἐκάστω καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὁ Γράκχος εἰπὼν τούς τε πένητας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πόθῳ κτήσεως ἐχρῶντο, ἐρεθίσας ἐκέλευε τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον ἀναγνῶναι.

[11] What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth, but an increase of efficient population. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to divide among the common people what belonged to them in common; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans had acquired most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world, but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these, hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since they were receiving an ample compensation for labor expended in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son of

those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the scribe to read the proposed law.

[12] Μάρκος δ' Ὀκτάουιος δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὑπὸ τῶν κτηματικῶν διακωλύειν παρεσκευασμένος, καὶ ὦν αἰεὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων δυνατότερος. ἐκέλευε τὸν γραμματέα σιγᾶν. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ μεμψάμενος ὁ Γράκχος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀγορὰν ἀνέθετο ... φυλακὴν τε παραστησάμενος ἱκανὴν ὥς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος Ὀκτάουιον ἐκέλευε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγινώσκειν. καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ Ὀκταοῦιου κωλύοντος ἐσιώπα. λοιδοριῶν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχους ἐς ἀλλήλους γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου θορυβοῦντος ἱκανῶς, οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἡξίουσαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ βουλῇ, περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἀρπάσας τὸ λεχθέν, ὥς δὴ πᾶσι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀρέσοντος τοῦ νόμου, διέτρεχεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. ἐκεῖ δ' ὥς ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, αὐτὸς ἐκδραμὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφη διαψηφίσιν προθήσειν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀγορὰν περὶ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ὀκταοῦιου, εἰ χρὴ δήμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπειτέ γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς αὐτὸς ἐνίστατο, ὁ δὲ προτέραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου.

καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισαμένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδεῖτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπῆγεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τότε φυλῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ συνδραμουσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ τῶν προτέρων ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἡ μὲν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τὸ κῦρος ἔμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ τῷ δήμῳ, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῷ Ὀκταοῦίῳ λιπαρῶς ἐνέκειτο μὴ ἔργον ὀσιώτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ἰταλία πάσῃ συγχέαι μηδὲ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου τοσὴνδε ἀνατρέψαι, ᾧ τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένῳ δήμαρχον ὄντα ἥρμοξε, καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρουμένην περιδεῖν ἐπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τὰδε λέγων καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ἄκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐπῆγε τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάουιος αὐτίκα ἰδιώτης γενόμενος διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε, Κόνιτος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἦρετο, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο.

[12] Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed), ordered the scribe to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the scribe with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again vetoed he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus

seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. There, as he had only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the magistracy of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office. And so he did, for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from this veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved.

[13] διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτός, ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου καὶ ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος, πάνυ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὥς δεδιότος, μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθεῖ τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος δὲ μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἷα δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἐνὸς γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ' ἤσσημένοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν οὐ χαιρήσειν Γράκχον, αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ιδιώτης, ἀρχὴν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ στάσεως τοσὴνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλοντα.

[13] Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should be put in the lead with his whole family. Gracchus became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After, this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling bitterly, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be

sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had opened such a fountain of discord in Italy.

CHAPTER II

New Election of Tribunes — Riot on the Capitoline Hill — Death of Gracchus

[14] θέρος δ' ἦν ἤδη καὶ προγραφαὶ δημάρχων ἐς τὸ μέλλον· καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι τῆς χειροτονίας πλησιαζούσης ἔνδηλοι σαφῶς ἦσαν ἐσπουδακότες ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς μάλιστα Γράκῳ πολεμίους. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένου δείσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔσοιτο δήμαρχος, συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὥς ἐν θέρει, συναλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ὀλίγης ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἔτι οὔσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἄστει δῆμον κατέφευγε, καὶ περιῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστων ἐδεῖτο δήμαρχον αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐλέσθαι, κινδυνεύοντα δι' ἐκείνους. γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας δύο μὲν ἔφθασαν αἱ πρῶται φυλαὶ Γράκχον ἀποφῆναι, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων ἐνισταμένων οὐκ ἔννομον εἶναι δις ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν καὶ Ρουβρίου δημάρχου τοῦ προεστάναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης διειληχότος ἐνδοιάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, Μούμμιος αὐτόν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀκταυίῳ δημαρχεῖν ἡρημένος, ἐκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι περὶ τῆς ἐπιστάσις ἠξίουσαν ἀνακληροῦσθαι· Ρουβρίου γὰρ τοῦ λαχόντος ἐκστάντος αὐθις ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν διακλήρωσιν περυνέαι. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε πολλῆς γενομένης ὁ Γράκχος ἐλτατούμενος τὴν μὲν χειροτονίαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνέθετο, πάντα δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἐμελανειμόνει τε ἔτι ὢν ἔναρχος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπάγων ἐκάστοις συνίστη καὶ παρετίθετο ὥς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτίκα ἀπολούμενος.

[14] At the advent of summer the notices for the election of tribunes were given, and as the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich were earnestly promoting the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be reelected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the comitia, but as they were occupied with their harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he had incurred for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to turn over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again for all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he clothed himself in black, while still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each

man and committed him to their charge, as if he were about to perish at the hands of his enemies.

[15] οἴκτου δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς πένητας ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὥς οὐκ ἐν ἰσονόμῳ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ δουλευσόντων κατὰ κράτος τοῖς πλουσίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου, τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σὺν τε οἰμογῇ προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπικελευόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος ἔτι νυκτὸς τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγὼν καὶ σημείον, εἰ καὶ μάχης δεήσειεν, ὑποδείξας κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεῶν, ἔνθα χειροτονήσιν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οὐκ ἐόντων ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοῆς ἄφνω παρὰ τῶν συνειδότην γενομένης χειρὲς τε ἦσαν ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττον οἷά τινες δορυφόροι, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, ῥάβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀρπάσαντές τε καὶ διακλῆσαντες ἐς πολλὰ, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξήλανον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῷδε ταραχῇ καὶ τραύμασιν, ὥς τοὺς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν ἐκ μέσον, καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλείσαι, δρόμον τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμον εἶναι καὶ φυγὴν καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἀκριβῆ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημάρχους ὁ Γράκχος παραλύσειε τῆς ἀρχῆς 'οὐ γὰρ ὁρωμένων αὐτῶν εἵκαζον οὕτως', τῶν δ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον δήμαρχον ἄνευ χειροτονίας ἀποφαίνοι.

[15] The poor were moved with deep sorrow, and rightly so, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free state under equal laws, but were reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who had incurred such danger and suffering in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed in case of a fight. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who saw it, and a resort to violence in consequence. Some of the partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded themselves, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumors. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

[16] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ βουλὴ συνήλθεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερὸν. καὶ μοι θαῦμα καταφαίνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῖσδε φόβοις διὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασσεωσμένους τότε μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώτατον τοῖς προτέροις τότε τὸ ἔργον εὐρεθὲν μὴδ' ἐν μνήμῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄρα γενέσθαι μήτε τότε μήθ' ὕστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν ἐς τὸ Καπιτωλίον ἀνήεσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς λεγόμενος ἐξῆρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ, Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς· ἐβόα τε μέγιστον ἔπεσθαι οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σφῆζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος πλεονάς οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπισπώμενος, εἴτε πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὁρώσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, εἴτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν. ἀνελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχείοις ἐπιδραμόντι εἶξαν μὲν ὡς κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἀνδρὶ ἀρίστῳ, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἅμα οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιούσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περισπάσαντες, ὅσα τε βάθρα καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνενήνεκτο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα κατερρίπτουν. κὰν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοὶ τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρριψαν εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[16] Under these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides. It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril. Although this resource had been found most useful in former times few people remembered it, either then or later. After reaching the decision that they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save the country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who looked on, or in order to conceal from the gods what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded to the reputation of a foremost citizen, for they saw the Senate following with him. The latter wrested clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or with fragments of broken benches or other apparatus that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice. In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself was caught near the temple, and was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber.

[17] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς, ἀρίστου βουλευμάτος ἕνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσίων, ἀνήρητο ἔτι δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τότε μύσος γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν, αἰεὶ

τινος ὁμοίου γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχου φόνῳ διήρητο ἐς λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτεῖροντες αὐτούς τε κάκεῖνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὥς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαν, οἱ δ' ἐξεργάσθαι σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι πᾶν, ὅσον ἐβούλοντο.

[17] So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of the Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who subjugated Carthage. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design, which, however, he pursued in too violent a manner. This shocking affair, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that everything had turned out for them exactly as they wished. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia.

CHAPTER III

Litigation under the Law of Gracchus — Scipio Æmilianus employed in it — His Mysterious Death — Gaius Gracchus elected Tribune — He gives the Judicial Power to Knights — Demands Roman Citizenship for Italian Allies — Sails to Africa with Fulvius Flaccus — Rioting in Rome after his Return — Death of Gracchus and Flaccus (Y.R. 622)

[18] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν, ὅτε Ἀριστόνικος Ῥωμαίοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ: ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Γράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὸ τὴν γῆν ἅμα τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γράκχῳ διανέμειν Φούλβιος Φλάκκος καὶ Παπίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελοῦντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι κατηγόρους ἐκήρυττον ἐνδεικνύναι. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν δικῶν χαλεπῶν: ὅση γὰρ ἄλλη πλησιάζουσα τῇδε ἐπέπρατο ἢ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιδηήρητο, διὰ τὸ τῆσδε μέτρον ἐξητάζετο ἅπασα, ὅπως τε ἐπέπρατο καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδηήρητο, οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια οὔτε τὰς κληρουχίας ἔτι ἐχόντων ἀπάντων: ἃ δὲ καὶ εὗρίσκετο, ἀμφίλογα ἦν. ἀναμετρομένης τε αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐκ πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψιλὴν μετετίθεντο, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐνεργῶν ἐς ἄργον ἢ λίμνας ἢ τέλματα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτήτοις ἀκριβῆ πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπῆρε πολλοὺς τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας τὴν ἐκατέρας ὅσιν συγγέαι: χρόνος τε ἐπελθὼν ἐνεόχμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσιῶν ἀδίκημα καίπερ ὄν μέγα δυσεπίγνωστον ἦν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πάντων ἀνάστασις ἐγίνετο μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικιζομένων ἐς ἄλλότρια.

[18] After Gracchus was slain Appius Claudius died, and Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field had been bought adjoining an old one, or wherever a division of land had been made with allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the measuring had not been carefully done when the land was first taken from the enemy. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarkation (B.C. 132) between them had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although

great, was not easy of ascertainment. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settled down in other people's.

(Y.R. 625)

[19] ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπεΐξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς Καρχηδόνα ἐπόρθησεν, ἡξίουσαν προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐς τοὺς πολέμους αὐτοῖς κεχρημένος προθυμοτάτοις ὑπεριδεῖν τε ὤκνησε καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸν μὲν Γράκχου νόμον οὐκ ἔψεγε διὰ τὸν δῆμον σαφῶς, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε δυσχέρειαν ἐπεξιών ἡξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν διαιρούντων ὥς ὑπόπτων τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐτέρων λέγεσθαι. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔπεισεν, εἶναι δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ· καὶ Τουδιτανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων ἐδόθη δικάζειν. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν ἀψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἰδὼν ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν· οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν διανέμοντες, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἐς δίκην, ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦσαν. καὶ μῖσος ἐντεῦθεν ἥρξατο εἰς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγανάκτησις, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὑπατόν τε δις ἐλόμενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα σφίσιν ἐώρων. ταῦτα δ', ὅσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦσαν ἐχθροί, κατιδόντες ἐβῶον, ὥς λῦσαι τὸν Γράκχου νόμον ὅλως διεγνωνκῶς μέλλοι πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔνοπλον φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.

[19] The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances (B.C. 129) and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very valiant services in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and held that these causes ought not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be turned over to others. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took hold of the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they relapsed into idleness. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw him, in whose favor they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against them. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed for that purpose.

[20] ὢν ὁ δῆμος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδίει, μέχρις ὁ Σκιπίων, ἐσπέρας παραθέμενος

ἑαυτῷ δέλτον, εἰς ἣν νυκτὸς ἔμελλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νεκρὸς ἄνευ τραύματος εὐρέθη, εἴτε Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἵνα μὴ ὁ νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συλλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο Σεμπρωνίας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἥ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γαμουμένη διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὐτ' ἐστέργετο οὐτ' ἔστεργεν, εἴθ', ὥς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε συνιδὼν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν ὧν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ξένοι δι' ὀπισθοδόμου νυκτὸς ἐπεισαχθέντες ἀποπνίξαιεν καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὀκνήσαιεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὀργιζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συνηδόμενον.

Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς ἠξιοῦτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὠφελήσας: οὕτως ἡ παρατύκῃ ὀργῇ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἐπικρατεῖ. καὶ τότε ὃν τηλικούτον οἶα πάρεργον ἐπὶ τῇ Γράκχου στάσει συνέπεσε.

[20] When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which he intended to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who was married to Scipio, and was unloved and unloving because she was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves, who were subjected to torture, testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death. So died Scipio, and although he had been of immense service to the Roman power he was not honored with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as an incident of the sedition of Gracchus.

[21] τὴν δὲ διαίρεσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ προφάσεσι ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. καὶ τινες εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὥς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διοισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσε τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων Φούλβιος Φλάκκος, ὑπατεύων ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανέμων. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἰσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.

καὶ τότε μὲν τὸ ἐγγεῖρημα οὕτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἠθύμει: ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν γῆν διαιρούντων ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμφορᾷ: πολλῶν δ' αὐτοῦ καταφρονούντων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ,

παρήγγειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν. καὶ περιφανέστατα αἰρεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλενε τῇ βουλῇ, σιτηρέσιον ἔμμηνον ὀρίσας ἐκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀξέως οὕτως ἐνὶ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ Φουλβίου Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἤρητο δημαρχεῖν: καὶ γάρ τις ἦδη νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις, τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

[21] Those who were in possession of the lands even after these events postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some thought that the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, ought to be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favor, they should no longer quarrel about the (Y.R. 629) land. The Italians were glad to accept this, because they (B.C. 125) preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the Senate was angry at the proposal to make their subjects (Y.R. 630) equal citizens with themselves. For this reason the attempt (B.C. 124) was abandoned, and the people, who had been so long in the hope of acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been silent for some time on the subject of the fate of his brother, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he announced (Y.R. 631) himself as a candidate for the office of tribune.

(B.C. 123) As soon as he was elected to this distinguished position he began to lay plots against the Senate, and proposed that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense, which had not been customary before. Thus he got the leadership of the people quickly by one measure of policy, in which he had the coöperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose from the whole number then in office.

(Y.R. 632)

[22] ὁ μὲν δὴ Γάιος Γράκχος οὕτως ἐδημάρχει τὸ δεῦτερον: οἷα δ' ἔχων τὸν δῆμον ἔμμισθον, ὑπήγετο καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας, οἱ τὴν ἀξίωσιν εἰσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν μέσῳ, δι' ἑτέρου τοιοῦδε πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικαστήρια, ἀδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε, τὰ ὑπόγυα μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι Αὐρήλιος Κόττας καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλὼν, σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες ἀφείντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οἱ τε πρέσβεις οἱ κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι παρόντες σὺν φθόνῳ ταῦτα περιόντες ἐκεκράγεσαν. ἅπερ ἡ βουλή μάλιστα αἰδουμένη ἐς τὸν νόμον ἐνεδίδου: καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ἐκύρου. καὶ

μετηνέχθη μὲν ὧδε ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια: φασὶ δὲ κυρωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀθρόως τὴν βουλήν καθηρήκοι, τοῦ δ' ἔργου προϊόντος ἐς πείραν μειζόνως ἔτι ἐκφανῆναι τὸ ἔπος τὸ Γράκχου. τό τε γὰρ δικάζειν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταῖς, ἐπὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οἶά τινες ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὑπερεπῆρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἴσα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἰσὺς ἐποίησε. συνιστάμενοί τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τι θέλοιν, ἐπὶ μέγα φόβου τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐχώρουν: ταχὺ τε περιῆν ἀνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν μόνην ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐχούσης, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν ἱππέων. προϊόντες γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάστευον μόνον: ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνὺβριζον τοῖς βουλευταῖς παρὰ τὰς δίκας. τὴν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαμβάνοντες καὶ γευσάμενοι καὶ οἶδε κερδῶν ἀθρόων αἰσχυρότερον ἔτι καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο. κατηγοροὺς τε ἐνετοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπῆγοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν δωροδοκιῶν δίκας, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμενοι, πάμπαν ἀνήρουν, ὥς καὶ τὸ ἔθος ὅλως τῆς τοιαύτης εὐθύνης ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ στάσιν ἄλλην τὸν δικαστικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν προτέρων ἐς πολὺ παρασχεῖν.

[22] Thus Gaius Gracchus became tribune a second time. Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manœuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the one who subdued Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain against them were still present, going around uttering hateful accusations against them. The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all. This saying of Gracchus has been even more confirmed by experience in the course of events. This power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights like rulers over them and put senators on the same level with subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being in the hands of the knights, and the honor only remaining (B.C. 122) with the Senate. The knights went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and having once tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done. They suborned accusers against

the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by concert of action and partly by force and violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

[23] ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁδοὺς ἔτεμενεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μακράς, πλῆθος ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, ἐτοιμῶν ἐς ὃ τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσηγείτο πολλὰς. καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὥς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς συγγενέσι τῆς βουλῆς ἀντιστῆναι δυναμένης: τῶν τε ἐτέρων συμμάχων, οἷς οὐκ ἐξῆν ψῆφον ἐν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων χειροτονίαις φέρειν, ἐδίδου φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τούσδε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συντελοῦντας. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδὲνα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψῆφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶνδε τῶν νόμων χειροτονίαν. Λιβιόν τε Δροῦσον, ἕτερον δήμαρχον, ἔπεισε κωλύσαι τοὺς Γράκχου νόμους, οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς αἰτίας: δέδοται δὲ τῷ κωλύοντι μηδ' ἐπιλέγειν. ἔδωκαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι τὸν δῆμον δώδεκα ἀποικίας: ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἡσθεὶς τῶν Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.

[23] Gracchus made long roads throughout Italy and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies. He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to their blood relations. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

[24] ὁ δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἅμα Φουλβίῳ Φλάκκῳ, κάκείνῳ μεθ' ὑπατεῖαν διὰ τὰδε δημαρχεῖν ἐλομένῳ, διέπλευσεν, ἐψηφισμένης κατὰ δόξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶνδε αὐτῶν οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ἡρημένων, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημούντων ἀναπαύσαιτο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀποικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν διέγραφον, ἔνθα ποτὲ ἦν ἡ Καρχηδονίων, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες, ὅτι Σκιπίων αὐτὴν, ὅτε κατέσκαπτεν,

ἐπηράσατο ἐς αἰὶ μηλόβοτον εἶναι. διέγραφον δ' ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὸν δῆμον ὑπαξόμενοι. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ τὴν πόλιν ἔτι διαγραφόντων, ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς ὄρους Γράκχου τε καὶ Φουλβίου διέρριψαν ἀνασπάσαντες, καὶ τῶν μάντεων τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγουμένων ἀπαίσιον, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ προέγραφεν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ἣ τὸν νόμον ἔμελλε τὸν περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἀποικίας λύσειν: ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φούλβιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦδε ἐξέπιπτον, μεμνημένοι ἐοικότες ἐψεῦσθαι τὴν βουλήν ἔφασκον περὶ τῶν λύκων. οἱ τε θρασύτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκκλησιάσειν ἔμελλον.

[24] Having lost the favor of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. A colony had been voted to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a respite from demagogism. They marked out a town for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with curses to sheep-pasturage forever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favor with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate (Y.R. 633) summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal (B.C. 121) the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

[25] ἤδη δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένου καὶ Φουλβίου τι περὶ τούτων ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορούμενος. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότης ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις βουλευμασι τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν στοὰν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου κατιδὼν δημότης ἀνὴρ Ἀντύλλος ἐν τῇ στοᾷ θύων, ἐμβάλων τὴν χεῖρα, εἴτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτεύων ἢ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαρχεῖς, ἡξίου φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον τε θορυβηθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὡς κατάφωρος ἐνέβλεπεν αὐτῷ δριμύ: καὶ τις τῶν παρόντων, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἐπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγματός πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντύλλον Γράκχου δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν ἦκειν καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τι τῷ Γράκχῳ δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἔργου, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπισπᾶσας διαχρῆται τὸν Ἀντύλλον.

βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὀφθέντος ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπήδων σὺν ὁμοίῳ κακοῦ φόβῳ.

Γράκχος δ' ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν ἐβούλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος: οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένου, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐναγῇ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ὁ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὧν ἐβουλευόντο διὰ τὸ φθᾶσαι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀπολωλεκότες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνήεσαν ἐς αὐτάς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ὥς ἐπὶ δὴ τινι κακῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ ὃς ἐπεδήμει τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὀπίμιος, διέτασσε μὲν τινας ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα ἔφ' συνιέναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

[25] Now the people were assembled, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Disturbed by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, seized him by the hand, either because he had heard something or suspected something, or was moved to speak to him for some other reason, and asked him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the man a piercing look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the very sharp glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favor to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate. Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed. Nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. Gracchus and Flaccus were nonplussed and, having lost the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened home, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum throughout the night as though some calamity were impending. Opimius, one of the consuls, who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to be stationed at the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

[26] τὰδε ἦν τοιάδε. ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Γράκχον καὶ Φλάκκον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ σὺν ὅλοις ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον, ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ τόνδε προλάβοιεν, ἐνδώσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλὴν. διαθεόντες τε τοὺς θεράποντας συνεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, σὺν ὅσοις εἶχον ἄμφ'

αὐτοῦς, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταλαβόντες ἐκρατύνοντο καὶ Κόιντον Φλάκκου παῖδα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεμπον, δεόμενοι διαλλαγῶν τυχεῖν καὶ βιοῦν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα ἤκειν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν, ὃ τι θέλοιεν, ἢ μηκέτι πέμπειν μηδένα. τῶν δ' αὖθις τὸν Κόιντον ἐπιπεμψάντων, τόνδε μὲν Ὀπίμιος ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τὴν προαγόρευσιν, ὡς οὐκέτι πρεσβευτὴν ὄντα, συνελάμβανε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράκχον τοὺς ὥπλισμένους ἐπέπεμπεν.

καὶ Γράκχος μὲν διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὼν ἐς ἄλσος τι μεθ' ἐνὸς θεράποντος ὑπέσχε τῷ θεράποντι τὴν σφαγὴν καταλαμβανόμενος· Φλάκκου δ' ἐς ἐργαστήριον ἀνδρὸς γνωρίμου καταφυγόντος, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες, τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅλον ἐμπρήσειν τὸν στενωπὸν ἠπεύλουν, ὁ δ' ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὤκνησε μηνῦσαι τὸν ἰκέτην, ἐτέρῳ δὲ προσέταξε μηνῦσαι. καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνηρέθη. Γράκχου μὲν δὴ καὶ Φλάκκου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔφερόν τινες Ὀπιμῖω, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὀπίμιος ἰσοβαρὲς χρυσίον ἀντέδωκεν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαξε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας ὁ Ὀπίμιος συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ ἀποπνιγῆναι προσέταξε. Κοῖντω δὲ τῷ Φλάκκου παιδί συνεχώρησεν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεῶν Ὀμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγεῖραι.

[26] When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. They ran through the city offering freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in peace. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, tell what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent an armed force against the Gracchans. Gracchus fled across the river by the Sublician bridge, with one slave, to a grove where he presented his throat to the slave, as he was on the point of being arrested. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them. The people plundered their houses. Opimius arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled. He allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration was performed in behalf of the city for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the

building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

CHAPTER IV

Failure of the Agrarian Law — The Killing of Nonius — Division of Gallic Land — The Sedition of Saturninus — Banishment of Metellus — Murder of Memmius — Punishment of Saturninus — Reign of Terror

[27] καὶ ἡ στάσις ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ἐς τὰδε ἔληγε: νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐκυρώθη τὴν γῆν, ὑπὲρ ἧς διεφέροντο, ἐξεῖναι πιπράσκειν τοῖς ἔχουσιν: ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐκ Γράκχου τοῦ προτέρου καὶ τόδε. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλούσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἑωνοῦντο, ἢ ταῖσδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν ἐβιάζοντο. καὶ περιῆν ἐς χεῖρον ἔτι τοῖς πένησι, μέχρι Σπούριος Θόριος δημαρχῶν εἰσηγήσατο νόμον, τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι καὶ τὰδε τὰ χρήματα χωρεῖν ἐς διανομάς. ὅπερ ἦν μὲν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὄφελος δ' οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν. ἅπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου παραλυθέντος, ἀρίστου καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτου, εἰ ἐδύνατοπραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον διέλυσε δῆμαρχος ἕτερος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀθρόως ἀπάντων ἐξεπεπτώκει. ὅθεν ἐσπάνιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοῦ πολιτῶν τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ διανομῶν καὶ νομῶν, πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργίᾳ γεγονότες.

[27] So the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. Presently the rich bought the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Borius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed. This distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not serve to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus (most excellent and useful if it could have been carried out) was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the piebeians lost everything. Whence resulted a still further decline in the numbers of both citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, the laws themselves fell into abeyance by reason of the slackness of the judicial proceedings.

[28] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκιπίων ὕπατος καθεῖλε τὸ θέατρον, οὗ Λεύκιος Κάσιος ἦρκετο καὶ ἤδη πού τέλος ἐλάμβανεν, ὥς καὶ τότε στάσεων ἄρξον ἐτέρων ἢ οὐ χρήσιμον ὅλως Ἑλληνικαῖς ἡδυπαθείαις Ῥωμαίους ἐθίζεσθαι. τιμητῆς δὲ Κόιντος Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Γλαυκίαν τε βουλευόντα καὶ

Ἀπουλήιον Σατορνῖνον δεδημαρχηκότα ἤδη τῆς ἀξιώσεως παρέλυνεν, αἰσχροῶς βιοῦντας, οὐ μὴν ἐδυνήθη: ὁ γάρ οἱ συνάρχων οὐ συνέθετο. μικρὸν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ὡς ἀμννούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον ἐς ἑτέραν παρήγγελλε δημαρχίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε τῶν δημάρχων τῆς χειροτονίας προεστῶτα. Νώνιος μὲν οὖν, ἐπιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, ἔς τε τὸν Ἀπουλήιον παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐξονειδίζων δῆμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη. δείσαντες δ' ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος, μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀμύναιτο, ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπίνοντι ἐπιτέμπουσι σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ ἔς τι πανδοχεῖον συμφυγόντα κατεκέντησαν. τοῦ δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος οἱ περὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, οὐπω τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος, ἅμ' ἑφ' χειροτονοῦσι δῆμαρχον τὸν Ἀπουλήιον.

καὶ τὸ μὲν Νωνίου πάθος ὧδε ἐσιγήθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν Ἀπουληίου, δεδιότων αὐτὸν ἔτι ἐξελέγγειν:

[28] About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also the source of new seditions or because he thought it not altogether desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Cæcelius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his colleague (Y.R. 653) would not agree to it. Accordingly Saturninus, a (B.C. 101) little later, in order to have revenge on Metellus, became a candidate for the tribuneship again, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of prætor and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Saturninus and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. As they feared lest he should punish them as tribune, they made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into a certain inn, and stabbed him. As this murder had a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and declared Saturninus elected tribune. In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call Saturninus to account because he was a tribune.

(Y.R. 654)

[29] ἐξηλάθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γάιον Μάριον ἔκτην ἄρχοντα ὑπατείας, ἐχθρὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ συνέπραξαν ὧδε ἅπαντες ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀπουλήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσῃν ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κίμβροι γένος Κελτῶν κατειλήφεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἐναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δέ, εἰ κυρώσειε τὸν νόμον ὁ δῆμος, τὴν βουλὴν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἢ τὸν οὐκ ὁμόσαντα μήτε βουλεύειν καὶ ὀφλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τάλαντα εἴκοσιν, ὑπονοοῦντες οὕτως ἄλλους

τε τῶν δυσχεραινόντων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ Μέτελλον ὑπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἐνδῶσοντα ἐς τὸν ὄρκον. ὁ μὲν δὴ νόμος ὧδε εἶχεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ προυτίθει καὶ περιέπεμπε τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐθάρρουν ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίῳ. πλεονεκτούντων δ', ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσχέραινε.

[29] Metellus was banished by them at the instigation of Gaius Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was the secret enemy of Metellus. Thus they all helped each other. Saturninus brought forward a law to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe lately driven out (B.C. 100) by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that if the people should enact it the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Saturninus appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to summon from the country districts those in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it.

[30] καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ γενομένης, ὅσοι μὲν ἐκώλυον τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς νόμους, ὑβρίζοντες πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπουλήιου κατεπῆδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν. βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον οἱ πολιτικοὶ τὰ τε ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἀρπάσαντες τοὺς ἀγροίκους διέστησαν. οἱ δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπουλήιου συγκαλούμενοι μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οἶδε τοῖς ἀστικοῖς ἐπήεσαν καὶ βιασάμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ' αὐτίκα Μάριος οἷα ὑπατος τῇ βουλῇ προυτίθει σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου: καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον εἰδὼς στερρόν τε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ' ὃ τι φρονήσειεν ἢ εἰπεῖν φθάσειεν, ἐτίθει πρῶτος ἐς μέσον τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετ' ἐνέδρας καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐποτε τὸν ὄρκον ἐκὼν τόνδε αὐτὸς ὁμόσει. συναποφνημαμένου δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεσάντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν βουλήν. εἴτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἣ τῷ ὄρκῳ τελευταία κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἦν, ἀμφὶ δεκάτην ὥραν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν συναγαγὼν ἔφη τὸν δῆμον ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τὸν νόμον δεδιέναι, μηχανὴν δ' ὀρᾶν καὶ σόφισμα τοιόνδε: ὁμόσειν γάρ, ἢ νόμος ἐστί, τῷδε πεισθῆσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὕτω διασκεδᾶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐνηδρευμένους, ὕστερον δ' οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐπιδείξειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστί νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὀνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[30] Sedition broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Saturninus and

driven away from the rostra. The city folks exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Saturninus persisted nevertheless, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Saturninus; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law. When this was done Marius, in his capacity as consul, forthwith proposed to the Senate that they consider concerning taking the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of fixed opinion and firm in whatever he might believe or commit himself to, he gave his own opinion publicly, but deceitfully, saying that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had praised them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saying that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick — to swear that they would obey the law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this thing, which had been enacted by violence and in spite of thunder, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not a law.

[31] ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας, πάντων ἔτι σιωπώντων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δεδαπανημένῳ, οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεών, οὗ τοῖς ταμίαις ἐχρῆν ὀμνύναι, καὶ ᾤμνυε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος. ᾤμνυον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δεδῶς ἕκαστος· Μέτελλος δ' οὐκ ᾤμοσε μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως διέμεινεν ἀφόβως. καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐπιτέμνων τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐξεῖλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ῥυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐς τοὺς ἀγροίκους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξελαθεῖ. ψήφισμά τε φυγῆς ἐπέγραφον αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρῶσαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλῳ κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης· ἔς τε τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡμέραν προύγραφον. δεινῆς δὲ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἀγανακτήσεως οὔσης καὶ παραπεμπόντων Μέτελλον αἰεὶ σὺν ξιφιδίοις, ὁ Μέτελλος αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔφη δι' ἑαυτὸν ἑάσειν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἐπιγενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐκύρου, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι Μάριος ἐπεκήρυττεν.

[31] After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost and no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quæstors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his

own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Saturninus proceeded against him at once on the next day. He sent an officer for him and dragged him out of the senate-house. As the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Saturninus hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They proposed a decree of banishment against him and directed the consuls to interdict fire and water and shelter to him, and appointed a day for the ratification of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Saturninus got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation that it was a part of the law.

[32] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Μέτελλος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, ἔφευγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον ἐδημάρχει. καὶ τις αὐτῷ συνῆρχε δραπέτης εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ἑαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφων. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν πόθῳ Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δὲ ὑπάτων χειροτονίας, Μάρκος μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀναμφιλόγως ἤρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὅδε καὶ Μέμμιος μετήεσαν. Μεμμίου δ' ὄντος ἐπιδοξοτέρου παρὰ πολὺ, δέισας ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐπιτέμπουσί τινας αὐτῷ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, οἱ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ὁρώντων συνέκοψαν.

καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθεῖσα διελύετο οὔτε νόμων οὔτε δικαστηρίων οὔτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἔτι ὑποῦσης· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν μετ' ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ὥς κτενοῦντες τὸν Ἀπουλῆιον. ὁ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀλίσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν μετὰ Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαῖου Σαυφηίου ταμίου τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβε. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ψηφισαμένης ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ὥπλιζέ τινας σὺν ὄκνῳ· καὶ βραδύνοντος ἕτεροι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπιρρέον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν νεῶν, ὑπὸ δίψης ἀπολλύμενος, ἤξιον, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλῆιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσειν Μάριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἶδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὁ Σαυφήιος. Μάριος δ', αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν ὥς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίσαντες τὸν κέραμον ἐξέλυον τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλῆιον ἔβαλλον, ἕως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι περικειμένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[32] In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Saturninus was made tribune a third time and he had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus. The multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent. The

aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Saturninus were fearful of the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on. They fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all. The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Saturninus, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quæstor, seized the Capitol. The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Saturninus, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext. They tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quæstor, a tribune, and a prætor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

[33] πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐν τῇ στάσει διέφθαρτο καὶ δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὁ τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρώτην δημαρχῶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἔτι ὠφελούσης οὔτε ἐλευθερίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας οὔτε νόμων οὔτε ἀξιώσεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἕς τε κώλυσιν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικουρήσιν τῶν δημοτῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὔσα, τοιάδε ὕβριζε καὶ τοιάδε ἔπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἢ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλον, Πούπλιος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ᾧ περ τοῦ δήμου καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος ἐνεκλάωθη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὄψεως Εὐσεβῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τᾷδε ἐς δίκην Γάιος Κανουλήιος δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑπομείνας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον· οὕτως αἰεὶ τι μύσος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίγνετο· Μετέλλω δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καὶ φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιουμένῳ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.

τρίτον μὲν δὴ τότε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἦν τὸ Ἀπουλήιου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε εἰργαστοὶ Ῥωμαῖους:

[33] Very many others were swept out of existence in this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on that first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the tribunician office, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers

and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now committed such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Saturninus was destroyed the Senate and people clamored for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this spectacle the son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. The people did not wait (Y.R. 655) for the argument, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every (B.C. 99) year some new deed of abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates. Such was the third civil strife (that of Saturninus) which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such results it brought to the Romans.

CHAPTER V

Origin of the Social War — Measures of Livius Drusus — Murder of Drusus — Continued Seditions — Revolt of the Italians — The Social War — Leaders on Either Side — Various Battles — The Consul Rutilius killed

[34] οὕτω δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίγνεται ἔθνων ἀνά τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως, καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθὼν, καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολὺ. λήγων δὲ καὶ ὁδε στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασιάρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν οὐ νόμων εἰσηγήσεσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ δημοκοπίαις, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόοις στρατεύμασι κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἕκ τε τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς πολὺ χεῖρονα στάσιν ἐτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἤρξατο δὲ ὧδε.

Φούλβιος Φλάκκος ὑπατεύων μάλιστα δὴ πρῶτος ὁδε ἐς τὸ φανερώτατον ἠρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ὡς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένων. εἰσηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῇ καρτερῶς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τινὰ στρατείαν ἐξεπέμφθη διὰ τόδε. ἐν ἧ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ὁ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἴλετο μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιάδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κακείνῳ. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς μοι προεΐρηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἠρέθιστο ἡ Ἰταλία: οὔτε γὰρ ἤξιον ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει οὔτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε παθεῖν.

[34] While they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew to great proportions rapidly, and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by playing the demagogue, but by employing whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in a Roman sedition and resulted in another one much worse.

(Y.R. 629) It began in this way. Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship (B.C. 125) first openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the hegemony instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in the course of which his consulship expired, but he obtained the tribuneship after that and managed to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose coöperation he brought forward other measures in favor of the Italians. When they were both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to

be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should suffer such calamities while working for their political advantage.

(Y.R. 663)

[35] ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίβιος Δροῦσος δημαρχῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ γένους, δεηθεῖσι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις νόμον αὐθις ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπέσχετο· τούτου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν ὥς ἐνὶ τῷδε αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο προθεραπεύων ὑπήγετο ἀποικίαις πολλαῖς ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ, γεγονυῖαις δὲ οὐπω. τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανενεγκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ἐς ἑκατέρους ᾤδε. τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐτέρους τοσοῦσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια· εὐθύνας τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγραφεν, ἐγκλήματος ἴσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς δωροδοκίας ἀνέδην ἐπιπολαζούσης.

ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰδε πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐπενόει, περιῆλθε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῷ. ἢ τε γὰρ βουλὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀθρόως αὐτῇ τοσοῦσδε προσκαταλεγεῖν καὶ ἐξ ἱππέων ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα μεταβῆναι, οὐκ ἀδόκητον ἡγουμένη καὶ βουλευτὰς γενομένους κατὰ σφᾶς ἔτι δυνατότερον τοῖς προτέροις βουλευταῖς στασιάζειν· οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ὑπώπτευν, ὅτι τῇδε τῇ θεραπείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν μόνην τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων περιφέροιτο, γευσάμενοί τε κερδῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἀλύπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερον. τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἀξιώτεροι δοκοῦσιν ἐς τοὺς τριακοσίους καταλεγεῖν· καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς φθόνος ἐς τοὺς κρείττους ἐσῆι· ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ἡγανάκτουν ἀναφουμένου τοῦ τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκλήματος, ὃ τέως ἡγοῦντο καρτερῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόρριζον ἐσβέσθαι.

[35] After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most (B.C. 91) illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They desired this especially because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavored to bring to an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice on both of them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number should be added to their enrolment from the knights, to be chosen according to merit, and that the law courts should be made up from all

of these hereafter. He provided in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint. This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which ones seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all were they angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned.

[36] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή, καίπερ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δρούσου μῖσος συνεφρόνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις. οἱ Ἰταλιῶται δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτα ἐτέχναζε, καὶ οἶδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὥς τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἣν ἀνέμητον οὔσαν ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ βίας, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐγεώργουν, αὐτίκα σφῶν ἀφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ ταῦτ' ἀπειρῶντες τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις καί, ὥς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου, λόγῳ δ' ἐς κατηγορίαν, τοῦ νόμου φανερώς κατεβῶν καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὧν ὁ Δροῦσος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προϊὼν, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπων ἐξεβόησεν ἄφνω πεπληῆσθαι καὶ λέγων ἔτι κατέπεσεν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον ἐμπεπηγμένον.

[36] Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. The Italians, in whose interest chiefly Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians, and when they were summoned to the city, as it was thought, by the consuls, ostensibly for the purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually, as is believed, for the purpose of killing him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out

frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's knife was found thrust into his hip.

[37] οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Δροῦσος ἀνήρητο δημαρχῶν. καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπίβασιν ἐς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Οὐράιον δῆμαρχον ἔπεισαν εἰσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ τῶν τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ φανερώς ἢ κρύφα βοηθούντων, ἐλπίσαντες τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἅπαντας αὐτίκα εἰς ἔγκλημα ἐπίφθονον ὑπάξεσθαι καὶ δικάσειν μὲν αὐτοί, γενομένων δ' ἐκείνων ἐκποδὼν δυνατότερον ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρξειν. τὸν μὲν δὴ νόμον ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων μὴ τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς σὺν ξιφιδίοις γυμνοῖς ἐκύρωσαν: ὥς δ' ἐκεκύρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπεγράφοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν οὐδ' ὑπακούσας ἐκὼν ἔφευγεν ὥς οὐκ ἐκδώσων ἑαυτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ Κόττας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ παρήλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεπολίτετο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φανερώς, ἐξῆι τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅδε πρὸ τῆς ψήφου: Μούμμιος δ', ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλὼν, αἰσχυρῶς ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱπέων ὑποσχομένων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσειν κατεκρίθη φεύγειν καὶ ἐν Δήλῳ διεβίωσεν.

[37] Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship. They hoped to bring all the leaders under malicious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when their enemies were out of the way they should be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court, made a brilliant defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the one who had conquered Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos.

[38] ἐπιπολάζοντος δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὃ τε δῆμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἱταλοὶ τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν τούτων προφάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν σφίσιν ἔτι ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι ὀρῶντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστήναι Ῥωμαίων ἀντικρὺς καὶ πολεμεῖν

αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε καὶ ὁμηρα διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις.

ὦν ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπήσθοντο Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἅσται κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις: ὥς δ' ἐπύθοντο, περιέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἐκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γιγόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καὶ τις ἐκ τούτων μενιάκιον ὁμηρον ἰδὼν ἐξ Ἀσκλου πόλεως ἐς ἑτέραν ἀγόμενον ἐμήνυσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουιλίῳ. ἦσαν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρχοντες ἀνθύπατοι κατὰ μέρη: ὁ καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ἄρα μιμούμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμεινε ἐς βραχύ. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος θερμότερον ἐσδραμὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκλον καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῖς Ἀσκληαίοις χαλεπῶν ἀπειλῶν ἀνηρέθη ὥς ὑπὸ ἤδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανηρέθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήιος, ὃς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ: καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν. πεσόντων δὲ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τις ἦν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι πάντας οἱ Ἀσκληαῖοι συνεκέντουν ἐπιτρέχοντες καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαζον.

[38] As this wickedness prevailed more and more against the best citizens, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the killing of Drusus and of the reason alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer bearable that those who were laboring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with all their might. They sent envoys to each other secretly, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith. The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being preoccupied by the judicial proceedings and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men around to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the proconsul in those parts. (It appears that there were proconsuls at that time governing the various parts of Italy; Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward when he held the supreme power, but it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they put him to death, supposing that the plot was discovered. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods.

(Y.R. 664)

[39] ἐκραγείσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἅπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς Ἀσκληαίοις ἔθνη γείτονα

ἦν, συνεξέφαινε τὴν παρασκευὴν, Μάρσοι τε καὶ Παίλιγνοι καὶ Οὐηστῖνοι καὶ Μαρρουκῖνοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πικεντῖνοι καὶ Φρεντανοὶ καὶ Ἱρπῖνοι καὶ Πομπηϊανοὶ καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ Ἰάπυγες, Λευκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαννῖται, χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενόμενα, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀπὸ Λίριος ποταμοῦ, ὃν νῦν μοι δοκοῦσι Λίτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου πεξεύοντι καὶ περιπλέοντι. πέμψασι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις αἰτιωμένους, ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεργασάμενοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων πολιτείας, ἡ βουλὴ μάλα καρτερῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ μεταγινώσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτήν, ἄλλως δὲ μή. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογνόντες ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ κοινὸς ἦν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἕτερος ἐς δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπὸ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι συμμαχούντων σφίσιν ἔθνῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

[39] When the revolt broke out all the neighboring peoples showed their preparedness at the same time, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeiians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and (B.C. 90) the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Liternus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and sea-coast. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had coöperated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their preparations for war. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who were still in alliance with them.

[40] ἡγοῦντο δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὕπατοι Σέξστος τε Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος Ῥουτίλιος Λοῦπος· ἄμφω γὰρ ὥς ἐς μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐξήεσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ τεῖχη διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὥς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργῳ. τό τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερές ἐνθυμούμενοι ὑποστρατήγους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν Ῥουτιλίῳ Γναίῳ τε Πομπήϊον, τὸν πατέρα Πομπήϊου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κόιντον Καίπωνα καὶ Γάιον Περπένναν καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ δὲ Σέξστῳ Καίσαρι Πούπλιον Λέντλον, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον καὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. τοσοῖδε μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις διελόμενοι τὴν χώραν ὑπεστρατήγουν. καὶ πάντας ἐπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὕπατοι· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἑτέρους ὥς ἐς μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἔπεμπον ἐκάστοτε. Ἰταλοῖς δ' ἦσαν μὲν στρατηγοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἕτεροι, κοινὸι δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος

Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Ἐγνάτιος καὶ Κόιντος Ποπαῖδιος καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Λαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐῖδακίλιος καὶ Ἔριος Ἀσίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων, οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἀντεκαθέζοντο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν, πολλὰ δ' ἔπαθον. ὧν ἐκατέρων, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἦν τοιάδε.

[40] The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus Julius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius Lupus, for in this great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home or very near by. When the war was found to be complicated and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnæus Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, Quintus Cæpio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Cæsar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Cæsar himself, Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually, knowing that it was a great conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompædus, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Judacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Cato. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and suffered many disasters. The most memorable events of each class I shall here summarize.

[41] Οὐέττιος μὲν Σκάτων Σέξστον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενός τε καὶ δισχιλίους κτείνας ἐπὶ Αἰσερνίαν ἤλασε ῥωμαΐζουσιν: καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν συντάττοντες, Λεύκιός τε Σκιπίων καὶ Λεύκιος Ἀκίλιος θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ παρεστήσαντο οἱ πολέμοι. Μάριος δὲ Ἐγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἐλὼν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔκτεινε δύο Ῥωμαίων σπεῖρας ἐν αὐτῇ. Πρησενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμενον ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς τετρακισχίλους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβε: ἐφ' ὧν Περπένναν Ῥουτίλιος ὑπατος παρέλυσεν τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαῖῳ Μαρίῳ προσέθηκεν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνεῖλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς Γρούμεντον πόλιν συνεδίωξε.

[41] Vettius Cato defeated Sextus Julius, killed 2000 of his men, and marched against Æsernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who were in command here, escaped in the disguise of slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presenteius defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius

deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

[42] Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νῶλάν τε εἶλεν ἐκ προδοσίας καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις, δισχιλίους οὖσιν, ἐκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθοῖντο, στρατεύσειν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ Πάπιος μεταθεμένους ἐστράτευσεν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ λιμῷ πρὸς τοῦ Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Σταβίας εἶλε καὶ Μινέρουιον καὶ Σάλερνον, ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος ἦν· καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευσεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα κατέπρησεν, αἱ πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσετίθεντο στρατιάν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππείας χιλίους· μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πάπιος Ἀχέρραις παρεκάθητο. Σέξστου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλατῶν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ Νομάδας Μαυρουσίους ἱππείας καὶ πεζοὺς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας, ὁ Πάπιος Ὀξύνταν, υἱὸν Ἰογόρθου τοῦ Νομάδων ποτὲ βασιλέως, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Οὐενουσία φυλαττόμενον, ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Οὐενουσίας καὶ περιθείς αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυθαμινὰ τοῖς Νομάσι τοῖς σὺν Καίσαρι. πολλῶν δ' ὥς πρὸς ἴδιον βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς τῶν Νομάδων ὥς ὑπόπτους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε, Πασίου δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῷ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ μέρος ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος διασπῶντος, τοὺς ἱππείας ἐκπέμψας κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἔκτεινε τοῦ Παπίου περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξ Ἀχερρῶν ἀνεξεύγνυνεν, Οὐίδακιλίῳ δ' ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσετίθεντο Κανύσιοι καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ ἕτεραι πόλεις πολλάί. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπειθοῦσας ἐξεπολιόρκει, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευσεν.

[42] Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but as their officers refused the proposal the latter were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. In conjunction with Stabias he captured Minturnæ, and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. Then he plundered the entire country around Nuceria. The towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerræ. Sextus Cæsar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and certain Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced toward Acerræ. Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Cæsar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Cæsar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. Papius attacked him rashly, and had already made a breach in his fortified camp when Cæsar debouched with his horse through

the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Cæsar withdrew from Acerræ. Canusia and Venusia and many other towns in Apulia sided with Judacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army.

[43] Ρουτίλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ οὐ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπήγνυντο: καὶ Ουέτιος Σκάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε παρὰ τὴν Μαρίου μάλιστα γέφυραν ἔλαθέ τε νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν Ῥουτίλιου γέφυραν λόχους ἐν φάραγγιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἅμα δ' ἔφ' τὸν Ῥουτίλιον διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν: ὃ τε Ῥουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπέθανε. καὶ Μάριος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ὦν γεφύρας τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα σώματων εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὥσατο καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα περάσας τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Σκάτωνος ὑπ' ὀλίγων φυλαττόμενον εἶλεν, ὥστε τὸν Σκάτωνα νυκτερεῦσαι τε, ἐνθαπερ ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγορᾶς ἀναζευῆσαι περὶ τὴν ἑω. Ῥουτίλιου δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ ταφὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐνεχθέντων ἢ τε ὄψις ἀηδὴς ἢ ὑπάτου καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων καὶ πολὺήμερον ἐπὶ τῷδε πένθος ἡγέρθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκρινεν, ἐνθαπερ ἂν θάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατειῶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πυθόμενοι περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

[43] The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the river Liris at no great distance from each other. Vettius Cato pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines around the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he pushed away those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp of Cato, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Cato was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

CHAPTER VI

Defeat and Death of Q. Cæpio — Defeat of Sextus Cæsar — Sulla defeats the Marsians — Death of Judacilius — The Etruscans and Umbrians admitted to Citizenship — Victories won by Sulla — Fighting in Apulia — End of the Social War — Uprising against Usury — A Prætor murdered

[44] Ρουτιλῖω μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξστον Καῖσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐς Ῥώμην: τῆς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γαίον τε Μάριον καὶ Κόιντον Καίπιωνα. τούτῳ τῷ Καίπιωνι Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἶά τις αὐτόμολος προσέφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδούς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δοῦλα, καθάπερ υἱεῖς, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσι περιπορφύροις: ἐς δὲ πίστιν ἔφερε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολύβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ περιβεβλημένας: καὶ ἐδεῖτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ τὸν Καίπιωνα ἐπεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἔτι ἄρχοντος. Καίπιων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος εἶπετο, Ποπαίδιος δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος ἀνέδραμεν ἔς τινα λόφον ὡς κατοψόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σημεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπῆρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐκφανέντες αὐτόν τε Καίπιωνα καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατέκοψαν: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς Καίπιωνος ἡ σύγκλητος Μαρῖον προσέευνξεν.

[44] There was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Cæsar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate appointed G. Marius and Q. Cæpio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Pompædus, fled as a pretended deserter to this Cæpio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Cæpio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader. Cæpio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where an ambush had been laid, Pompædus ran up to the top of a hill as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Cæpio and most of his force in pieces. The Senate joined the rest of Cæpio's army to that of Marius.

[45] Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακισχιλίων διεξιὼν τινα φάραγγα καὶ κρημνούς, ἄφνω προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρῖου Ἐγκατίου, ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον ἐπὶ τινα ποταμόν, οὗ μία γέφυρα ἦν: καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τὰ ὄπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανὸν καταφυγὼν ὥπλιζεν, οὓς ἔτι εἶχεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ἐτέρου δὲ πλήθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπελθόντος, ἐπὶ Ἀχέρρας

ἐτι πολιορκουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παπίου μετήλει.

καὶ οἷδε μὲν ἀλλήλαις ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδέτέρῳ διὰ φόβον:

[45] While Sextus Cæsar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and defeated him in it. He retreated on a litter, as he was sick, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors. He escaped to Teanum with difficulty and there he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reënforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerræ, which was still besieged by Papius, but when their camps were pitched opposite each other neither of them dared to attack the other.

[46] Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπιθεμένους σφίσι συντόνως ἐδίωκον, μέχρι θριγκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτούς: καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερέβαινον, Μαρίῳ δὲ καὶ Σύλλᾳ διώκειν ὑπὲρ τούτους οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δὲ Σύλλας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶνδε τῶν ἀμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Μάρσων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι περὶ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων, ὅπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολὺ πλείονα.

Μάρσοι μὲν δὴ δίκην θηρίων, τῷ πταίσματι προσαγανακτοῦντες, αὐθις ὠπλίζοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι, προεπιχειρεῖν μὴ θαρροῦσι μηδὲ ἄρχειν μάχης: ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικώτατον, καὶ φασὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνῳ, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἄνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

[46] Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans. The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but did not dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

[47] περὶ δὲ τὸ Φάλερνον ὄρος Γναῖον Πομπήιον Οὐϊδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος

Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέττιος, ἐς ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντες, ἐτρέποντο καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἕτερα ὄχοντο, Λαφρήνιος δὲ παρεκάθητο Πομπήϊω ἐς τὸ Φίρμον κατακεκλεισμένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν ὀπλίζων τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει, προσελθόντος δὲ ἐτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον περιέπεμπεν ὀπίσω τοῦ Λαφρηνίου γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπῆει. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ πονουμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ πολέμιοι κατιδόντες ἐς Ἄσκλον ἔφευγον, ἀκόσμως ἅμα καὶ ἀστρατηγῆτως: Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον ἐπελθὼν ἐπολιόρκει.

[47] Judacilius and T. Lafrenius and P. Ventidius united their forces near Mount Falerinus and defeated Gnæus Pompeius and pursued him to the city of Firmum. Then they went different ways. Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement. Having learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius around to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were having a doubtful fight when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

[48] πατρις δ' ἦν Οὐίδακίλιου τὸ Ἄσκλον, καὶ δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠπείγετο, σπείρας ἄγων ὀκτώ. προέμψας τε τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἐκέλευεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἴδωσι πόρρωθεν ἐπίνοντα, ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι: ἀλλὰ Ἀσκλαῖοι μὲν ἀπώκνησαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐίδακίλιος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσδραμὼν μεθ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη, ὠνειδίσε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν, οὐκ ἐλπίζων δ' ἔτι τὴν πόλιν περιέσεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς, οἱ τέως αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ τότε διὰ φθόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἃ παρήγγελλεν ἀπέτρεψαν, ἔκτεινε πάντας: ἐν δὲ ἱερῷ πυρὰν νήσας καὶ κλίνην ἐπιθείς ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ, παρεωχρήθη σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ πότου φάρμακόν τε προσηνέγκατο καὶ κατακλίνας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς φίλοις ἄσαι τὸ πῦρ: καὶ Οὐίδακίλιος μὲν ὧδε φιλοτιμηθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν κατελύθη, Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνθύπατος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρεθεὶς ἐπέδραμεν ἀνδράσι δισμυρίοις μεταστρατοπεδεύουσί ποι καὶ ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους ὅπλα τε πολὺ πλείονων ἔλαβε. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον οὔσης πολιορκίας, ἀποθνήσκων ἐκ νόσου ἀντιστράτηγον ἀπέφηνε Γάιον Βαίβιον.

[48] Asculum was the native town of Judacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless

Judacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all of his enemies, who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and had a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Judacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country. Sextus Cæsar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy at some place while they were changing camping-places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of a disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Bæbius his successor.

[49] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον· αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη γειτονέοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἠρεθίζοντο. δεύσασα οὖν ἡ βουλὴ, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ἦ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ δι' ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατείαν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἔτι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα μόνον οὐ πάντες ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ τότε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῇδε τῇ χάριτι ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνοὺς εὐνουστέροις ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦντας ἐλπίδι τινὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραοτέροις ἐποίησεν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῦσδε τοὺς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αἱ τότε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες ὄντες ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις ἐπικρατοῖεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπεφηναν ἐτέρας, ἐν αἷς ἐχειροτόνουν ἔσχατοι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ ψῆφος ἀχρεῖος ἦν, ὅτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα προτέρων τε καλουμένων καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς. ὅπερ ἡ λαθὼν αὐτίκα ἢ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγινωσθὲν ἐτέρας στάσεως ἤρξεν.

[49] While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighboring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by enemies for want of guards, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumæ to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favor the Senate made the faithful more faithful,

confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

(Y.R. 665)

[50] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον οὐ̐πω τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετάνοιαν ἐγνώκοτες μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ὁδὸν ἀτριβῇ καὶ μακρὰν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὕπατος ὢν ἤδη, διέφθειρεν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα διὰ ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιπόνου διατρεχόντων οἱ ἡμίσεις βαλανεφαγοῦντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπηίου, Μάρσοις πολεμῶν ἀνῆρέθη. Λεύκιος δὲ Κλοέντιος Σύλλα περὶ τὰ Πομπαῖα ὄρη στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευε. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας ἀναμείνας ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοεντίῳ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἠττώμενος ἔφευγε, προσλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν πορρωτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν αὐθις ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ συνιόντων τῶν στρατῶν Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμὼν προυκαλεῖτό τινα Ῥωμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὥς δ' αὐτὸν ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἀνὴρ βραχὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτίκα ἔφευγον. παραλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐδ' ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλοεντίου παρέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ τῶν Νωλαίων αὐτοὺς μιᾷ πύλῃ δεχομένων, ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι σφίσι συνεσπέσοιεν, ἑτέρους ἔκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ σὺν τοῖσδε Κλοέντιος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσε.

[50] The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnæus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter, living on acorns; and half of them perished. The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompeian mountains Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him, Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his (B.C. 89) own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reënforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic

reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and challenged any Roman to single combat. A Mauritanian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-stricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled, in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting bravely.

[51] Σύλλας δ' ἐς ἔθνος ἕτερον, Ἱρπίνους, μετεστρατοπέδευε καὶ προσέβαλεν Αἰκουλάνῳ. οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὺς προσδοκῶντες αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καιρὸν ἐς σκέψιν ἤτουν. ὁ δ' αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεχνάσματος ὥραν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε κὰν τῆδε ξυλίνῳ ὄντι τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ὥραν ὑφῆπτεν. οἱ δὲ δέισαντες τὴν πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαζεν ὥς οὐκ εὐνοία προσεληθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἱρπίνων ἔθνος ἅπαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας, οὐχ ἢ Μοτίλος, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, τὰς παρόδους ἐφύλαττεν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ἀδόκητον ἐκ περιόδου. προσπεσὼν δ' ἄφνω πολλοὺς τε ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων σποράδην διαφυγόντων ὁ μὲν Μοτίλος τραυματίας ἐς Αἰσερνίαν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξελὼν ἐς Βουάνον παρῆλθεν, ἢ τὸ κοινοβούλιον ἦν τῶν ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς δ' ἄκρας τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλλας ἐκέλευε καταλαβεῖν, ἢν τινα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖεν ἄκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου καὶ μαχόμενος ὥραις τρισὶ καρτερῶς εἴλε τὴν πόλιν.

καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα Σύλλα: χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος ὁ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων,

[51] Then Sulla moved against the Hirpini and attacked the town of Æculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but by necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Æsernia. Sulla

destroyed his camp and moved against Bovianum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three towers. While the inhabitants were looking at Sulla from one of these he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the others they could, and to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took (B.C. 90) the city. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to solicit the consulship.

[52] Γναῖος δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρρουκίους καὶ Οὐηστίλους, καὶ Γάιος Κοσκώνιος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν Σαλαπίαν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ Κανύσιον περικαθήμενος Σαυνίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀντεμάχετο ἐγκρατῶς, μέχρι φόνος πολὺς ἐκατέρων ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος ἐλαττούμενος ἐς Κάννας ὑπεχώρει. Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμοῦ διείργοντος, ἐκέλευεν ἢ περᾶν ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐς μάχην ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἵνα περάσειεν. ὁ δ' ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίῳ προσπεσὼν μάχῃ τε κρείττων ἐγένετο καὶ φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα αὐτοῦ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ἐς Κανύσιον. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Λαριναίων καὶ Οὐενουσίων καὶ Ἀσκλαίων γῆν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐς Ποιδίκλους ἐσέβαλε καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος παρέλαβε.

[52] Gnæus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman prætor, advanced against and burned Salapia. He received the surrender of Cannæ and laid siege to Canusium. He had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief. After great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannæ. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was flying toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Pædiculi, and within two days received their surrender.

(Y.R. 666)

[53] Καικίλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβαλὼν ἐκράτει καὶ ὅδε μάχῃ τῶν Ἰαπύγων. καὶ Ποπαίδιος, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστώτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσεν: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικίλιον διέφυγον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δὴ μάλιστα μέχρι τῶνδε, ἕως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρὶς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν τότε: δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἶδε τυχεῖν, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ὕστερον. ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλάς ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἕκαστοι κατελέγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις

ἀναμειγμένοι ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, πλέονες ὄντες.

[53] Cæcilius Metellus, his successor in the prætorship (B.C. 88) attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Pompædus, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life. The survivors joined Metellus separately. Such was the course of events throughout Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far and until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except the Lucanians and the Samnites. These also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. They were each enrolled in tribes of their own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

(Y.R. 665)

[54] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ οἱ χρησται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανεῖζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφῆναι γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες, τὸ δανεῖζειν ὡς κατηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιόν, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὡς ἀπατηλὸν τε καὶ φιλοψευδές. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τοὺς τόκους βεβαιοῦντος, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἤτουν, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεων ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπηπείλουν.

ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Ἀσελλίων, ᾧ ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἐπεὶ διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐδίδου κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οἱ δανεῖσται δὲ χαλεπήναντες, ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὄντα ἀνεκαίριζε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ᾧδε· ὁ μὲν ἔθυε τοῖς Διοσκοούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσία περιστάντος· ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἵετο δρόμῳ. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ καταφυγόντα ἔς τι πανδοχεῖον ἔσφαξαν. πολλοὶ τε τῶν διωκόντων ἐς τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καταφυγεῖν ἐσέδραμον, ἔνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. οὕτω μὲν καὶ Ἀσελλίων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ σπένδων καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐν θυσίᾳ περικείμενος ἀμφὶ δευτέραν ὥραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση παρὰ ἱεροῖς. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκήρυσσεν, εἴ τίς τι περὶ τὸν Ἀσελλίωνος φόνον ἐλέγξειεν, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, δούλῳ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότε δὲ ἄδειαν· οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν οὐδεὶς, τῶν δανειστῶν περικαλυψάντων.

[54] About the same time dissensions arose in the city between debtors and creditors, since the latter exacted the money due them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and

leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending itself as having a tendency (B.C. 89) to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off the payment by causing war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to visit the legal penalty on the interest-takers. The prætor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the conflict of law and custom before the judges. The lenders, exasperated that the old law should be revived, killed the prætor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him. He dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a certain tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as prætor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day, in the midst of the forum, by the side of the sacrificial offerings. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free person, and freedom to any slave, and impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

CHAPTER VII

The Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla — The Command against Mithridates — Sulla marches against the City — Captures it — Flight of the Marians — Changes introduced by Sulla — Rome under Martial Law — Narrow Escape of Marius — He passes over to Africa — Killing of Quintus Pompeius

[55] τάδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἔτι ἦσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασίαρχοι πολέμου νόμῳ συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πατρις ἄθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσῳ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἀράδος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἦδε ἐγίνετο.

ἐπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον αὐταῖς Ἀσίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν βίβλον εἴρηται τὴν πρὸ τῆσδε, Σύλλας μὲν ὑπατεύων ἔλαχε στρατηγεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ἡ καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχερῇ τε καὶ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπηγάγετό οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τοῦτο Πούπλιον Σουλπίκιον δῆμαρχον ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπήλπιζεν ἐς τὰς φυλὰς ἀπάσας διαιρήσειν, οὐ προλέγων μὲν τι περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρείας, ὥς δὲ ὑπέρταις ἐς πάντα χρησόμενος εὖνοις. καὶ νόμον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦδε: οὗ κυρωθέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὃ τι βούλοιο Μάριος ἢ Σουλπίκιος ἔσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολιτῶν πολὺ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πλείονων ὄντων. οἱ δ' ἀρχαιότεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα ἐγκρατῶς τοῖς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ μείζονος αἰεὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δεισάντες οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησιαζούσῃ προύγραψαν ἡμερῶν ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὅποῖον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, ἵνα τις ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

[55] Hitherto the murders and seditions had been merely intestine squabbles. Afterward the chiefs of factions assailed each other with great armies, according to the usage of war, and the country lay as a prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise. When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, but was still in Rome. Marius thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and he desired the command of it. So he prevailed upon the tribune, Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him obtain it. He also led the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections, to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes — not putting forward anything concerning his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants in his

every (Y.R. 666) attempt. Sulpicius straightway brought forward a law for (B.C. 88) this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually. The consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation of many days' duration, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

[56] Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων ἐκέλευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔκειν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι ἐπείγοι, μηδ' αὐτῶν φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἔτοιμα ἦν, κατηγορεῖ τῶν ἀργίων ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα προθῇ τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπᾶσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἠπειλοῦν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὡς βουλευσόμενος ὑπεχώρει. κὰν τῷδε Πομπηίου τὸν υἱόν, κηδεύοντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ, παρρησιαζόμενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιῶται. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν ἐξ τε Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλὼν, ἠπειλέτο: οὐ γάρ πώ τις τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πραττομένων ἦσθετο. ὁ δὲ Σουλπίκιος, ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς ἀργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον καί, οὗ χάριν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, Μάριον εὐθὺς ἐχειροτόνει τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγεῖν ἀντὶ Σύλλα.

[56] Sulpicius would not wait for the vacation's end. He ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, and not to spare the consuls themselves upon occasion. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacation as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius, to put an end to it at once, in order to proceed to the enactment of laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who were making opposition. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. Presently Sulla returned and annulled the vacation, but hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, in order to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla.

[57] πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακριθῆναι συνήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας

ὀρεγόμενον τε ὡς ἐπικερδοῦς καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐτέρους καταλέξειν ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπικίου τε καὶ Μαρίου καὶ σαφεὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκὼν 'οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πω λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦδε πολέμου, παρήνευσεν ἐτοίμοις ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενόει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες, μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουσαν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἦγεν ἐξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ χωρὶς ἐνὸς ταμίου διέδρασαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενοι στρατὸν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα: πρέσβεις δ' ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἡρώτων, τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλαύνει. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσω αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων.

καὶ τοῦτο δις τρις ἑτέροις καὶ ἑτέροις πρέσβεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν εἰπὼν ἐπήγγελλεν ὁμως, εἰ θέλοιν τὴν τε σύγκλητον αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδὶον συναγαγεῖν, καὶ πράξειν, ὃ τι ἂν βουλευομένοις δοκῇ. πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ σύναρχος ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀφίκετο συμπράξων ἐς ἅπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἐς παρασκευὴν ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἐπεμπον ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρω τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, εὐθύς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπιοῦσιν εἶποντο.

[57] When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war. He called the army together in a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this kind of a war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they spoke boldly what Sulla had in his mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith, but all of his superior officers, except one quæstor, left him and hastened to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from her tyrants," he replied. He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet him and praised him for what he had done, for Pompeius was delighted, and coöperated with him in every way. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, in the guise of envoys from the

Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could consider of the business in hand. Sulla and Pompeius understood their game perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys were returning they followed them.

[58] καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυλείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος ἐνὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας ἐτέρῳ τέλει: καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς διαδοχὴν ὑπέμενε. τοῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δόξῃ καὶ ἔργῳ πολεμίου: ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ περιοικοῦντες ἄνωθεν ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἠπείλησεν ἐμπρῆσιν: τότε δ' οἱ μὲν ἀνέσχον, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἀπήντων περὶ τὴν Αἰσκύλειον ἀγορὰν μεθ' ὅσων ἐφθάκεσαν ὀπλίσαι. καὶ γίνεταί τις ἀγὼν ἐχθρῶν, ὅδε πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, οὐχ ὑπὸ εἰκόνι στάσεως ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου νόμῳ: ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἀμεληθέντα προέκοψε.

τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σύλλα στρατιωτῶν, ὁ Σύλλας σημεῖον ἀρπάσας προεκινδύνευεν, ὥς αἰδοῖ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δέει τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σημείῳ εἰ ἀπέχοντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοὺς μετατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐκάλει τε τοὺς νεαλεῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐτέρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Σιβούραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἧ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων ἔμελλον ἔσσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμῆτας ἀσθενῶς μαχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοδεύουσι δέισαντες περικύκλωσιν τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν ἔτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἐκήρυττον ἐλευθερίαν εἰ μετάσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσιόντος ἀπογόνοντες ἀπάντων ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράχεσαν.

[58] Sulla took possession of the Caelian gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Sublician bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, being in appearance and in fact an enemy. The inhabitants round about tried to fight him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders near the Æsculine forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first that was regularly fought in Rome with trumpet and signal under the rules of war, and not at all in the similitude of a faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them. Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks. Out of regard for their general and fear of ignominy if they should abandon their standard, they rallied at once. Sulla ordered up fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the so-called Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly

against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their labors. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had coöperated with them.

[59] ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην Ἱερὰν ὁδὸν παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτίκα ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαζε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῇ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, περιθέοντες ἐκάστους, ἵνα μὴ τι δεινὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐπιγένοιτο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ὠδύροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς δημοκοποῦσιν ἐκδεδομένης, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάδε πράξαντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. εἰσηγοῦντό τε μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλάς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διὰ δυοῖν τοῖνδε οὔτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσφερόμενον οὔτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ θρασυτάτοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ γιγνομένων δώσειν ἔτι στάσεων ἀφορμάς. πολλὰ τε ἄλλα τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχῆς, τυραννικῆς μάλιστα γεγεννημένης, περιελόντες κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγανθρωπότατον δὴ τότε μάλιστα ὄν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀθρόους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίους. ὅσα τε ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου κεκύρωτο μετὰ τὴν κεκηρυγμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀργίαν, ἅπαντα διελύετο ὡς οὐκ ἔννομα.

[59] Sulla advanced to the so-called Via Sacra and there, in sight of everybody, punished certain soldiers who had plundered persons on the road. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops: They summoned the people to an assembly at daybreak and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had done what they had done as a matter of necessity. They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago. Also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures — namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes — there would no longer be any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical. They enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had

fallen into contempt for that reason. They annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

[60] ὧδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις ἔτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος. τότε δὲ Σουλπίκιον δημαρχοῦντα ἔτι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάριον, ἐξάκις ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίου παῖδα καὶ Πούπλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γναῖον καὶ Κοῖντον Γράνιον καὶ Πούπλιον Ἀλβινουσάνον καὶ Μᾶρκον Λαιτώριον ἑτέρους τε, ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ῥώμης διεπεφεύγεσαν, ὡς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀπόστασιν πολεμίους Ῥωμαίων ἐπήφιστο εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποινεῖ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους: τὰ τε ὄντα αὐτοῖς δεδήμευτο.

καὶ ζητηταὶ διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ Σουλπίκιον μὲν καταλαβόντες ἔκτειναν:

[60] Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the civil dissensions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. Now Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times, and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Laetorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, fled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, had been voted enemies of the Roman people, and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, and their goods had been confiscated. Detectives were in pursuit of these men. They caught Sulpicius and killed him.

[61] ὁ δὲ Μάριος αὐτοὺς ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἔρημος ὑπηρέτου τε καὶ θεράποντος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντες ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν οἴκῳ ζοφῶδει δεδιότες μὲν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένου αὐθένται γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην ἄνδρα ἐπιδημοῦντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐσέπεμψαν ἀνελεῖν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασὶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προσιόντα τῷ στιβαδίῳ δεῖσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρὸς αὐγὴν καὶ φλόγα ἀφίεναι: ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπανιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ: 'σὺ τολμᾷς κτεῖναι

Γάιον Μάριον;’ προτροπάδην ὁ Γαλάτης ἔφευγεν ἔξω διὰ θυρῶν μεμνηνὸς τοῦ εἰκοῦς καὶ βοῶν: ‘οὐ δύναμαι κτείνειν Γάιον Μάριον.’ ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἅτε καὶ τέως ταῦτα σὺν ὄκνῳ κεκρικόσιν, ἐνέπιπτε τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ μνήμη τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιφημισθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας: παιδὶ γὰρ ὄντι φασὶν ἐς τὸν κόλπον αἵματος νεοττοῦς ἐπτά καταρρυῆναι καὶ τοὺς μάντις εἶπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἔσοιτο.

[61] Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnæ without a companion or a servant. While he was resting in a secluded house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. It is said that as the Gaul was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and that Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, “Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?” The Gaul turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, “I cannot kill Gaius Marius.” As the magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, so now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. It was said that while he was a boy seven young eaglets alighted on his breast, and that the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times.

[62] ταῦτ’ οὖν οἱ τῆς Μιντούρνης ἄρχοντες ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τὸν Γαλάτην ἐνθουν κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ περιδεᾶ νομίζοντες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμπον, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, σφῶζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ συγγινώσκων ἑαυτῷ ζητουμένῳ τε ἐκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἱππέων διωκομένῳ, ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤλατο καὶ καλύβης ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ σώματι. ψόφου δ’ αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπεκρύφθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι αἰσθόμενος ἐς σκάφος ἀλιέως πρεσβύτου παρορμούν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσήλατο χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα κόπας καὶ τὸ ἰστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῇ τύχῃ φέρειν. κατήχθη δὲ ἔς τινα νῆσον, ὅθεν νεὼς οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν παραπλευούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέρα. εἰργόμενος δὲ καὶ Λιβύης ὡς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξστιλίου ἡγουμένου, διεχείμαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Λιβύην ἄνω, ἐν τοῖς Νομάδων ὄροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύοντι δεῦρο κατὰ πίστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγνωσμένων Κέθηγός τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ Ἀλβινοουανὸς καὶ Λαιτώριος καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου: οἱ ἐς μὲν Ἰερμψάλαν τὸν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διέφυγον, ὑποψία δ’ ἐκδόσεως ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέδρασαν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ, καθὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράχει, βιάσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα διανοούμενοι, στρατιὰν δ’ οὐκ ἔχοντες, περιέβλεπον, εἴ τι συμβαίη:

[62] Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnæ sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he

knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves. Hearing a noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves. Hearing a somewhat louder noise, he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, he cut the rope, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing there by the governor, Sextius, because he was an enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, along the shore of Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Lætorius, and others, including the son of Marius himself, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal, prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up. They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity.

[63] ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μὲν, ὅπλοις τὴν πόλιν ὅδε πρῶτος καταλαβὼν τε καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως ἦδ᾽ ἡ μοναρχεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμίνατο, τὴν βίαν ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Καπύην προπέμψας αὐθις ἤρχεν ὡς ὕπατος: οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐξελαθέντων στασιῶται, ὅσοι τῶν πλουσίων, καὶ γυναῖα πολλὰ πολυχρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπνεύσαντες ἠρεθίζοντο ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἢ δαπάνης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπέλειπον, ἐπιβουλευόντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν τῶνδε περιόντων ἐκείνοις κατελθεῖν. Σύλλα μὲν δὴ καὶ πανσαμένῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατὸς ἦν, ὁ ἐψηφισμένος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ: Κόιντον δὲ Πομπήιον, τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον, ὁ δῆμος οἰκτεῖρων τοῦ δέους ἐψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐτέρου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίῳ Πομπήϊῳ. τοῦθ' ὁ Γναῖος πυθόμενός τε καὶ δυσχεράνας ἤκοντα μὲν τὸν Κόιντον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ὑπεχώρησε μικρὸν οἷα ιδιώτης, μέχρι τὸν ὕπατον πολλοὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀκροάσεως περιστάντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ φυγῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γενομένης ὁ Γναῖος αὐτοῖς ὑπήντα, χαλεπαίνων ὡς ὑπάτου παρανόμως ἀνηρημένον: δυσχεράνας δ' ὅμως εὐθὺς ἤρχεν αὐτῶν.

[63] In Rome Sulla, who had been the first one to seize the city by force of arms, and was now able perhaps to wield supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed his functions as consul. The faction under banishment, especially the rich ones, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of their male relatives from exile. They spared neither pains nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls when they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived.

Sulla's army furnished ample protection for himself even after he should cease to be consul, since he had been voted commander of the war against Mithridates. The people commiserated the fears of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, for his personal safety, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnæus Pompeius. When the latter learned this fact he was greatly displeased. Nevertheless he received Quintus in the camp, and, after transacting the necessary business with him the following day, withdrew for a short time as a private person, but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnæus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the killing of a consul contrary to law. Notwithstanding his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.

CHAPTER VIII

Attempted Revolution of Cinna — Cinna expelled from the City — Raises an Army and returns — Return of Marius — They besiege Rome, and cut off its Supplies — The City surrenders — Massacre of Citizens — Heads exposed in the Forum — Death of Marcus Antonius the Orator — Sulla's Friends killed and his Property confiscated — Death of Merula and Catulus — Death of Marius

[64] ἐξαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περιδεῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγετο πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτός ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐπιμείνας ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κάκειθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίννα, τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι, θαρροῦντες τοὺς νεοπολίτας ἠρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς πάσαις ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιγθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφίζομενοι πάντων ὧσιν ἄκυροι. τοῦτο δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καθόδου. ἀνθισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίννας μὲν τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος Ὀκτάουιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων ἐβόων ἐς τὰς φυλάς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι: τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἐχῶρει, καὶ οἶδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων.

ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περιορωμένῳ ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους κωλύειν τὰ γινόμενα, θόρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀπογύνωσιν ἤδη τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ ὁδὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπιδόντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν Ὀκτάουιος πυθόμενος κατέβαινε διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλήθους καὶ οἷα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσὼν ὥσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστώτων καὶ διέστησεν αὐτούς: ὡς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρῆλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπόμενος. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῷ συνῆσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐμπεσόντες τοῖς νεοπολίταις ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον.

[64] When the murder of Pompeius became known in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them (Y.R. 667) with him even by night. He did not remain long in the (B.C. 87) city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia. The friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favor of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna coöperated with the new ones. It was supposed that he had been bribed

with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers. While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd, and separated them. He struck terror into them, pushed on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away. His companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates.

[65] Κίννας δὲ θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' ὁρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συγκαλῶν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσιόντος ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολίτιδας Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ Πραϊνεστόν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων ἅπαντας ἐς ἀπόστασιν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλλέγων. ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννᾳ προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, Γαίος τε Μιλώνιος καὶ Κόιντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἕτερος.

ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλὴ τὸν Κίνναν, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύζαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολίτην εἶναι καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτόνησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. λέγεται δ' οὗτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φλαμέντας καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος αἰεὶ, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐν μόναϊς πιλοφορούντων ταῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ' ἐς Καπύην τραπόμενος, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος ἦν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδήμουν, ἐθεράπευε καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὕπατος ἐς μέσους τὰς τε ράβδους καθεῖλεν οἷα ιδιώτης καὶ δακρύσας ἔφη: 'παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὧ πολῖται, τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἔλαβον: ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησεν: ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἀφείλετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τάδε παθὼν ἐν οἰκείοις κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅμως ἀγανακτῶ: τί γὰρ ἐτι τὰς φυλὰς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύομεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ χειροτονιῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἐτι κύριοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μὲν, ἃ δίδοτε, ἀφαιρήσεσθε δ', ὅταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσητε.'

[65] Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, ran through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur,

Præneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans, certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger. The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter (flamen Dialis). It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, the officers of which, and the senators who were present, he courted. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favor of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls? If you do not confirm what you bestow, you will be robbed whenever you give your decision."

[66] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐς ἐρέθισμα καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικτισάμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα κατέρρηξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταθορῶν ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἐς μέσους καὶ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἕως ἐπικλασθέντες ἀνέστησάν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τὰς τε ῥάβδους ἀνέσχον καὶ θαρρεῖν οἷα ὕπατον ἐκέλευον καὶ σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐφ' ὃ τι χρήζοι. τῆς δ' ἀφορμῆς εὐθὺς οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον καὶ ὠμνουν τῷ Κίννᾳ τὸν ὄρκον τὸν στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἐξώρκου. ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ ταῦτα εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέθει καὶ ἠρέθιζε κἀκείνους, ὥς διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῷ γενομένην: οἱ δὲ χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν: καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν ἕτεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο, οἷς ἀπήρεσκεν ἢ τῆς πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.

καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, Ὀκτάουιος δὲ καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὕπατοι τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τάφροις καὶ τειχῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὠχύρουν καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιὰν ἔς τε τὰς ἐτέρας πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν κατηκούους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγχοῦ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπον Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, ἀνθύπατον ὄντα καὶ στρατευμάτων περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἡγούμενον, ἐκάλουν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι.

[66] He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. With tears in their eyes they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever

he would. At their instance the officers came forward and took the military oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. When he had been confirmed in this way he traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, because it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom a stable form of government was irksome, came and joined him. While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent around to the towns that were still faithful and also to the neighboring Gauls. They also summoned Gnæus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to come in haste to the aid of his country.

[67] ὁ δ' ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε· καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ παρεστρατοπέδευε. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τούτων πυθόμενος ἐς Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν ἅμα τοῖς συνεξελαθεῖσι καὶ θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα πονυγερονόσι. ῥυπῶν δ' ἔτι καὶ κόμης ἔμπλεως ἐπῆει τὰς πόλεις, οἰκτρὸς ὀφθῆναι· μάχας τε καὶ τρόπαια αὐτοῦ Κιμβρικὰ καὶ ἐξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενός τε καὶ πιστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, συνήγαγε Τυρρηγῶν ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐς Κίνναν διῆλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῶν παρόντων δεχόμενον. ὥς δὲ ἀνέμιχθησαν, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐς τρία διαιρεθέντες, Κίννας μὲν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺ, Σερτώριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ Μάριος πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ, ζευγνύντες οἶδε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ γεφυροῦντες, ἵνα τὴν πόλιν ἀφέλουντο τὴν σιταγωγίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ Ὅστια εἶλε καὶ διήρπαζε, καὶ Κίννας ἐπιπέμψας Ἀρίμινον κατέλαβε, τοῦ μὴ τινα στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Γαλατίας.

[67] Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of these transactions he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Filthy and longhaired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, and also seeming, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the voting. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and joined Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After their armies were joined they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their forces in three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured Ostia and plundered it. Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

[68] οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δεδιότες καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης δεόμενοι Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη πεπερακότα, Καϊκίλιον δὲ Μέτελλον, τὰ λείψανα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυνίτας διατιθέμενον, ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς διαλυσάμενον ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι πολιορκουμένη. οὐ συμβαίνοντος δὲ Σαυνίταις ἐς ἃ ἦτουν τοῦ Μετέλλου, ὁ Μάριος αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἦτουν παρὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου. ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Σαυνῖται Μαρίῳ συνεμάχουν· Κλαύδιον δὲ Ἄππιον χιλίαρχον, τειχοφυλακοῦντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, εὖ ποτε παθόντα ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ, τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθείσης αὐτῷ πύλης περὶ ἔω, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐσεδέξατο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεώσθησαν Ὀκταουίου καὶ Πομπηίου σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων· κεραυνῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον καταρραγόντων ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπώλετο.

[68] The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to call Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They ordered Cæcilius Metellus, who was carrying on the remainder of the Social War against the Samnites, to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. Metellus would not agree to what the Samnites demanded, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the hill called the Janiculum, had once received a favor from Marius which the latter now reminded him of, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunderstorm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

[69] Μάριος δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκ τε θαλάσσης καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεις διετρόχαζεν, ἔνθα σῖτος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεσωρευμένος. ἄφνω δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπίπτων εἶλε μὲν Ἄντιον καὶ Ἀρικίαν καὶ Λανούβιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προδιδόντων τινῶν· ὥς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν ἀγορᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ἀπίας, πρὶν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἄλλην ἐτέρωθεν ἀχθῆναι. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ἑκατὸν σταδίους αὐτός τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος ἀποσχόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Ὀκταουίου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανὸν αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιβλεπομένων, ἀρετῇ μὲν ἔτι καὶ πλήθει νομιζομένων εἶναι κρειττόνων, ὀκνούντων δ' ὑπὲρ ὅλης ὀξέως κινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος διὰ μάχης μιᾶς. ὥς δὲ περιπέμψας ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κήρυκας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν ἐλευθερίαν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἠϋτομόλουν αὐτίκα· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταραττομένη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ βραδύνειεν ἢ

σιτοδεία, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου προσδοκῶσα μετέπιπτε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐς τὸν Κίνναν ἔπεμπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤρετο, πότερον ὥς πρὸς ὕπατον ἔλθοιεν ἢ πρὸς ἰδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστὺ ἐπανελθόντων, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἤδη κατὰ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν ἐξεπῆδων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τῷ λιμῷ δεδιότες, οἱ δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ ἐκείνων αἰρούμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῶν γιγνομένων περιμένοντες.

[69] After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river above, he hastened to attack the neighboring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery. Having cut off their supplies by land in this manner, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the so-called Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp. Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban Mount, where they observed the enemy's movements. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk hastily their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds around the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed. Anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, it changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. The latter asked them whether they had come to see him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of freemen flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine and others because they had been previously favorable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

[70] Κίννας δ' ἤδη καταφρονητικῶς τῷ τειχεὶ ἐπλησίαζε καὶ ἀποσχὼν ὅσον βέλους ὀρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀπορούντων ἔτι καὶ δεδιότων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀποροῦσα καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένη Λεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός, ὑπατεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἄκουσα δ' ὁμως ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὥς πρὸς ὕπατον. οὐδὲν τε χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶντες τοῦτο μόνον ἤτουν, ἐπομόσαι σφίσι τὸν Κίνναν φόνον οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὁμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὧδε ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ σφαγῆς αἴτιος ἔσεσθαι. Ὀκτάουιον δ' ἤδη περιοδεύσαντα καὶ κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντα ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ μέσου, μή τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὕπατος, τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο: Μάριος δ' αὐτῷ παρεστὼς παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μὲν, ἐδήλου δὲ τῇ δριμύτητι τοῦ προσώπου, πόσον ἐργάζεται φόνον. δεξαμένης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν τε καὶ

Μάριον ἥσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι, σὺν εἰρωνείᾳ σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδιῶν εἶπεν οὐκ εἶναι φυγάσιν εἰσόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὕπατον ἐξελέλαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο λελόσθαι.

[70] Now Cinna began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting at the distance of a stone's throw, where he encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favorable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone around and entered the city by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against Cinna's will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood beside the curule chair silent, but showed by the asperity of his countenance how much murder he would commit. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that all the things that Cinna had subscribed to were the doings of Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for the banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

[71] οἱ μὲν δὴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπρᾶξαι σφίσι δοκούντων ἀκωλύτως πάντα διηρηπάζετο: Ὀκταοῦίῳ δὲ Κίννας μὲν καὶ Μάριος ὄρκους ἐπεπόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται καὶ μάντιες οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι φυγεῖν παρήνουν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν οὐποτε προλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὕπατος ὢν ἐς τὸ Ἴανουκλον, ἐκστάς τοῦ μέσου, διήλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ τινος ἔτι καὶ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ θρόνου προκάθητο, τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος, ῥάβδων καὶ πελέκεων ὡς ὑπάτῳ περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τινων ἱππέων Κηνσωρίνου καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρεστῶσης στρατιᾶς φυγεῖν παρακαλοῦντων καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος οὐδὲ ὑπαναστῆναι τὴν σφαγὴν περιέμενεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρίνος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν ἐς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρώτου τοῦδε ὑπάτου. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων ἐκρήμναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἔτι καὶ τότε τὸ μύσος, ἀρξάμενόν τε ἀπὸ Ὀκταοῦίου καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους περιούν.

ζητηται δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεον τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν

καλουμένων ἰππέων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἰππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίγνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν κεφαλαιὶ πᾶσαι προτιθέντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδῶς τε θεῶν ἢ νέμεσις ἀνδρῶν ἢ φθόνου φόβος οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπὶν, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἔργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐς ὄψεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτινύντες τε ἀνηλεῶς καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τεθνεώτων καὶ προτιθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς φόβον ἢ κατάπληξιν ἢ θάαν ἀθεμίστον.

[71] Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightway they began to plunder without restraint the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore his robes of office, attended by lictors as a consul. Here he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him a horse, but he disdained even to arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there. This shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent intestine massacres. Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. After the knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to hideous sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a monstrous spectacle.

[72] Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, δύο ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφῶ, καὶ Ἀτιλῖος Σερρανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμετώριος καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνηρεθήσαν, Κράσσος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔφθασε προανελεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπανηρέθη. τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον ἔς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ξενίζων ἐς πανδοκεῖον ἐπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἶνον πρίασθαι· καὶ τοῦ καπήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αἰτοίῃ, πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐπιθύρισε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ πριάμενος ἐπανήλθεν, ὁ δὲ κάπηλος αὐτίκα ἔθει Μαρίῳ τοῦτο δηλώσων, καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσεν, ὕψ' ἠδονῆς ἀνέδραμεν ὥς αὐτὸς ὁρμήσων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπισχόντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων χιλίαρχος ἀποσταλεὶς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνέπεμψεν, οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἡδὺς ὦν εἰπεῖν κατεκίλει λόγοις

μακροῖς, οἰκτιζόμενός τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διεξιὼν, ἕως ὁ χίλιάρχος ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ αὐτὸς ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἀκροωμένους ἔκτεινε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ῥητορεύοντα ἔτι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔπεμψε τῷ Μαρίῳ.

[72] Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, two brothers, Atilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Gaius Numatorius, and Marcus Bæbius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the orator, fled to a certain country place, where he was concealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. The innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality. The slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, and went back. The seller ran and told Marius. When Marius heard this he sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but he was restrained by his friends. A tribune was despatched to the house, who sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a delightful speaker, entertained with a long discourse. He moved their pity by recounting many and various things, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and, finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while he was still addressing them, and sent his head to Marius.

[73] Κορνοῦτον δὲ ἐν καλύβαις κρυπτόμενον οἱ θεράποντες εὐμηχάνως περιέσωσαν· νεκρῷ γὰρ περιτυχόντες σώματι πυρὰν τε ἔνησαν καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιόντων ἄψαντες τὴν πυρὰν ἔφασαν τὸν δεσπότην καίειν ἀπαγξάμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων περισέσωστο, Κόιντος δὲ Ἀγχάριος Μάριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν, ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν διαλλακτήριον ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀρχόμενος τῆς θυσίας προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγχάριον καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς παρεστῶσι προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν γεγονότων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτέθησαν. ταφὴν τε οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ καὶ κύνες ἄνδρας τοιούσδε διεσπάσαντο. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἦν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνεύθυνος καὶ ἐξελάσεις ἐτέρων καὶ δημεύσεις περιουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνατροπαὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων. αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάντες ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο, καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμεντο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο· τὸ δὲ γύναιον καὶ ἡ γενεὰ ζητούμενοι διέφυγον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀπὴν ἀθρόων τε καὶ ποικίλων κακῶν.

[73] Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way. They found a dead body and placed it on a funeral pile, and when the searchers came they set fire to it and said that they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. Quintus Ancharius watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a more

propitious place for him. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and prætors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain. The bodies of such men as these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was also much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's consulship. All of Sulla's friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether no sort of calamity was wanting, either general or particular.

[74] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννόμου μετὰ τοσούσδε φόνους ἀκρίτους, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῷ τε ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλα, κατ' ὀργὴν ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν Κίνναν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουτατίῳ Κάτλῳ, τῷ Μαρίου περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ συνάρχῳ, περισωθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, ἀχαρίστῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ πικροτάτῳ περὶ τὴν ἐξέλασιν γενομένῳ. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ φυλλασσόμενοι τε ἀφανῶς καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν δίκην ἀνακαλοῦμενοι 'τετράκις δὲ ἐχρῆν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὀρισμένοις ὥρῳ διαστήμασιν ἀλῶναι, Μερόλας μὲν τὰς φλέβας ἐνέτεμεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῷ παρακείμενον ἐδήλου, ὅτι κόπτων τὰς φλέβας τὸν πῖλον ἀποθοῖτο 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἱερέα περικείμενον τελευτᾶν, Κάτλος δ' ἐν οἰκήματι νεοχρίστῳ τε καὶ ἔτι ὑγρῷ καίῳ ἀνθρακας ἐκὼν ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' ὅσοι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύθεροι γεγένηντο καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννα τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαζον, ἀναιροῦντες ἅμα οἷς περιτύχοιεν: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις δεσπόταις μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας δ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε, Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀναπαυομένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας.

οἱ μὲν δὴ θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν τῆς ἐς δεσπότης πολλάκις ἀπιστίας:

[74] In addition to the foregoing and under the similitude of legal authority, and after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was charged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and was bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but

Merula had opened his own veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met on the street. Some of them attacked their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all. Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters.

(Y.R. 668)

[75] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἦρηντο Κίννας τε αὐθις καὶ Μάριος ἑβδομον, ὃ μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ ἐπικήρυξιν, εἴ τις ὡς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπήντα τὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ νεογνῶν αἰετῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον ὁ Κίννας ἐλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπεμψε, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἴλετο συνάρχειν ἑαυτῷ.

[75] The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the (B.C. 86) second time, and Marius for the seventh time; to whom, notwithstanding his banishment and proscription, the augury of the seven young eaglets was yet fulfilled. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life Cinna chose Carbo as his successor.

CHAPTER IX

Sulla ends the Mithridatic War — Prepares to return to Rome — Death of Cinna — Negotiations with Sulla — Sulla in Italy — Terror in the City — Marshalling the Forces against Sulla — Omens and Prodigies — Battle at Canusiu (Y.R. 669)

[76] Σύλλας δ' ἐπέιξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὥς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν ἑκαταίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανών, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβὼν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶνδε κατακλείσας, ἐπανήει στρατὸν ἄγων εὖνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένον καὶ πολὺν καὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπλημένον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς ἅπαντα ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος, ὥστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτόν ὃ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν τινὰς περιέπεμπον, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροίζειν, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίαις ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἠεθέιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολιτίδας, ὥς δι' αὐτὰς ὄντες ἐν τοσῶνδε κινδύνου. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζον ἀθρόως καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξείας οὐδὲ οἷδε παρασκευῆς μετὰ δέους ἅμα καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξέλειπον.

[76] Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, having quickly finished all his business with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits.

(B.C. 85) He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took their leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They hastily repaired the ships, and recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and, with fear and trembling, made rapid preparations in every way.

[77] Σύλλας δ' ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστέλλε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καταλέγων, ὅσα περὶ Λιβύην ἐς Ἰογόρθαν τὸν Νομάδα ἔτι ταμιεύων ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρεσβεύων ἢ Κιλικίας ἡγούμενος ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς ἢ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε,

τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ἐς Μιθριδάτην ὑπερεπαίρων τε μάλιστα καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτου γενόμενα Ῥωμαίοις ἀναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίinna καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποδέξαιτο ἀπορουμένους καὶ ἐπικουφίζοι τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν ἔφη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διαφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάση τιμωρὸς ἦξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περὶ οὐδενός.

ὧν ἀναγινωσκομένων δέος ἅπαντας ἐπεῖχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ συναλλάξουν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔμελλον καὶ προερεῖν, εἴ τινας ἀσφαλείας δέοιτο, τῇ βουλῇ τάχιστα ἐπιστεῖλαι· τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν εἴρητο μὴ στρατολογεῖν, ἔστε ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίνασθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξουν, οἰχομένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀνείπον ὑπάτους αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θάπτον ἐπανάκειν, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιιόντες στρατιὰν συνῆγον, ἣν ἐς Λιβυρνιακὴν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαντήσοντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ, κατὰ μέρος ἐπὶ νεῶν διεβίβαζον.

[77] Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority concerning himself. He recounted what he had done in Africa in the Jugurthine war while he was still quæstor, what he had done as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as prætor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations that had been under Mithridates and that he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received the helpless ones and supported them in their affliction. In return for which he said that he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, for them and for the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he made no complaint against them. When the contents of the letters became known fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that if he wanted any security he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city directly to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia, as they expected to meet Sulla there.

(Y.R. 670)

[78] τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέπλευσε· τῷ δ' ἐξῆς χειμῶν ἐπέπεσε,

καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἐλαμβάνοντο, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ὥς οὐ στρατεύσοντες ἐκόντες κατὰ πολιτῶν: οἱ τε λοιποὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ περάσειν ἔτι ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν Λιβυρνιακὴν. Κίννας δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐπιπλήξων συνεκάλει: καὶ οἱ σὺν ὀργῇ παρήεσαν ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι. τῶν δὲ ῥαβδοφόρων τινὸς ὁδοποιοῦντος τῷ Κίννᾳ καὶ τινι τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, ἕτερος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπάταξε. καὶ Κίinna κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν συλλαβεῖν βοή παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη, καὶ λίθων ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις: οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπισπᾶσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίnnas ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε: Κάρβων δ' ἔκ τε Λιβυρνιακῆς τοὺς διαπεπλευκότας ἐς αὐτὴν μετεκάλει καὶ τὰ γινόμενα δεδιὼς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήει, καὶ πάντῃ τῶν δημάρχων αὐτὸν καλούντων ἐπὶ συνάρχου χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν, ἐπανήλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαισίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἑτέραν προύγραφε: κὰν ταύτῃ κεραυνοῦ πεσόντος ἐς τὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν οἱ μάντιες ὑπὲρ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἀνέτιθεντο τὰς χειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ Κάρβων.

[78] The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The (B.C. 84) next one encountered a storm and those who reached land went home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was angry and called them to an assembly in order to coerce them. They, angry also and ready to defend themselves, assembled. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamor rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their swords and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia. As he was solicitous about the present state of things, he did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. When they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavorable he postponed it to another day. When that day came lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained the sole consul.

[79] Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐποτε ἀνδράσι τοιάδε ἐργασασμένοις ἔσεσθαι φίλος, τῇ πόλει δ' οὐ φθονήσειν χαριζομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς: ἀσφάλειαν δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν ἐς αἰὶ παρέξειν, στρατὸν ἔχων εὖνουν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δηλὸς ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῷδε, οὐ διαλύσω τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἤδη διανοοῦμενος. ἥτει δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο γέρας εἶχεν, ἐντελῆ πάντα ἀποδοθῆναι: καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν.

οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίνναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας πέντε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἐξακισχιλίους, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακεδονίας προσλαβὼν, ἅπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας, ἐπὶ τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιεύς καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον χιλίαις καὶ ἑξακοσίαις ναυσὶ διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεῖ τῶν Βρεντεσίων, τοῖσδε μὲν ὕστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

[79] Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes. Still he would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that, as he had a devoted army, he could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was contemplating the exercise of supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the sacerdotal office, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever other honors he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters. As soon as they learned from the Brundusians that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, they went back to Sulla without transacting their business.

(Y.R. 671) He started with five legions of Italian troops and (B.C. 83) 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men. He led them from the Piræus to Patræ, and then sailed from Patræ to Brundisium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favor he afterward gave them exemption from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Then he put his army in motion and went forward.

[80] καὶ αὐτῷ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ Εὐσεβής, ἐκ πολλοῦ τε ἡρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσελθὼν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβυστιδί τὸ μέλλον περιορῶν, αὐτόκλητος σύμμαχος ἀπήντα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε συμμαχίας, ἀνθύπατος ἔτι ὢν: ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν, ἔστε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μέγας παρονομασθεὶς, Πομπηίου μὲν ὢν παῖς τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐκ εὖνου τῷ Σύλλᾳ νομισθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ἦλθε καὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος κατὰ κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς ισχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀγείρας. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ: ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἐπιόντος, φασίν, ὑπανίστατο μόνῳ. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φίλους καὶ Ἰεμπάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ

παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπαρθείς ἐς μέγα ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος ἀνιστασιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίου γενόμενος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσὼν, ἰκέτης τε γινόμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιτο παρέχων.

[80] He was met on the road by Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish up the Social War, but who did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting the turn of events in Liguria, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus, came Pompey, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum on the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's most useful right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honor, though still very young; and they say he rose at the entrance of none other than this youth. After the war was finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. He took his start to greatness from this beginning, and was sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them. He was now a suppliant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

[81] ὁ δὲ καὶ στρατιᾶς πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχων ἤδη καὶ φίλους πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, τοῖσδε μὲν ὑποστρατήγοις ἐχρήτο, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀνθυπάτῳ ὄντε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρουν: ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας, ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἀποθέσθαι πῶς τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἐνηφίσατο Κίννας. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦι βαρυτάτῃ καὶ ἀφανεῖ ἔχθρα: οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τῆς τε φύσεως αὐτοῦ καλῶς τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάληψιν ἔτι ἔχοντες ἐν ὧσιν τὰ τε ψηφίσματα, ἃ ἐπεκήρυξαν αὐτῷ, λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὀρῶντες ἀνεσκαμμένην καὶ περιουσίαν δεδημευμένην καὶ φίλους ἀνηρημένους καὶ γενεὰν μόλις ἐκφυγοῦσαν ἐδείκνυν. καὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι νίκης ἢ πανωλεθρίας μέσον εἶναι νομίζοντες συνίσταντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μετὰ δέους, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπέμποντες στρατιὰν καὶ τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα συνήγου, οὐδὲν ὡς περὶ ἐσχάτων σφίσιν ἀπολείποντες οὔτε σπουδῆς οὔτε προθυμίας.

[81] Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and a sufficient number of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus, who were both proconsuls, marched in advance, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who had formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

[82] γαίος τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων, τὸ τότε ὄντε ὑπάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Κάρβων, ὃς πέρυσιν ἦρχεν, ἔχθρα μὲν ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ὁμοία χρώμενοι, δέει δὲ καὶ συνειδότει ὧν ἔπραξαν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χεῖρονι, ἐκ τε τῆς πόλεως στρατόν, ὅσον εὐπόρου, κατέλεγον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν κατὰ μέρος ἐχώρουν, σπεύrais ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίαις τότε πρῶτον: ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἔπραττον, πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν τε ἀμαρτηθέντων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ συνεγνωκότες καὶ τοῦ φόβου μετέχειν ἡγούμενοι συνέπρασσον, εὖ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ἢ διόρθωσιν ἢ φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ὅλως ἀθρόαν ἐπιννοῦντα. ὧν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς δόξης. ὃ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἐφθειρε πάντας, ὧν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστρ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον: καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲν δεινὸν καὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξέλιπε δρῶν, μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅλης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐχρηζέ τε καὶ ἐβούλετο.

[82] Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more fearful than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, obtained an additional one from Italy, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They had 200 cohorts of 500 men each at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. The sympathies of the people were much in favor of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause

of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt of the consuls, and who were believed to share their fears, coöperated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely prevention, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and complete extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everything. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives around the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

[83] καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προσημῆναι. δειμάτα τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνευον, τέρατά τε πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κύουσα ἔχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκε, τὴν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἔσεισε καὶ νεὼς τινὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατήνεγκε, καὶ πάντῃ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαρυνεργῶν. τότε τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίοις πού πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γενόμενον ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως κατάληψιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆναι.

[83] It seems, too, that divine Providence foretold to them the results of this war. Sights terrible and unexpected were observed by many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule gave birth to a colt. A pregnant woman was delivered of a viper instead of a baby. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans gave altogether too much attention to such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, burned down, and nobody could discover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to a succession of slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and a change in the form of government.

[84] ἦρξατο μὲν οὖν ὁδε ὁ πόλεμος, ἐξ οὗ Σύλλας ἐς Βρεντέσιον παρήλθεν, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων: μῆκος δ' αὐτοῦ, διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων, σὺν ἐπέξει ὡς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἰδίους ταχυνόντων, οὐ πολὺ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπείγομενοι ἐν βραχεὶ μείζω καὶ ὀξύτερα συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἐς δὲ τριετὲς ὅμως προήλθε, κατὰ γε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας: ἐν γὰρ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολῖαι καὶ πολιορκίαι καὶ πολέμων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο πολλάι, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὧν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τοιαῦτα ἦν.

πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίνετο μάχη:

καὶ θνήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἅμφι τὸν Σύλλαν
ἑβδομήκοντα, τραυματαῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί· καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην
ἀνέξεν.

[84] This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundisium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. Considering the magnitude of the work accomplished, its length was not great, compared with such wars in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell the eager participants in a short space of time. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, both regular engagements under the generals and by detachments, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in this book. First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men, while Sulla's loss was seventy, but many of his men were wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua.

CHAPTER X

*Desertions to Sulla — Sertorius goes to Spain — Success of Sulla's Generals
— Continued Victories of Sulla — Murders in Rome — Young Marius
besieged in Præneste — More Desertions to Sulla — The Consul Carbo flees
to Africa — Sulla's Victory at the City Gates — Surrender of Præneste —
Suicide of Young Marius*

[85] Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὓσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπῆει μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχοντος καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι: αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζοντες ἢ χρήζοντες, ὥς στασιάσειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀθύμως ἔχοντα. ὃ καὶ συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μὲν γὰρ ὅμηρα τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατήει, καὶ συνήεσαν τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ γνῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη: ἐδόκει δ' ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμψαι Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἑκατέρων ἡσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδῳ Σύεσσαν, ἣ τὰ Σύλλεια ἦρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἡτῖατο πέμπων ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δέ, εἴτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκὼς εἴτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὥς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δὴ τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργῳ, τὰ ὅμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τε τῆς Συέσσης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήψει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁμήρων οὐκ ἀπαιτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνετίθεντο μεταθίσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειε. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ὥς τὸν ὑπάτον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε οὐ στρατηγοῦ παθεῖν ὁ Σκιπίων, ἀγνοήσας ὅλου στρατοῦ τοσὴνδε συνθήκην.

[85] While Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but because they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the armistice and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side came to the conference, hence what passed between them is not known. It seems that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation and that there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for an answer. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the

unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did and straightway they all went over en masse, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left nonplussed in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. That Scipio was not aware of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

[86] Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπέιθον ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύην περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεμπεν ἐτέρους, εἴτε δείσας τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης εἴτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν ὃ γάρ τοι Νωρβανός, ὃ ἔοικε, μὴ διαβληθεῖν τὰ ὅμοια ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἔδεισεν ἄναστήσας Σύλλας ἐχώρει πρόσω τὰ πολέμια πάντα δηῶν: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἔπραττε κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοῦς. Κάρβων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄστνυ προδραμὼν Μέτελλόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῇ Σύλλᾳ συνῆσαν, ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολεμίους. αἷς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπίμπετο: καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινὲς ἐλογοποιοῦν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλα πέμψαντος εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἄδηλον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν, δι' ἣν ἂν οὕτως ἐγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος Ἰβηρίας μετὰ τὴν Συνέσεως κατάληψιν ἔφρευγεν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν: καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν οὐ δεχομένων, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὅδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκίνησε πόνους. πλέονος δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου περὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν Γαλατίας, οὐδ' ὁ Σύλλας ἡμέλει, περιπέμπων ἐς ὅσα δύναιτο τῆς Ἰταλίας, φιλία τε καὶ φόβω καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀγείρων, μέχρι τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ θέρους ἐκατέρους ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλώθη.

[86] When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive of the result (since the greater part of Italy still adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came back and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been), Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory. Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla. It was a great mystery; nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some time previously chosen praetor for Spain, after the taking of Suessa fled to his provincet and as the former praetors refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of. Italy,

which still adhered to them, and also from the neighboring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides.

(Y.R. 672)

[87] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἐγενέσθην Παπίριός τε Κάρβων αὐθις καὶ Μάριος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Μαρίου τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγυνώς: χειμῶν δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενον ἅπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστησεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος περὶ τὸν Αἰσῖνον ποταμὸν ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀγὼν καρτερός ἐγένετο Μετέλλω τε καὶ Καρρίνῃ, Κάρβωνος στρατηγῷ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους: καὶ φεύγει μὲν ὁ Καρρίνας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν, τὰ δὲ περιόικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων μετετίθετο. Μέτελλον δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβὼν ἐφρούρει περικαθήμενος, ἔσπε Μάριον τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον μεγάλη μάχῃ περὶ Πραϊνεστὸν ἡττησθαι πυθόμενος ἀνεστρατοπέδευεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον. καὶ τοῦδε μὲν Πομπήιος τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξαπτόμενος ἠνώχλει, ἡ δὲ περὶ Πραϊνεστὸν ἦσσαν ὥδε ἐγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὥς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἰερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασεν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγωνίζετο προθύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδόναι τοῦ λαιοῦ μέρους, σπεῖραι πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἱππέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανεῖναι τὰ τε σημεῖα ἔρριψαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τὸδ' εὐθὺς ἦρχε τῷ Μαρίῳ δυσχεροῦς ἡττης. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν ἔφευγον ἅπαντες, ἐπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραϊνεστῖται τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους αὐτῶν εἰσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλωδίους ἀνιμήσαντο. πολλὺς δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦδε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγίνετο φόνος, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὧν τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὥς αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίους γενομένους.

[87] The consuls for the following year were Papirius Carbo again and Marius, the nephew of the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the banks of the river Æsis, there was a severe engagement lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Præneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum. Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at Præneste was in this wise. Sulla captured the town of (B.C. 82) Setia. Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. When he arrived at the so-called sacred lake (Sacriportus) he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but lowered their standards together and went over to

Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Præneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The Præestians gave shelter to those who arrived first, but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter around the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners. All the Samnites among them he killed, because they were always ill-affected toward the Romans.

[88] ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μέτελλος ἐνίκα ἕτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κἀνταῦθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μέτελλον. πομπήϊός τε Μάρκιον ἐνίκα περὶ πόλιν Σήνας καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξεν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς οὐκέτι μάχη παρασυστόμενος Μάριον, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο προανελεῖν καὶ Βρούτῳ στρατηγούντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστελλε τὴν σύγκλητον ὥς ἐπὶ ἄλλο συναγαγεῖν καὶ κτείνειν Πόπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἕτερον καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν, τὸν τὴν μεγίστην Ῥωμαίοις ἱερῶσύνην ἱερῶμενον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶνδε ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καθὰ Μάριος προσέταξε, τῶν σφαγῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσαχθέντων: Δομίτιος δ' ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἀνηρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. τὰ τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη: ἐπετόλαζε γὰρ ἤδη μὴ καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δι' ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ὁδῶν περιέπεμπεν, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεῖεν, ἐπὶ Ὅστια χωρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ αἱ τε πόλεις παροδεύοντας ξὺν φόβῳ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ ἄστὺ προσιούσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέφωξαν, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ πιεζόμενοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἄρα αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατοῦντα φέρειν ἐθιζόμενοι.

[88] About the same time Metellus gained a victory over the other army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near Senæ and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut Marius up in Præneste, drew a line of circumvallation around the town a considerable distance from it and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city prætor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scævola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scævola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were

repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, they were accustomed to yield to the ones which were immediately weighing upon them.

[89] Σύλλας δ' ὡς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἵδρυσεν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσὼ παρήλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἀπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων αὐτίκα ἐδημεύετο καὶ διεπιπράσκετο, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν παρόντων ὠλοφύρετο καὶ θαρρεῖν προσέταξεν ὡς αὐτίκα τῶνδε παυσομένων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον ἐλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος δ' ὅσα ἤπειγε καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξώρμησεν ἐς Κλούσιον, ἔνθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἤκμαζεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσεγένοντο ἱππεῖς Κελτιβήρες, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμὸν ἱππομαχίας ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἔκτεινεν ἐς πεντήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων, διακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶνδε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἠντομόλησαν ἐς Σύλλαν: καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνέῤῥεν, εἴτε χαλεπήνας τῆς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν αὐτομολίας εἴτε δείσας περὶ ὁμοίου. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Σατουρνίαν ἐτέρῳ μέρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐνίκα, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν περιπλέων τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ πυροφόρον οὖσαν, προκατελάμβανεν. ἐς τε Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας νυκτὸς ἕτεροι τῶν Συλλείων ἐσελθόντες ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλα καὶ Κάρβωνι περὶ Κλούσιον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν γίγνεται μάχη καρτερὰ: καὶ φανέντες ἀλλήλοις ἰσόμαχοι μετὰ σκότους διεκρίθησαν.

[89] When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of the opposite faction having fled. Their property was at once confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the prætors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level, wheat-growing country of Uritanus. Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was

fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict.

[90] ἐν δὲ τῷ πωλητίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, ἄμφω Σύλλα στρατηγοί, κτείνουσι τῶν Καρβωνέων εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ Καρρίναν τὸν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν, ἔστε Κάρβων μὲν ἕτερον τῷ Καρρίνᾳ στρατὸν ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος καὶ ἐφεδρεύσας ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν παροδ' ὄντων ἐς δισχιλίους, καὶ Καρρίνας δὲ νυκτός, ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ σκότους, αἰσθομένων μὲν τι τῶν περικαθημένων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ὄμβρον ἀμελούντων, διέφυγε. καὶ Κάρβων ἐς Πραίνεστον Μαρίῳ τῷ συνάρχῳ Μάρκιον ἔπεμπε, ὁκτὼ τέλη στρατιᾶς ἄγοντα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ κακοπαθεῖν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐν στενῷ προσπεσὼν τρέπεται τε καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἐς λόφον συνέκλεισε τοὺς λοιπούς. ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιος μὲν οὐ σβέσας τὸ πῦρ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθεὶς ἐστασίασε χαλεπῶς, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς σημείοις ὅλον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν, ὥς ἑπτὰ σπείρας τῷ στρατηγῷ μόνας παραμεῖναι.

καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ὧδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρβωνα ἐπανήει, Μάρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσῖνον ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καυπαῖον Γούτταν, μεθ' ἑπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπείγομένους Μάριον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἐξωθεν ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς ὃ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυημέρου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραίνεστον αὐθις συνεκλείετο.

[90] In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reinforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, and although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Praeneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger. Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile, defeated them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill. Marcius made his escape, leaving his fires burning. His army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and stirred up an angry mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in squads, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general. Marcius, having made a mess of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and

Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a citadel in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Præneste.

[91] καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαυεντία Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὁδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μετέλλου στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες, λοιπῆς οὔσης ὥρας μιᾶς καὶ ἀμπέλων πυκνῶν περικειμένων, ἀνοήτως μάλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐς μάχην ἐξέταττον, ἐλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλήξειν. ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὡς ἐν ἀφρεῖ χωρίῳ τε καὶ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἐς τὰ φυτὰ ἐμπίπτοντες ἐφθείροντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, αὐτομολῆσαι δ' ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διαρριφῆναι, μόνων ἐν τάξει χιλίων ἐπανελθόντων ἐς Ἀρίμινον. τέλος δ' ἄλλο Λευκανῶν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀλβενουανοῦ, τῆς ἥττης πυθόμενον, μετεχώρει πρὸς Μέτελλον δυσχεραίνοντος Ἀλβενουανοῦ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτὸν ἐς Νωρβανὸν ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ κοινολογησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἄδειαν, εἴ τι πράξειεν ἀξιόλογον, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγούς, Γάιον Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Φλάυιον Φιμβρίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν Καρβωνεῖων στρατηγοὶ τότε παρῆσαν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρὶς γε Νωρβανοῦ ἴμνος γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίκετό, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλβενουανὸς ἐκτείνειν ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν διέφυγε. Νωρβανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀρίμινον ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατοπέδων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε παρόντων οἱ φίλων οὐδένα ἔτι πιστὸν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς τιθέμενος, ἰδιωτικοῦ σκάφους ἐπιβὰς ἐς Ῥόδον διέπλευσεν: ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐξαιτούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, Ῥοδίων ἔτι ἀμφιγνοούντων, ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση διέφθειρε.

[91] About the same time Carbo and Norbanus went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vineyards thereabout. They made their plans for battle in hot temper and not with good judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavorable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish

anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo's lieutenants as were then present, to a feast. When they had all assembled except Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus killed them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of any of his friends there present, since he found himself in adversity, took ship as a private individual and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself in the market-place.

[92] Κάρβων δὲ ἕτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν ἄγειν ἔπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερεπειγόμενος Μάριον ἐκλῦσαι τῆς πολιορκίας· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Γαλάται τε ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ῥαβέννης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰλπεῖα παρήκουσιν, ἀθρόως ἐς Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο· καὶ Λεύκολλος ἐτέρους τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐνίκα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὣν ὁ Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος, τρισμυρίους ὅμως ἔτι ἔχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον Σαννιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλῇ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κακοπαθούντων, ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶς ἔφευγε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὑπατος ἔτι ὢν, ὡς Λιβύην παραστησόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ Κλούσιον Πομπηίῳ συνενεχθέντες ἐς μάχην ἀπέβαλον ἐς δισμυρίους, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγίστῃ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθη· Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαννίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἄστυ καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν.

[92] Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Præneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus en masse and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo's forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, although he was still consul, in order to make a stand there instead of in Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000. Naturally, after this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army dissolved in fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went

with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt, they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

[93] δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προύπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόω τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναῖς πύλαις περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἄμφι τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδευόντων. μάχης δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν γενομένης τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαὸν ἡττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ γέροντες, ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς πύλας καθῆκαν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· αἱ δ' ἐμπίπτουσαι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἀγωνισάμενοι πολὺ πλῆθος ἔκτειναν· ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Τελεσῖνόν τε καὶ Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. Λαμπωνίος τε ὁ Λευκανὸς καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνῆσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ θάνατος ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων· τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ὀκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαυνῖται τὸ πλεόν ἦν, κατηκόντισε. μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ἀλόντες προσήγοντο· καὶ οὐδὲ τῶνδε φειδόμενος οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἔκτεινεν ἅμφω καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Πραϊνεστόν Λουκρητίῳ περὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιενεγκεῖν ἔπεμψεν.

[93] Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their march, and then hastened in person with his whole army and encamped alongside the Colline gate around the temple of Venus about noon. The enemy were already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious. His left wing was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis. It fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were killed. The generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were killed and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Præneste to be displayed around the walls.

[94] Πραινέστιοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεώμενοι καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνος στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναί πάντα πυνθανόμενοι αὐτὸν τε Νωρβανὸν ἤδη φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ῥώμην ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σύλλαν ἐκτενῶς κεχειρῶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδωκαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς τάφρους ὑπονόμους καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἑαυτόν. Λουκρήτιος μὲν δὴ Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἰπεῖν· 'ἐρέτην δεῖ πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν.' Λουκρήτιος δ' ἐπεὶ Πραίνεστον εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίῳ στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνείλε. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραίνεστῳ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὄπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάνπαν, ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστήναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραίνεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέκηρυξεν, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὅμως, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γυναῖκα δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μετῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὖσαν.

ὥδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραίνεστός ἐάλω, Νῶρβα δ', ἐτέρα πόλις, ἀντείχεν ἔτι ἐγκρατῶς, ἔστε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου νυκτὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῆρουν, οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βρόχοις συνεπλέκοντο· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνέφραττον ἕτεροι καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν ... ἄνεμός τε πολλὸς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἑδαπάνησεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

[94] When the Prænestians saw them and knew that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the consul, saying that one ought to be a rower before he manages the helm. When Lucretius took Præneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Præneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three parts, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Prænestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he massacred to the last man. He allowed their wives and children to go unharmed. He plundered the town, which was extremely rich at that time. In this way was Præneste served. Norba, another town, still

resisted with all its might until Æmilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants were maddened by this treason. Some killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, others strangled themselves with ropes. Still others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was left in it. In this way did these stout-hearted men perish.

CHAPTER XI

Proscription and Massacre by Sulla — Confiscation and Murder in the Provinces — Sulla Triumphant — Is made Dictator for Life — The Sullan Constitution — Lucretius Ofella slain by Sulla's Order — Distress and Exhaustion of Italy

[95] καὶ οἶδε μὲν οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον: ἡνυσμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες τὰ ὕποπτα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς τε Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Κάρβωνος φίλους ἐστέλλετο: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν πολλὰ ἐμεγαληγόρησεν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ φοβερὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν εἶπεν ἕτερα καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολήν, εἰ πείθονται οἱ, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ φείσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἢ ταμίας ἢ χιλιάρχους ἢ ὅσοι τι συνέπραξαν ἄλλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μεθ' ἣν ἡμέραν Σκιπίων ὁ ὕπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατὰ κράτος. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα βουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προύγραφεν. οὗτος γὰρ δοκεῖ πρῶτος, οὗς ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, προγράψαι καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναιροῦσι καὶ μῆνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἀδοκίμως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτούμενοι: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασις τε ἐτέρων ἦν καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἐτέροις ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ζητῆται πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνήρουν.

[95] After accomplishing these deeds throughout Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities and established garrisons at the suspected places. Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the public if they would obey him. He would not spare one of his enemies, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by every means in his power on all prætors, quæstors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first one to punish by proscription, to offer prizes to assassins

and rewards wards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were picked up, carried to Sulla, and thrown down at his feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed.

[96] πολλή δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσίς τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἦν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανοῦ ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις στρατηγούντων ὑπήκουσαν. κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλευσεως ὅλως κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ' ἦν καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβόντος ἢ δόντος, ἤδη δέ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας ἡλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκμαζε μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ὥς δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετῆει καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαιρῶν ἢ κοινὰς ζημίας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἢ εἰσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις· ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπώκιζεν ὥς ἔξω φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τούσδε μεταφέρων διμερίζεν· ὁ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτοὺς εὖνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν· ὥς γὰρ οὐχ ἔξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ' εἶη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάντος.

καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νῆσον ὑποφεύγοντα πέμψας τινὰς ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἄγουσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἐς ὅσιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρις ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπεμψεν.

[96] There was much killing, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants. Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges — for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing heavy fines and contributions on them. Among most of

them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestering their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him during his life and even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all of Sulla's affairs were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he was deceased. While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, who had been thrice consul, he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, killed him and sent his head to Sulla.

[97] ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα, ὡς ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διώκητο καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι πλὴν Σερτωρίου μακρὰν ὄντος, Μέτελλον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐξέπεμπεν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίστατο ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἔτι, πεφρικότων ὑπὸ δέους πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ἢ σιωπώντων: οἱ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα διώκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν 'Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς.' ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὠνόμαζον: καὶ προῆλθεν εἰς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἢ κολακεία. ἤδη δέ που γραφῇ περιέτυχον ἡγουμένη τὸν Σύλλαν Ἐπαφροδίτον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπαικὸς ἐφαίνετό μοι καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο: δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἐπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαίουν τάδε σκεπτομένων τὰ μέλλοντα. "πεῖθεό μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν

Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν

ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε:

Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι

Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστρῳ

Καρῶν, οἱ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης:

ἦ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψῃ κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι."

ὁπότερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν εἰκόνα τιθέντες, δοκοῦσί μοι παρασκώπτοντες ἢ ἐκμειλισσόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον χρύσειον καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε: "τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,

ὃ σ' εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν

τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον."

[97] When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and managed everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, “Cornelius Sulla, a fortunate commander,” for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a history which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for he was also called Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same signification as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his question concerning the future, assured his prosperous career as follows: —

“Believe me, Roman, the Cyprian goddess cares for the race of Æneas and has given it great power. Render yearly gifts to all the immortals, and do not forget them. Convey gifts to Delphi. There is also a place where men go up under snowy Taurus, a wide-reaching city of the Carians, whose inhabitants have named it for Aphrodite. Give the goddess an axe and you shall gain sovereign power.”

Whichever decree the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have made the inscription by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla sent a golden crown and an axe to Venus with this inscription: —

“The dictator Sulla dedicates this to thee, Venus, because in a dream he saw thee in panoply setting the army in order of battle and fighting with the weapons of Mars.”

[98] ὁ δὲ ἔργῳ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἢ τύραννος, οὐχ αἰρετός, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βίᾳ, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ προσποιήματος αἰρετός εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὧδε καὶ τότε ἐμνηχανήσατο. Ῥωμαίοις πάλοι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἦσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς· καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἕτερος παρ' ἑτερον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦρχεν, ἕως τινὰ ἄλλον ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσειε βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθήμερον ἄρχοντα ἰντέρρηγα ἐκάλουν· εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν τοσῶδε βασιλεὺς. ἀρχαιρέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰὶ προυτίθεσαν· καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν ὑπατος οὐκ εἴη, ὧδε ὁ ἐν τοσῶδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε ἐγίγνετο ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραϊνεστόν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μὲν που τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ προσέταξεν ἐλῆσθαι τὸν καλούμενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα.

ἡ μὲν δὴ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον εἵλετο, ἐλπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθήσεσθαι

χειροτονίαν: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεγκεῖν, ὅτι χρήσιμον ἡγοῖτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔσθθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀρχήν, οὓς ἐκάλουν δικτάτορας, παυσάμενον ἕθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν: ὃν δὲ ἔλαιντο, ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην στάσει καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλλαν, καὶ οὐδ' ἀμφίβολον ἦν: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατασχὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκάλυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοίη μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος.

[98] Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, de facto, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed some pretence of being elected it was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and when one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people could decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the Interrex, which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Præneste. So Sulla went out of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex. They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote to Flaccus to bring before the people the proposition that he (Sulla) considered it advisable, under present circumstances, that the city should be governed by a dictator according to a custom that had been abandoned 400 years. He told them not to appoint the dictator for any definite time, but until the city and Italy and the whole government, so shaken by factions and wars, should be put upon a firm foundation. That this proposal referred to Sulla himself was not at all doubtful. Sulla made no concealment of it. At the conclusion of the letter he declared openly that, in his judgment, he could be serviceable to the city in that capacity.

[99] ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε ἐπέστελλε, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἐκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔτι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορίᾳ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν, ἐς ὅσον θέλοι, τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν δικτατόρων ἀρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δ' ὀρίζομένη: τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐντελής. τοσόνδε μέντοι προσέθεσαν εἰς εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ῥήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αἰροῖντο δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσειε, καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις δημοκρατίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπάτοις ἐτησίοις προστάταις ἐς ἄλλας ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας, αὐθις ἐπειρῶντο βασιλείας,

ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε ἀγωνίσματος πλὴν σταδίου δρόμου γιγνομένου: τοὺς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεάματα πάντα ὁ Σύλλας ἐς Ῥώμην μετεκέκλητο ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἢ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. πρόφασις δ' ἦν ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ καμάτων.

[99] Such was Sulla's letter. The Romans were unwilling, but they had no more opportunities for elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the absence of everything else, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But in Sulla's time it first became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny; yet they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils.

(Y.R. 673)

[100] ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἐγένοντο Μάρκος Τύλλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας: αὐτὸς δ' οἷα δὴ βασιλεύων δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἦν: πελέκεις τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα δικτάτορος, εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἡγοῦντο, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλήν. νόμους τε ἐξέλυε καὶ ἐτέρους ἐτίθετο: καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπέειπε, πρὶν ταμειῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτὶς ἄρχειν ἐκώλυσε, πρὶν ἔτη δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνείλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφῆνας καὶ νόμῳ κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν: διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἢ γένους ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ Σύλλας αὐτήν, καθὰ νῦν ἐστίν, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν. αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀμπαν ὀλιγανδρούση προσκατέλεξε ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἐκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοὺς δούλους τῶν ἀνηρημένων τοὺς νεωτάτους τε καὶ εὐρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, ἐλευθερώσας ἐγκατέλεξε καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορνηλίων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν, ὅπως ἐτοίμοις ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίοις χρῶτο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένοις τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν

ἐπένειμεν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ.

[100] Nevertheless, as the form of the republic remained (B.C. 81) he allowed them to appoint consuls. Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him, as was customary with dictators, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and he enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of prætor until after he had held that of quæstor, or to be consul before he had been prætor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who formerly contended for this office, shunned it thereafter. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate, where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes for each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10,000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Corneli after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10,000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land among the communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine.

[101] ἐς ἅπαντα δ' ἦν οὕτω φοβερός καὶ ἄκρος ὀργήν, ὥς καὶ Κόιντον Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν τὸν Πραίνεστον αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκπεπολιορκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱπέα ὄντα, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ στρατηγῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀξιοῦντα καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ κτεῖναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν: 'ἴστε μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι Λουκρήτιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθοῦντά μοι.' καὶ λόγον εἶπε: 'φθειρές γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον: ὁ δὲ δις μὲν,' ἔφη, 'τὸ ἄροτρον μεθεὶς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν: ὥς δ' αἰθὶς ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀργοίῃ, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσεν. κἀγὼ τοῖς δις ἡττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεθῆναι.' Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε καταπληζόμενος αὐτούς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο, ἦρχε. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ. καὶ τινες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρνούμενην βασιλείαν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτοι: οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων

μετέφερον καὶ τυραννίδα ὁμολογοῦσαν ἔλεγον.

[101] So terrible was he and so uncontrollable in anger that he slew in the middle of the forum Q. Lucretius Ofella, the one who had besieged and captured Præneste and the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him. He did this because, in spite of the new law, Lucretius persisted, though Sulla opposed and forbade, in being a candidate for the consulship while he was still in the equestrian order and before he had been quæstor and prætor, presuming on the greatness of his services, according to the former custom, and captivating the populace. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, “Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I caused the death of Lucretius because he disobeyed me.” And then he told the following story: “A husbandman was bitten by fleas while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to clear them out of his shirt. When they bit him, again he burned his shirt, so that he might not be so often interrupted in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time fire be brought in requisition.” With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government “the royalty disavowed” because only the name of king was concealed. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it “the tyranny confessed.”

[102] ἔς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὃδε προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις, ἄρτι δ' ἀποροῦντος τοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις εἰσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε γὰρ πάντα καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις, οὐχ ὅσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἑαυτὰς ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἔνορκοι καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην αὐτόνομοι τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔνιαι καὶ λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηροῦντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κῶν ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτῃ, διαφυγόντα δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη γενόμενον, ἐνηφίσατο βασιλεῦεν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐρήμου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχῆς ἀνδρὸς οὔσης καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅσαι βασιλείου γένους, ἀνδρὸς συγγενοῦς δεομένων, ἐλπίσας χρηματιεῖσθαι πολλὰ ἐκ βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃν ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλα πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον, ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου προαγαγόντες ἔκτειναν. οὕτως ἔτι καὶ οἶδε διὰ τε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἰδίας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαθεῖς ἀφόβως εἶχον ἐτέρων.

[102] Into such evils were the Romans and all the Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were all the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the

deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey. Some that had surrendered themselves under treaty arrangements were deprived of their territory and their harbors. Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria. He did this because the government of Alexandria was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he (Sulla) expected to reap a large reward from the rich kingdom. As Alexander behaved himself in a very offensive manner toward them, relying upon Sulla, the Alexandrians, on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium and put him to death; so little fear had they of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as yet of external dangers.

CHAPTER XII

Sulla's Abdication — Character of Sulla — His Death, and Funera (Y.R. 674)

[103] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σύλλας, καίπερ ὦν δικτάτωρ, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὁμῶς καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρατικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη καὶ ὕπατος αὐθις γενέσθαι σὺν Μετέλλῳ τῷ Εὐσεβεῖ. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως ἔτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέες, ὑπάτους ἀποφαίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι.

τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν θεραπεύων ἡρεῖτο ὑπατεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερουίλιον Ἰσαυρικὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον Ποῦλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο. καὶ μοι θαῦμα μὲν καὶ τόδε αὐτοῦ καταφαίνεται τοσὴνδε ἀρχὴν πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ μόνον ἐς τότε Σύλλαν οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος ἀποθέσθαι, οὐ παισίν, ὥς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Σέλευκος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις: ἄλογον δ' ἤδη καὶ τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥιποκινδύνως, ἐπεῖτε ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, ἐκόντα ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον, οἷον οὕτω τι ἕτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι νεότητος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πλέον μυριάδων δέκα ἀνηρημένης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτὸν ἀνελόντα βουλευτὰς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπάτους δ' ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχιλίου καὶ ἐξακοσίου σὺν τοῖς ἐξεληλαμένοις: ὧν τῆς τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀτάφων ἐκριφέντων, οὔτε τοὺς οἴκοι ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τοὺς φεύγοντας καταπλαγεῖς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὧν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τεῖχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφῆρητο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἰδιώτην.

[103] The following year Sulla, although he was dictator (B.C. 80) undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors now make a showing of consuls to the country and even exhibit themselves in that capacity, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power. The next year the people, in order to pay court to Sulla, chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher for their suffrages, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody was troubling him. This act seems wonderful to me — that Sulla should have been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had

perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies ninety senators, fifteen consulars, and 2600 of the so-called knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and many of their bodies cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose (Y.R. 675) towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands (B.C. 79) money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now returned to private life.

[104] τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὃν γέ φασιν ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἴ τις αἰτοίῃ, τῶν γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπόσασθαι καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσαι θεωμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ καταπεπληγότος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μειράκιον ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος ὀργὴν γενόμενος εὐσταθῶς τὸ μειράκιον ἤνεγκε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσιῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε ἀπὸ ξυνέσεως εἴτε καὶ τύχῃ καταμαντευόμενος τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι κωλύσει τὸ μειράκιον τότε ἕτερον ἄνδρα ἀρχὴν τοιάνδε ἔχοντα ἀποθέσθαι.

καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνηέχθη μετ' ὀλίγον, Γαῖου Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι μεθέντος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεῖ, ἐς πάντα σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τύραννος ἐξ ιδιώτου γενέσθαι καὶ ιδιώτης ἐκ τυράννου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἀγροίκου διαγενέσθαι. διήλθε γὰρ ἐς χωρία ἴδια ἐς Κύμην τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐρημίας θαλάσσης τε καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ ἐχρῆτο, οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τὸν κατὰ ἄστρῳ ιδιώτην βίον οὐδ' ἀσθενὴς ὢν αὐθις ἐς ὃ τι ὀρμήσειεν· ὃ δυνατὴ μὲν ἔτι ἡ ἡλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δωδέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν ἔναγχος ὑπεστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ γῆν πολλὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἔτοιμοι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄστρῳ μύριοι Κορνήλιοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεῶς, εὖνους αὐτῷ καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν ἔτι τοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀδεές, ὢν τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεπεπράχσαν, ἐν τῷ Σύλλαν περιεῖναι τιθέμενοι· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κόρον τε πολέμων καὶ κόρον ἀρχῆς καὶ κόρον ἄστεος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγροικίας ἐρασθῆναι.

[104] So great was this man's boldness and good fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his body-guard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reproached by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him, and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his

intelligence or by chance, "This young man will prevent any other holder of such power from laying it down." This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, for Gaius Cæsar never laid down his power. Sulla seems to me to have been the same masterful and able man in all respects, whether striving to reach supreme power from private life, or changing back to private life from supreme power, or later when passing his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumæ in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might try to do. He was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in coöperation with him. But I think that he was satiated with war, with power, with city affairs, and that he took to rural life finally because he loved it.

(Y.R. 676)

[105] ἄρτι δ' ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι φόνου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡσυχῇ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερριπίζοντο ἑτέρας. καὶ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόιντός τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέρεσθαι. δηλὸν τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦδε γενησόμενον.

Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἤδη καλοῖη: καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ ὄναρ ἐξειπὼν διαθήκας συνέγραφεν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συνετέλει: σφραγισαμένῳ δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπίπτει καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη βιώσας, εὐτυχέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ἔς τε τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα πάντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὠνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκῶν, εἰ δὴ τις εὐτυχίαν ἡγοῖτο τυχεῖν ὅσων ἂν ἐθέλῃ. γίνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ᾧστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιοῦν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λέπιδον ἐνισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι, καὶ ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπικταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππέες καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐκ ποδὸς ὠπλισμένος εἶπετο. οἱ τε ὑποστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν ὠπλισμένοι συνέθεον καί, ὥς ἕκαστος ἀφικνοῖτο, εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον καθίσταντο: ἄλλο τε πλῆθος, ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ, συνέτρεχεν. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖα καὶ πελέκει, ὅσοις περιὼν ἔτι καὶ ἀρχῶν ἐκοσμεῖτο.

[105] Directly after his retirement the Romans, although (B.C. 78) delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to fan the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Æmilius Lepidus were chosen consuls, the

former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were brewing. While he was living in the country Sulla had a dream in which he thought he saw his Genius already calling him. Early in the morning he told the dream to his friends and in haste began writing his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and had been the most fortunate of men even to the very last, and realized in all respects the title he bore; that is, if one can be considered fortunate who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's corpse was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendor. Musicians and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His fellow-soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came. The crowd of other people that came together was unprecedented. The standards and the fasces that he had used while living and ruling were borne in the procession.

[106] ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἡνέχθη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοί τε γὰρ δισχιλίων πλείους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δῶρα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων τελῶν καὶ καθ' ἓνα τῶν φίλων, ἄλλη τε τῶν ἐς τὴν ταφὴν πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατὴ φράσαι πολυτέλεια. καὶ τὸ σῶμα δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἱερέες τε ἅμα πάντες καὶ ἱέρειαι, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, τὰ σφέτερα σημεῖα ἐπικεῖμενοι. κόσμῳ δ' ἄλλῳ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων πλῆθος εἶπετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῷ: συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῇ, τὸ ἔργον ἅπαντες ἐπειγόμενοι καταλαβεῖν, σημεῖα τε φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὄπλα ἐπὶ σφίσι περιάργυρα, οἷς ἔτι νῦν ἐς τὰς πομπὰς εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. σαλπικτῶν τε ἄπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὑγρότατα καὶ πένθιμα μελωδούντων. βοῇ δ' ἐπευφήμουν ἢ τε βουλὴ πρώτη καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες ἐν μέρει, εἰθ' ὁ στρατὸς, εἰθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ μὲν τῷ ὄντι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπιποθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δειμαίνοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐχ ἡττον ἢ περιόντος: ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν γιγνομένων ἀποβλέποντες καὶ ἐς τὴν μνήμην ὧν ἔδρασεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐξεπλήττοντο καὶ ὠμολόγουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐτυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι καὶ σφίσι καὶ τεθνεῶτα φοβερώτατον. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα δημηγοροῦσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, προυτέθη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιταφίους λόγους εἶπεν ὁ κράτιστος εἰπεῖν τῶν τότε, ἐπεὶ Φαῦστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ἦν ἔτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ὑποδύντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρες εὖρωστοι διεκόμιζον ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἄρειον, ἔνθα βασιλέες θάπτονται μόνοι: καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ τε ἱππῆες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.

[106] When the remains reached the city they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the splendid things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each in proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of the Roman knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who by turns played the most mournful dirges. Loud cries were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most beneficial to his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The corpse was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches were usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the litter and carried it to the Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army coursed around the funeral pile. And this was the last of Sulla.

CHAPTER XIII

New Dissensions in Rome — The War with Sertorius — Pompey sent against him — Sertorius defeats Pompey — Wars Elsewhere — Sertorius puts Pompey to flight at Pallantia — Sertorius assassinated by Perpenna — Perpenna takes the Command — Is defeated and slain by Pompey

[107] καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τοῦτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς χωροῦντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὑπατοὶ λόγοις βλασφήμοις ἐς ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ ἀστικὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διήρητο. Λέπιδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἣν ὁ Σύλλας ἀφῆρητο, ἀποδώσει. ἅμφω μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ δείσασα ὥρκωσε μὴ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι, κληρωσάμενος δ' ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις Γαλατίαν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια οὐ κατήει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς Συλλεῖσι τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄρκον ἀδεῶς· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτος ὥρκῳσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ', ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλευεν, ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελευσόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ. κωλυόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκήρυττε Κάτλος. μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἡττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἔτι ἀντισχών ἐς Σαρδῶν διέπλευσεν, ἔνθα νόσῳ τηκεδόνι χρώμενος ἀπέθανε· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἦγαγε Σερτωρίῳ.

[107] Directly after their return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with them. Lepidus, in order to curry favor with the Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of war. To Lepidus the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot and he did not come back to the comitia because he would be released in the following year from his oath about making war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms and Catulus did the same on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterward to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved, the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

[108] λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλεῖων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίου, γενόμενον μὲν ὀκτάετες, οὐκ εὐμαρὲς δὲ σὺδαμὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ἰβήρας αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς Σερτώριον, ὃς ἦρητο μὲν Ἰβηρίας

ἄρχειν, Κάρβωνι δ' ἐπὶ Σύλλα συμμαχῶν Σύεσσαν πόλιν ἐν σπονδαῖς κατέλαβε καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὤχετο. καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καὶ τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας τοὺς τε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, οὐ παραδιδόντας οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς χάριν Σύλλα, τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ πρὸς Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀπεμάχετο γενναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὢν ἐπὶ τόλμῃ, βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἔκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους καὶ τήνδε ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ' ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λεπίδου μετὰ Σύλλαν, στρατὸν ἔχων ἄλλον Ἰταλῶν, ὅσον αὐτῷ Περπέννας ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατηγὸς ἤγαγεν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ δεῖσασα ἡ βουλὴ στρατὸν τε ἄλλον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ Πομπήϊον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, νέον μὲν ἔτι ὄντα, περιφανῇ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ Σύλλα περὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο.

[108] There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been chosen governor of Spain while he was coöperating with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his prætorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former prætors, who, in order to favor Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus, who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision (Y.R. 677) of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, he (B.C. 77) obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed that he intended to march against Italy itself, and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself.

[109] ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἀλπεῖα ὄρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνῆει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἐτέραν δ' ἐχάρασεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ, οἱ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ρεῖ δ' ὁ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον, Πάδος ἀντὶ Ἡριδανοῦ μετονομασθεῖς. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος ὄλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε καὶ Λαύρωνα πόλιν ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπήϊου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γυνή τις ἐνυβρίζοντος αὐτῇ τοῦ λαβόντος παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐξέτεμε τὰς ὄψεις: καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος τὴν σπεῖραν ὅλην, ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ οὐσαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν κατέκανε.

[109] Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not in the face of such difficulties as Hannibal experienced, but he opened another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic. The name of the latter has been changed from the Eridanus to the Po.

(Y.R. 678) Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces (B.C. 76) a whole legion of his army, that had been sent out foraging, with its animals and servants. He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter.

(Y.R. 679)

[110] καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος διέστησαν, ἀρχομένου δ' ἤρος ἐπήεσαν ἀλλήλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὁρῶν, ἔνθα διεχέιμαζον, Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πόλιν, ἣ ὄνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ' ἐν αἰθρία φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένων, τάδε μὲν ὥς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολλὸν δ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἐξειργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ὁ Πομπήιος. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης.

ἔλαφος δ' ἦν λευκὴ χειροήτης τῷ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ ἄνετος· ἥς ἀφανοῦς γενομένης ὁ Σερτώριος οὐκ αἴσιον ἑαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυθύμει τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὥς δ' ὤφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμῳ φερομένη, ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, ἠκροβολίσατο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους.

οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἀγῶνα μέγαν ἠγωνίσατο περὶ Σεγοντίαν ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἄστρα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἵππομαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπήιου καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλὼν ἐς ἡμίσεας· Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας πολλοὺς βαρβάρους προσλαβὼν ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκῆτως τῷ Μετέλλου στρατοπέδῳ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὥς ἀποταφρεύσων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμῃ, Πομπήιου δ' ἐπιδραμόντος ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως.

καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν διεκρίθησαν:

[110] When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metellus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees mountains, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers were not in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who received a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh, and this put an end to that battle. Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not visible Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting; nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her and, as though he were inspired by her, he would begin to harass the enemy. Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night. Sertorius fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that number himself. Metellus at the same time destroyed (B.C. 75) about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reënforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of besieging it with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his bold enterprise. In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters.

(Y.R. 680)

[111] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἕκτης ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος οὕσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν ἔθνη Ῥωμαίοις προσεγίγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ Λαγίδου βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἦν Ἀπίων, πόλεμοι δ' ἤκμαζον οὗτός τε ὁ Σερτωρίου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ὁ τῶν ληστῶν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ περὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρήτας ἕτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν μονομάχων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁδε καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ γενόμενος. διαιρούμενοι δ' ἐς τοσαῦτα, ὅμως καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ δύο τέλη, μεθ' ὧν ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ Μέτελλός τε καὶ Πομπήιος αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας.

[111] The following year, which was in the 176th Olympiad (B.C. 74) two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy Apion, of the house of the Lagidae. There were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another one around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many

conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees mountains to the Ebro and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus.

[112] καὶ τότε μάλιστα πολλοὶ Σερτωρίου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον ἡτομόλουν, ἐφ' ᾧ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐλυμαίνετο πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγίνετο. μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος, Ῥωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τοῖσδε ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπέτρεπεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφερον ἐς ἀπιστίαν ὀνειδιζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ πολεμίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτούς, τὸ ἀπίστους ἐς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτώριον γενομένους ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἡξίουσαν διὰ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγνώσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι, ἐνύβριζον ὡς ἀπιστουμένοις. οἱ δ' οὐ τελέως ὅμως τὸν Σερτώριον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὰς χρείας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπιτυχέστερος. ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν ἐκάλουν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν θρασυτάτον τε καὶ ἀπατηλότατον στρατηγὸν παρὰ σφίσι ἐδόκουν γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὧδε εἶχε Σερτωρίῳ, πόλεις δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπήκοα σφίσι μετήγον. Παλαντίαν δὲ Πομπηίου περικαθημένου καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ξύλων κορμοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ Σερτώριος τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐξέλυσε, τὰ τεῖχη δ' ἐφθασεν ὑποκαύσας ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἐς Μέτελλον ἀνεχώρει. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ἤγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τι χωρίον Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐπιδραμὼν ἔκτεινε τρισχιλίους. καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ.

[112] Sertorius was so exasperated by this that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and fell into disrepute in consequence. The soldiers blamed him particularly because wherever he went he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, removing the latter in favor of the former. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account, was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they were not altogether alienated from Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius.

The forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Pallantia and underrunning the walls with wooden supports, Sertorius suddenly appeared on the scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire to the timbers and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.

(Y.R. 681)

[113] τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον τι θαρρήσαντες ἐπήεσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ περιέσπων καὶ ἐτέροις ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρόμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις. οὐ μέντοι μεγάλη γε μάχη συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' αὐθις ... , μέχρι τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐθις ἐπήεσαν σὺν πλέονι μᾶλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος βλάπτοντος ἤδη θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον ἐκὼν μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ κόμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. ὅθεν ἡττᾶτο συνεχῶς. καὶ γεγένητο ὀργὴν τε ἄκρος δι' ὑπονοίας ποικίλας καὶ ὁμότατος ἐς κόλασιν καὶ ὑπόπτῃς ἐς ἅπαντας, ὥστε καὶ Περπένναν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰμιλίου στάσεως ἐκόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, δεῖσαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλευσάι μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δέκα. ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶνδ' εἰς τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδειχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκολάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας παρὰ δόξαν λαθὼν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἡπείγετο καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθιέντα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν περιεστῶσαν τὸν ἀνδρῶνα φυλακὴν ἔκτεινεν ἀπὸ τῆς διαίτης.

[113] In the following year the Roman generals plucked (B.C. 73) up rather more courage and advanced in an audacious manner against the towns that adhered to Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but again . . . until the following year, when they advanced again even more audaciously. Sertorius was now (Y.R. 682) evidently misled by a god, for he relaxed his labors, fell (B.C. 72) into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, and to carousing and drinking, for which reason he was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, and extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody, so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come hither as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped detection in some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a banquet, plied him and his guards with wine, and assassinated him after the feast.

[114] καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀνίστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὖνοιαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανούσι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν μεθιάσιν, οὐκ ἐμποδῶν ἔτι τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄντος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης ἐπανάσι. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὡς ιδιώτου κατεφρόνουν, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν Σερτωρίου μόνην ἂν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Λυσιτανοί, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος ἐχρήτο.

ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν τῶν Σερτωρίου ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῷ κλήρῳ, μᾶλλον τι πάντας ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος ἐς τὸν Περπένναν ἐσήει, ὥς οὐκ ἐς ἄρχοντα μόνον ἢ στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοσόνδε μύσος ἐργασάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ χειρῶν ἀπέσχοντο, εἰ μὴ περιθέων αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τοὺς μὲν δώροις ὑπηγάγετο, τοὺς δ' ὑποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐτέρων. ἐπὶ τε τὰ πλήθη παρερχόμενος ἐδημαγῶγει καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας αὐτῶν ἐξέλευν, οὓς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδωκεν, καὶ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι τὰ ὄμηρα ἀπέλευν. οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑπήκουον μὲν ὥς στρατηγῷ 'τὸ γὰρ δὴ μετὰ Σερτώριον εἶχεν ἀξιώμα, οὐ μέντοι χωρὶς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε ἐγίνοντο: καὶ γὰρ ὠμότατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρρήσας ἐφαίνετο καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἔκτεινε τρεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑαυτοῦ.

[114] The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when the one who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory. Reflecting on their present situation they despised Perpenna as though he had been a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; most of all were the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself. When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced to submission in this way they obeyed him as praetor (for he held the next rank to Sertorius) yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own

[115] ὥς δὲ ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ὄχετο 'οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυσχερὲς ἐδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπὶ μὲν τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐγίνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι καὶ ἀπόπειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθρουν τὸν στρατόν, τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς μέγιστος ἐξεργάγη. ἐνὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ κρίναντες διακριθῆναι, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς Περπέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρόνει, Περπέννας δ' ὥς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τῷ στρατῷ, πάσῃ σχεδὸν τῇ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχὺ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος περιῆν ὥς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέροντος οὔτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπῆς πάντων ὁμαλοῦς γενομένης ὁ μὲν Περπέννας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ πόας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιὼς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων: λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν ἱππέες τινες εἶλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐπιβλασφημούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ιδίων ὥς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου καὶ βοῶντα πολλὰ μηνύσειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τῆς Ῥώμῃ στάσεως: ἔλεγε δὲ εἴτε ἀληθεύων εἶθ' ἵνα σῶος ἀχθεῖη πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθειν, δείσας ἄρα, μὴ τι μηνύσειεν ἀδόκητον καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχῇ κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο. καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐμφρόνως πάνυ τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος πρᾶξαι καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τότε εἰς δόξαν ἀγαθὴν. τέλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμῳ, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ τοῦ βίου γενόμενον: δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε εὐμαρῶς οὕτως, ἔτι Σερτωρίου περιόντος, συντελεσθῆναι.

[115] As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain, — for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna, — these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great battle was fought between them. They resolved to decide the contest by one engagement — Pompey because he despised the generalship of Perpenna; Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he could now engage with nearly his whole strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffected army. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy's. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged toward Pompey's headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he could give Pompey a great deal of information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey's presence, but the latter sent orders to kill him before bringing him into his presence, fearing lest the news that Perpenna wanted to communicate should be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so successfully.

CHAPTER XIV

The War with Spartacus — He defeats the Romans in Several Engagements — Crassus appointed to the Command — He defeats and kills Spartacus — End of the War — Rivalry of Pompey and Crassus — Their Reconciliation (Y.R. 681)

[116] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μονομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θρᾷξ ἀνὴρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὢν, ἔπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε· καὶ τινὼν ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὅπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἐνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ἐλήστευε τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίξον μονομάχους. μεριζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν 'οὐ γάρ πω Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ ληστηρίῳ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, συμβαλόντες ἡττῶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἐπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧσιν τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν.

[116] *At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, persuaded about (B.C. 73) seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away. They armed themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighboring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Cnomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterward Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. When they attacked Spartacus they were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did a Roman praetor escape being captured by a gladiator. After this still*

greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected apparatus.

(Y.R. 682)

[117] καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἡττάτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς· Σπάρτακος δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας Κρίξῳ, δωδέκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπισφάζας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα κοῦφος εἴη· αὐτομόλῳν τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιόντων οὐδένα προσίετο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὐθις περὶ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὅδε γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσσα Ῥωμαίων.

ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω, ὥς οὐπὼ γεγονὼς ἀξιόμαχος οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιωτικῶς ὠπλισμένον 'οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις, ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλυδες', τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίου καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὠνοῦντο πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἠδίκουν. ὅθεν ἀθρόας ὕλης εὐπορήσαντες εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ λεηλασίας ἐξήρσαν. Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες ἐπανήρσαν.

[117] Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavored to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his march while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the manes of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here was another great battle and then, too, a great defeat for the Romans. Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the (B.C. 72) mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought

largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and continued in robbery for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

(Y.R. 683)

[118] Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερός αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας ὄκνος ἐπεῖχεν ἅπαντας καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὐδεῖς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἤλανθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον: ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας ὡς πολλάκις ἡττημένων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε καὶ ἡττημένον, πάντων διακληρῶσαι τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοιάσαντα. ὁποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἥττης φανεῖς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδευόντων ἐκράτει καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλανε τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίδωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευσούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.

[118] This war, so formidable to the Romans (although (B.C. 71) ridiculous and contemptible in the beginning, considered as the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new prætors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the prætorship and marched against Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, he demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy. Presently he overcame 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

[119] βιαζομένου δ' ἐς τὴν Σαννίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν, ἔκτεινεν ὁ Κράσσος ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἑω καὶ περὶ δεῖλην ἐς τοσοῦσδε ἑτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ μόνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἐπὶ

τρωθέντων: τοσῆδε ἦν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἰππέας ποθὲν προσιόντας αὐτῷ περιμένων οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦι τῷ στρατῷ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους τε ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ, δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν ὄψιν ὧν πείσονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες, εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἤδη δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον.

[119] Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their morale inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting from somewhere a reënforcement of horse, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labor difficult. He crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. When the Romans in the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reënforcement.

[120] διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἀξίῳ, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλεῖτο. ὑπερορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε ἔγνω καί, παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἤδη, ὥσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διὰ τοῦ περιτειγίσματος καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσου διώκοντος. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ νίκης ἐπανίοντα, εἶναι, πάντων ἀπογνοὺς ἐς χεῖρας ἦι τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους: γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὥς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον. ὃ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἤδη κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὥς φόνον γενέσθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὗρεθῆναι. πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόν: ἐφ' οὗς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἐξακισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ

[120] On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundisium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundisium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.

[121] καὶ τότε Κράσος ἐξ μηνὶν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήριστος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ δόξῃ τῇ Πομπηίου γίνεται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθίει, διότι μὴδὲ Πομπήιος, ἐς δὲ ὑπατείαν ἄμφω παρήγγελον, ὁ μὲν ἐστρατηγηκὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγήσας οὔτε ταμιεύσας ἔτος τε ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάζειν. αἰρεθέντες δὲ ὕπατοι οὐδ' ὥς μεθίεσαν τὸν στρατὸν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπανιόντα Μέτελλον, ὁ δὲ Κράσος, ὡς Πομπήιον δέον προδιαλῦσαι.

καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὀρῶν καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων συναλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο· ὡς δὲ καὶ θεόληπτοί τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ μὴ συναλλαγεῖεν οἱ ὕπατοι, ὁ δῆμος αὖθις αὐτοὺς μετ' οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάννυ ταπεινῶς, ἔτι τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Κράσος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δ' ὑπανίστατο καὶ προσέτρεχε. καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἀλλήλους εὐφημίαι τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφέσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἥδε μεγάλη στάσις ἔσσεσθαι κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῷδε τῷ μέρει τῶν

ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.

[121] Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honors between himself and Pompey. Crassus did not dismiss his army, for Pompey did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been prætor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither prætor nor quæstor, and was only thirty-four years old. He promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be restored.

(Y.R. 684) When they were chosen consuls they did not even (B.C. 70) then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph. Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first. The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other. At first both of them repelled these solicitations. When certain persons, who seemed to be divinely inspired, predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentation and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave the assembly until the consuls had given orders in writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the killing of Tiberius Gracchus. GAIUS MARIUS Visconti's Rom. Icon. (Duruy)

BOOK 2

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύλλα μοναρχίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σερτώριός τε καὶ Περπέννας περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔδρασαν, ἕτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν καθεῖλεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τινὲς ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκανον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅπως ἀνηρέθησαν ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γάιος, ἡ δευτέρα τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε δηλοῖ.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ἄρτι τὴν θάλασσαν καθήρας ἀπὸ τῶν ληστηρίων τότε μάλιστα πανταχοῦ πλεονασάντων Μιθριδάτην ἐπὶ τοῖς λησταῖς καθηρήκει, Πόντου βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη προσέλαβεν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἑω, διετάσσετο· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἔτι νέος, δεινὸς εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πράξαι, τολμῆσαι τε ἐς πάντα καὶ ἐλπίζειν περὶ ἀπάντων, ἐς δὲ δὴ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφειδῆς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀγορανομῶν ἔτι καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶναι κατάχρεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει δαιμονίως ὑπεραρέσκειν, τῶν δήμων αἰεὶ τοὺς δασιλεῖς ἐπαινούντων.

CHAPTER I

The Conspiracy of Catiline — Discovered by Cicero — The Conspirators arrested, and put to Death — Battle of Pistoria and Death of Catiline

Y.R.

AFTER the reign of Sulla, and the later operations of

B.C.

Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Cæsar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Cæsar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of exercising royal power. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Cæsar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show. Pompey had (Y.R. 690) lately cleared the sea of pirates, who were then more numerous (B.C. 64) than ever before, and afterward had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Cæsar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, daring in every way, ambitious of everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honors. While yet ædile and prætor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures.

[2] Γάιος δὲ Κατρίνας, μεγέθει τε δόξης καὶ γένους λαμπρότητι περιώνυμος, ἔμπληκτος ἀνὴρ, δόξας ποτὲ καὶ υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν δι' Αὐρηλίας Ὅρεστίλλης ἔρωτα, οὐχ ὑφισταμένης τῆς Ὅρεστίλλης παῖδα ἔχοντι γήμασθαι, Σύλλα φίλος τε καὶ στασιώτης καὶ ζηλωτὴς μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐκ δὲ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὅδε ἐς πενίαν ὑπενηνεγμένος καὶ θεραπευόμενος ἔτι πρὸς δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παρήγγελλεν ὡς τῇδε παροδεύσων ἐς τυραννίδα. πάγχυ δ' ἐλπίσας αἰρεθῆσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τήνδε ἀπεκρούσθαι, καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ἤρχεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι, Κατρίνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐς ὕβριν τῶν ἐλομένων ἐπέσκωπτεν, ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους καινὸν ὀνομάζων 'καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους', ἐς δ' ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως ἰγκουιλῖνον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. αὐτὸς δὲ πολιτείαν μὲν ὅλως ἔτι ἀπεστρέφετο ἐκ τοῦδε, ὡς οὐδὲν μοναρχίαν ταχὺ καὶ μέγα φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔριδος καὶ φθόνου μεστήν: χρήματα δ' ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἠλιζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν, συνώνυμότησιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, συνῆγε δὲ καὶ δημότας καὶ ξένους καὶ θεράποντας. καὶ πάντων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῷ Κορνήλιος Λέντιος καὶ Κέθηγος, οἱ τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατήγουν. ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπεμπεν ἐς τῶν Συλλείων τοὺς τὰ κέρδη τῆς τότε βίας ἀναλωκότας καὶ

ὀρεγομένους ἔργων ὁμοίων, ἐς μὲν Φαισούλας τῆς Τυρρηνίας Γάιον Μάλλιον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα καὶ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐτέρους, οἱ στρατὸν αὐτῶ συνέλεγον ἀφανῶς.

[2] At this time Lucius Catiline was a person of importance, of great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman. It was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to CICERO In the Museum at Madrid (Bernoulli (Y.R. 691) facts were not yet publicly known, was nevertheless fearful (B.C. 63) lest suspicion should increase with time. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Fæsulæ and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Manlius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Manlius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Fæsulæ, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, expecting to be admitted because of their rank; enter into conversation with him in the vestibule on some subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero of timidity and of stirring up war and disturbing the city without cause, and that on the night following Bestia's speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and plundered, and the leading citizens killed.

[3] καὶ τότε πάντα ἔτι ἀγνοούμενα Φουλβία γυναῖον οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἐμήνυε τῷ Κικέρωνι: ἥς ἐρῶν Κόιντος Κούριος, ἀνὴρ δι' ὀνείδη πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεωσμένος καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Κατιλίνα συνθήκης ἤξιωμένος, κούφως μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξέφερεν οἷα πρὸς ἐρωμένην, ὡς αὐτίκα δυναστεύσων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γιγνομένων λόγος ἐφοίτα. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τὴν τε πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων φρουραῖς διελάμβανε καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξέτεμπε πολλοὺς ἐς πάντα τὰ ὑποπτα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφεδρεῖν. Κατιλίνας δ', οὐδενὸς μὲν πω θαρροῦντος αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἀγνωσίαν, δεδιῶς δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ἡγούμενος ὑποπτον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τὰ τε χρήματα προὔπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντειλάμενος κτείνειν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι μιᾶς ἐξῆι πρὸς Γάιον Μάλλιον ὡς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ράβδους τε καὶ πελέκας ὥς τις ἀνθύπατος κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει στρατολογῶν: Λέντῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἔδοξεν, ὅτε Κατιλίαν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυκνάνοιντο γεγενῆσθαι, Λέντῳ μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέθηγον ἐφεδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος θύραις περὶ ἕω μετὰ κεκρυμμένων

ξιφιδίῳ, ἐσδεχθέντας τε διὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ λαλοῦντας ὅτιδὴ μηκῦναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτῳ καὶ κτεῖναι περισπάσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Λεύκιον δὲ Βησιτίαν τὸν δῆμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Βησιτίῳ δημηγορίᾳ, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα τῆς ἐπιούσης, ἑτέρους ἐν δυώδεκα τόποις ἐμπιπράναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαρπάζειν καὶ κατακτείνειν τοὺς ἀρίστους.

[4] ὧδε μὲν Λέντλω καὶ Κεθήγῳ καὶ Στατιλίῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν· Ἀλλοβρίγων δὲ πρέσβεις, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, ... ἐς τὴν Λέντλου συνωμοσίαν ἐπήχθησαν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους τὴν Γαλατίαν. καὶ Λέντλος μὲν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπεν ἐς Κατιλίαν Βουλτούρκιον, ἄνδρα Κροτωνιάτην, γράμματα χωρὶς ὀνομάτων γεγραμμένα φέροντα· οἱ δ' Ἀλλόβριγες ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκοινώσαντο Φαβίῳ Σάγγα, ὃς ἦν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ὥσπερ ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Σάγγα μαθὼν ὁ Κικέρων συνέλαβεν ἀπὸντας τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας τε καὶ Βουλτούρκιον καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εὐθέως ἐπήγαγεν· οἱ δ' ὠμολόγουν, ὅσα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λέντλον συνῆδσαν, ἀχθέντας τε ἤλεγχον, ὡς ὁ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος εἶποι πολλάκις εἰμάρθαι τρεῖς Κορνηλίους γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων μονάρχους, ὧν ἤδη Κίνναν καὶ Σύλλαν γεγόνεαι.

[4] Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for the appointed time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were in the city making complaint against their magistrates, were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state — it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who captured the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate. They confessed to their understanding with Lentulus and testified in his presence that Cornelius Lentulus had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

[5] λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Λέντλον παρέλυσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἕκαστον ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν στρατηγῶν διαθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν αὐτίκα καὶ ψήφον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδίδου. θόρυβος δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀγνοουμένου ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς, καὶ δέος τῶν συνεγνωκότων. αὐτοῦ δὲ Λέντλου καὶ Κεθήγου θεράποντες τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι, χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες, κατ' ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήρσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν οἰκίας ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐξαρπασόμενοι. ὧν ὁ Κικέρων πυθόμενος ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ

βουλευτηρίου καὶ διαθεῖς ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φύλακας ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπετάχυνε. Σιλανὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἔλεγεν, ὅς ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἥρητο ὑπατεύειν: ὧδε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσειν πρῶτος ἐσφέρει γνώμην, ὡς αὐτός, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενος καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου. ἀξιοῦντι δὲ τῷ Σιλανῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτη κολάσει μετιέναι πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο, ἕως, ἐπὶ Νέρωνα τῆς γνώμης περιούσης, ὁ Νέρων ἐδικαίου φυλάττειν αὐτούς, μέχρι Κατιλίαν ἐξέλωσι πολέμῳ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μάθωσι,

[5] When they had so testified the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the conspirators under arrest at the houses of the prætors, and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate concerning them. In the meantime there was a great tumult around the senate-house, the affair being as yet little understood, and those who did understand it being alarmed. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reënforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the prætors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senate-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the one who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and circumspection to each. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came Nero's turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

[6] γαίός τε Καῖσαρ οὐ καθαρεύων μὲν ὑπονοίας μὴ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κικέρωνος δ' οὐ θαρροῦντος καὶ τόνδε, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα προβαλέσθαι, προσετίθει διαθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας Κικέρωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ, μέχρι Κατιλίνα καταπολεμηθέντος ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπαχθῶσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐς ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς ἢ πρὸ λόγου καὶ δίκης ἐξεργασμένους. δικαίου δὲ τῆς γνώμης φανείσης καὶ δεχθείσης, ἀκρατῶς οἱ πολλοὶ μετετίθεντο, μέχρι Κάτων ἤδη σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτων τὴν ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑποψίαν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεδιὼς ἀμφοῖν τῇ νυκτὶ προσιούσῃ, μὴ τὸ συνεγνωκὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσι πλήθος αἰωρούμενον ἔτι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεδιὼς περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐργάσεται τι ἄτοπον, ἐπεισαν ὡς αὐτοφώρων ἄνευ κρίσεως καταγῶναι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν, ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς συνεστῶσης, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον μεταγαγὼν, τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος, ἐπεῖδεν ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ παροδύων ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι τεθνᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ διελύοντο πεφρικότες τε καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἀγαπῶντες ὡς διαλαθόντες.

οὕτω μὲν ἡ πόλις ἀνέπνευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους πολλοῦ σφίσις ἐκείνης τῆς

[6] Gaius Cæsar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Cæsar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility in advance of argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Cæsar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out. Thus the city breathed freely once more after the great fear that had weighed upon it that day.

(Y.R. 692)

[7] Κατρίναν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα καὶ τούτων τεταρτημόριον ὀπλίσαντα ἤδη καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπλέοντα Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἕτερος ὑπάτος ὑπ' Ἀλπειοῖς καταλαβὼν, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπληκτῶς ἀλλόκοτον ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν λαβόντος τε καὶ ἐς πεῖραν ἔτι ἐμπληκτότερον ἀπαρασκευῶς προαγαγόντος. οὐ μὴν ὃ γε Κατρίνας οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπιφανῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ἐσδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπώλοντο.

ὧδε μὲν ἡ Κατρίνα ἐπανάστασις, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἔσχατον ἐλθοῦσα κινδύνου τῇ πόλει, διελύετο. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, ἅπασιν ἐπὶ λόγου δυνάμει μόνῃ γνώριμος ὢν, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ διὰ στόματος ἦν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ἀπολλυμένη τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτές τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημίαι ποικίλαι. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἦδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθεῖν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖσδε, καίπερ οὗσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἦδε, ὡς ἐντελὴς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ψηφίζεται.

[7] Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, of whom (B.C. 62) one-fourth part were already armed, and was moving toward Gaul in order to

complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him beyond the Alps and easily defeated the madly conceived adventure of the man, which was still more madly put to the test without preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all perished at close quarters with their enemies. Such was the end of the uprising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his Country. Some think that this appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero. Although they are in fact kings, it is not given to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial of the greatest services.

CHAPTER II

Cæsar in Spain — The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus — Cæsar's Agrarian Law — Tumult in the City — Cato ejected from the Forum — The Affair of Vettius — Cæsar conciliates the Knights — Is appointed Governor of Gaul — Gives his Daughter in Marriage to Pompey (Y.R. 693)

[8] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αἰρεθεὶς ἐπὶ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν χρηστῶν διεκρατεῖτο ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς περιουσίας ὀφλὼν διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας: ὅτε φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν: διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας, ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβάς χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ διαιτᾶν δίκας ἢ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα τούτοις, ἅπαντα ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν οἷς ἐπενόει χρήσιμα, στρατιὰν δὲ ἀγείρας ἐπετίθετο τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς Ἰβήρων ἀνὰ μέρος, μέχρι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ταμιεῖον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θριαμβεῦσαι παρέσχεεν αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς τὸ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ῥώμης προαστείοις διεκόσμη, ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις ὑπατείας ἦσαν παραγγελίαι, καὶ ἔδει τὸν παραγγέλλοντα παρεῖναι, ἐσελθόντι δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς πολλὰ τυχεῖν ἐπιγόμενος καὶ τὴν πομπὴν οὐχ ἔτοιμον ἔχων ἐσέπεμπε τῇ βουλῇ δεόμενος ἐπιτρέψαι οἱ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀπόντι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῶν φίλων, εἰδὼς μὲν παράνομον, γεγονὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἑτέροις. Κάτωνος δ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευταίαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδὼν τοῦ θριαμβοῦ καὶ παραγγείλας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε τὴν χειροτονίαν.

[8] *Cæsar, who had been chosen prætor for Spain, was (B.C. 61) detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use (Y.R. 694) to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the (B.C. 60) independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making preparations outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulship were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Cæsar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to stand for the consulship while absent, through the intercession of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by*

others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech making. Thereupon Cæsar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.

[9] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔλθων, ἤξιον πολλά, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει, τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιῶσαι. φθόνῳ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὡς ἀσθενέστατον αὐτὸν ἀπολιπὼν τῷ Πομπήϊῳ, διεκώλυεν, ἴδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τὸ Μιθριδάτειον. καὶ Λευκόλλῳ συνελάμβανε Κράσσοις. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προσεταιρίζεται Καίσαρα, συμπράξειν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπομόσας· ὁ δ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Κράσσον διήλλασσε. καὶ τρεῖς οἶδε τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ πᾶσι κράτος ἔχοντες τὰς χρείας ἀλλήλοις συνηράνιζον. καὶ τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Οὐάρρων, ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ περιλαβὼν ἐπέγραψε Τρικάρανον.

Ὑπορωμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ Λεύκιον Βύβλον ἐς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτῷ συνάρχην:

[9] In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired great glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Many senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition, and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king in a state of extreme weakness for Pompey. Crassus coöperated with Lucullus in this matter. Pompey was indignant and made friends with Cæsar and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. Thus these three most powerful men coöperated together for their mutual advantage. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated in a book entitled Tricaranus (the three-headed monster). The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Cæsar's colleague to hold him in check.

(Y.R. 695)

[10] καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἔριδες τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰδία παρασκευαί. δεινὸς δ' ὢν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ὁμονοίας διέθετο πρὸς Βύβλον, ὡς τὰ κοινὰ λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαφέροιτο. πιστευθεὶς δ' οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἀπερίσκεπτον ἦδη καὶ ἀπαράσκευον καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπονοοῦντα τὸν Βύβλον ἔχων, χεῖρά τε πολλὴν ἀφανῶς ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν πενήτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσέφερε καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διένεμε, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεύουσαν αὐτῆς μάλιστα περὶ Καπύην, ἥ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ διεμισθοῦτο, τοῖς οὗσι πατράσι παίδων τριῶν, ἔμμισθον ἑαυτῷ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος πλῆθος τοσόνδε ποιούμενος· δισμύριοι γὰρ ἀθρόως ἐφάνησαν οἱ

τὰ τρία τρέφοντες μόνοι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶν, υποκρινάμενος δυσχεραίνειν, ὥς οὐ δίκαια ποιούντων, ἐξέδραμε καὶ βουλὴν μὲν οὐκέτι συνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐδημηγόρει: Πομπηϊόν τε ἐν μέσῳ καὶ Κράσσον ἡρώτα περὶ τῶν νόμων: οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπήνουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἦι σὺν κεκρυμμένοις ξιφιδίοις.

[10] Strife sprang up between them immediately and they proceeded to arm themselves secretly against each other. Cæsar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of harmony with Bibulus, as though he were taking care lest harm should come to the republic from their disagreement. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard. While Bibulus was unprepared and suspecting nothing, Cæsar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The best part of this land around Capua, which was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favor of a multitude of men. Twenty-thousand, who had three children each, came forward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he (B.C. 59) pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws. Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers.

[11] ἡ βουλὴ δὲ 'οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὴν συνῆγεν, οὐδ' ἐξῆν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων συναγαγεῖν αὐτήν' ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Βύβλου συνελθόντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἀντάξιον τῆς Καίσαρος ἰσχὺς τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἐποιοῦν, ἐπενόουν δ' ὅμως Βύβλον ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ μὴ δόξαν ἀμελείας, ἀλλὰ ἥσσης ἐνέγκασθαι. πεισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Βύβλος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἀταξίας γενομένης πληγαὶ τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ οἱ μετὰ τῶν ξιφιδίων τὰς ράβδους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Βύβλου περιέκλων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἔστιν οὓς περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἔτρωσαν. Βύβλος δ' οὐ καταπλαγεὶς ἀπεγύμνου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐκάλει τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον: 'εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι πείσαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν,' ἔφη, "Καίσαρα, τό γε ἄγος αὐτῷ καὶ μύσος οὕτως ἀποθανῶν ἐπιβαλῶ.' ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄκοντα ὑπεξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Στησίου Διός, Κάτων δ' ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὥσατο μὲν ὡς νέος ἐς μέσους καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἤρχετο, μετέωρος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀρθείς ἐξεφέρετο. καὶ λαθὼν κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς αὐθις ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ βῆμα καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἔτι οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἀπεγίνωσκε, τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγροίκως κατεβόα, μέχρι καὶ τότε μετέωρος ἐξερρίφη καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκύρωσε.

[11] The Senate (since no one called it together and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the consent of the other) assembled at the house of

Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Cæsar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Cæsar's laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Cæsar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified, but bared his neck to Cæsar's partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Cæsar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighboring temple of Jupiter Stator. Cato was indignant at these proceedings, and, being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and dragged out by Cæsar's partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Cæsar roundly until he was ejected by the Cæsarians, and Cæsar secured the enactment of his laws.

[12] καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δῆμον ὥρκωσεν ἐς αἰὶ κυρίου νομεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκέλευεν ὁμνύειν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ Κάτωνος, εἰσηγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ θάνατον τῷ μὴ ὁμόσαντι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου· ὤμνουν δ' αὐτίκα δείσαντες οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χρήσιμον ἀντιλέγειν ἦν κυρουμένου διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοῦ νόμου. Οὐέττιος δ' ἀνὴρ δημότης, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐσδραμὼν μετὰ ξιφιδίου γυμνοῦ, ἐπιπεμφθῆναι ἔφη πρὸς τε Βύβλου καὶ Κικέρωνος καὶ Κάτωνος ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον αὐτῷ Βύβλου ῥάβδουχον ἐπιδοῦναι Ποστούμιον. ὑπόπτου δ' ὄντος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πράγματος ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἐξετάσειν τὸν Οὐέττιον ἀνεβάλλοντο. καὶ ὁ Οὐέττιος φυλασσόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ νυκτὸς ἀνηρέθη. εἰκαζομένου δ' ἐς ποικίλα τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀνίει καὶ τοῦτο δρᾶσαι λέγων τοὺς δεδιότας, ἕως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ συνεχώρησεν ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις. καὶ Βύβλος μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν ἅπαντα μεθεῖς οἷά τις ιδιώτης οὐ προῆει τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅπαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐζήτει περὶ τοῦ Οὐέττιου, μόνος ἔχων τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

[12] The plebeians swore to observe these laws forever, and Cæsar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Cæsar proposed and the people enacted the death penalty to the recusants. Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including the tribunes, for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Cæsar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus. Although this affair was open to suspicion on both sides, Cæsar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed the examination of the assailant.

Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Cæsar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party who were afraid of exposure. Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, like a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term.

[13] νόμους δ' ἐσέφερεν, ἐκθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ἐτέρους καὶ τὰ Πομπηίῳ πεπραγμένα ἅπαντα ἐκύρου, καθάπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ. οἱ δ' ἱππέες λεγόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὄντες ἐν μέσῳ, δυνατώτατοι δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα περιουσίας τε οὐνεκα καὶ μισθώσεως τελῶν καὶ φόρων, οὓς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων τελουμένους ἐξεμισθοῦντο, καὶ πλῆθους βεβαιοτάτων ἐς ταῦτα θεραπόντων, ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτουν ἄφεσίν τινα μέρους τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀποδιέτριβεν ἡ βουλή. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς οὐδὲν τότε τῆς βουλῆς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ δήμῳ χρώμενος τὰ τρίτα τῶν μισθώσεων αὐτοῖς παρήκεν. οἱ δέ, ὑπὲρ τὴν σφετέραν ἀξίωσιν ἀδοκίτου τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐξεθείαζον αὐτόν, καὶ στίφος ἄλλο καρτερώτερον τοῦ δήμου τότε τῷ Καίσαρι προσγεγέννητο δι' ἐνὸς πολιτεύματος. ὁ δὲ καὶ θέας ἐπεδίδου καὶ κυνηγέσια θηρίων ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, δανειζόμενος ἐς ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ πρότερα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων παρασκευῇ καὶ χορηγία καὶ δόσεσι λαμπραῖς: ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εἶλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεῖς ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοσαν τέλος στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.

[13] As Cæsar now had the sole administration of public affairs, he did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius. He brought forward new laws to win the favor of the multitude, and caused all of Pompey's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The so-called knights, who held the middle place in rank between the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of the farming of the provincial revenues which they contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate was consuming time on this question. As Cæsar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from a third part of their contracts. For this unexpected favor, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Cæsar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Cæsar's support through one political act. He gave spectacles and combats of wild beasts beyond his means, borrowing money on all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

[14] ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οἱ χρόνιον ὀρῶν ἐσομένην καὶ τὸν φθόνον ὥς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ τοῖς δεδομένοις μείζονα, Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἐξεύγνυ τὴν θυγατέρα,

καίπερ ἐνηγγυημένην Καιπίωνι, δεδιώς, μὴ καὶ φίλος ὢν ἐπιφθονήσῃ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τοὺς δὲ θρασυτάτους τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους παρήγε. καὶ ὕπατον μὲν ἀπέφηνεν Αὐλὸν Γαβίνιον, φίλον ἑαυτοῦ· Λευκίου δὲ Πείσωνος τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντος ὑπατεύσειν τὴν θυγατέρα Καλπουρνίαν αὐτὸς ἤγετο, βοῶντος Κάτωνος διαμαστροπεύεσθαι γάμοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. δημάρχους δὲ ἤρεῖτο Οὐατίνιον τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπὶ κλην, ὃν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἐτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

[14] As Cæsar saw that he would be away from home a long time, and believed that envy would be in proportion to benefits conferred, he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Cæpio, because he feared that even a friend might become envious of his great success. He promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Cæsar married, although Cato cried out that the government was debauched by marriages. For tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher, although the latter had been suspected of an amour with the wife of Cæsar himself during a religious ceremony of women, but whom Cæsar did not bring to trial because Clodius was very popular with the masses; but he divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero made the argument for the prosecution. When Cæsar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Cæsar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Cæsar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

CHAPTER III

Clodius prosecutes Cicero for putting Citizens to Death without Trial — Cicero banished and recalled — Cæsar's Conference at Lucca — Bloodshed in the Forum — The Triumvirs divide the Government — Death of Cæsar's Daughter — Shocking State of Roman Political Life — Pompey and Milo — Assassination of Clodius — Disorders consequent thereon — Pompey made Sole Consul — His Law against Briber (Y.R. 696)

[15] τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν εὐθὺς ἐξῆι: Κικέρωνα δὲ γράφεται Κλώδιος παρανόμων, ὅτι πρὸ δικαστηρίου τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνέλοι. ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο γενναιοτάτῳ λήματι κεκρημένος ἀσθενέστατος ἐς τὴν δίκην ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος γέμων τε αὐχμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου προσέπιπτεν οἷς ἐντύχοι κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγνώσιν ἐνοχλεῖν αἰδούμενος, ὥστε αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον διὰ τὴν ἀπρέπειαν ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα. ἐς τοσοῦτο δειλίας περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν δίκην κατέπεσεν, ὃς τὸν ὅλον βίον ἐν ἀλλοτριαῖς ἐξήταστο λαμπρῶς, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένη φασὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὐδ' ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος φυγεῖν. Κλωδίου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις αὐτῷ σὺν ὕβρει διακόπτοντος ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀπέγνω πάνθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ἔφευγεν ἐκούσιον καὶ ὁδε φυγὴν, καὶ φίλων αὐτῷ πλῆθος συνεξῆει, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίστη τὸν ἄνδρα πόλεσι τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις. Κλώδιος δ' αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπικατέσκαπτεν ἐπαιρόμενός τε καὶ τῷδε ἀντιπαρεβάλλετο ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει κράτος ἔχοντι.

[15] *Such were the acts of Cæsar's consulship. He then (B.C. 58) laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial. Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on coarse raiment and, defiled with squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate recommended him to the attention of cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas. Clodius was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man*

[16] ὁ δὲ Μίλων, τὸν σὺν τῷ Κλωδίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεδεγμένον, θρασύτερον ὄντα τοῦ Κλωδίου, ἐς ὑπατείαν ἐπήλπιζε καὶ ἤλειφεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τῷ Κικέρωνι ἀθήοδον ἐκέλευεν, ἐλπίσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἐλθόντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας οὐκέτι φθέγγεσθαι μεμνημένον, οἷα ἔπαθε, δίκας δὲ καὶ πράγματα ἐποίσειν τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

Κικέρων μὲν δὴ διὰ Πομπήιον ἐκπεσὼν διὰ Πομπήιον κατήει, ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μάλιστα μηνὶ τῆς ἐξελάσεως· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀνίστη τέλεσι κοινῶς, λαμπρῶς δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένει συνέβη κατιόντι, ἀναλῶσαι.

[16] Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself, the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clodius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he would no longer speak against the existing status (the triumvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him. Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey (Y.R. 697) was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months (B.C. 57) after his banishment, and the Senate rebuilt his house and his villas at the public expense. He was received magnificently at the city gates. It is said that a whole day was consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the case with Demosthenes when he returned.

(Y.R. 698)

[17] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένος, ὅσα μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι εἴρηται, πλοῦτου γέμων ἐς τὴν ὁμορον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γαλατίαν, τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἑριδανὸν ποταμόν, ἦκεν, ἐκ συνεχοῦς πολέμου τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύσων ἐπ' ὀλίγον. ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιπέμποντι ἐς Ῥώμην πολλὰ πολλοῖς χρήματα αἱ τε ἐτήσιοι ἀρχαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀπήντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ὅσοι τε ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἐξήεσαν, ὡς ἑκατὸν μὲν ποτε καὶ εἴκοσι ῥάβδους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, βουλευτὰς δὲ πλείους διακοσίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδὴ γεγονότων, τοὺς δὲ χρηματιζομένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον αὐτοῖς ἐξεργασομένους. πάντα γὰρ ἡδὴ διὰ τούτου ἐπράσσετο στρατιᾶς τε πολλῆς οὖνεκα καὶ δυνάμεως χρημάτων καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς ἅπαντας φιλανθρώπου. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς δυναστείας. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε Πομπήιον μὲν καὶ Κράσσον αὐθις ὑπατεῦσαι, Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὣν εἶχεν ἐθνῶν, ἄλλην ἐπιψηφισθῆναι πενταετίαν.

ὥδε μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεκρίθησαν, Πομπήϊω δ' ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀντιπαρήγγελλε Δομίτιος Αἰνόβαρβος· καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἅμφω κατήεσαν

ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν. τῶν δ' ἅμφ' αὐτοὺς ἔριδες ἦσαν καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, μέχρι τις τὸν Δομιτίου δαδοῦχον ἐπάταξε ξίφει. καὶ φυγὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦν, Δομιτίος τε αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν διεσφύζετο μόλις, καὶ Πομπήϊου τὴν ἐσθῆτά τινες ἡμαγμένην ἔφερον οἴκαδε. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκάτερος ἦλθε κινδύνου.

[17] In the meantime Cæsar, who had performed the (B.C. 56) many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which have been described in my Celtic history, had returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the river Po to give his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this place he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals, and they went thither by turns to meet him. So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Cæsar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls again and that Cæsar's governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more. Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering straightway, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own house. Even Pompey's clothing was carried home stained with blood, so great was the danger incurred by both candidates.

(Y.R. 699)

[18] αἰρεθέντες δ' οὖν ὕπατοι Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήϊος Καίσαρι μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν ἐτέραν πενταετίαν προσενηρίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη διακληρούμενοι καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ μὲν Πομπήϊος εἶλετο Ἰβηρίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ἐς τάσδε τοὺς φίλους περιπέμπων αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Συρίας πλησίον ἐπιθυμία πολέμου πρὸς Παρθυαίους ὡς εὐχεροῦς δὴ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ἐπικερδοῦς. ἀλλὰ τῷδε μὲν ἐξιόντι τῆς πόλεως πολλά τε ἄλλα ἀπαίσια ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μὴ πολεμεῖν Παρθυαίοις οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐ πειθομένῳ δὲ δημοσίᾳς ἄρὰς ἐπηρῶντο, ὧν ὁ Κράσσος οὐ φροντίσας ἀπώλετο ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ σὺν τε παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατῷ: μύριοι γὰρ οὐδ' ἐντελεῖς ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἐς Συρίαν διέφυγον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κράσσου συμφορὰν ἡ Παρθικὴ δηλώσει γραφή, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι Πομπήϊον εἶλοντο τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ οἱ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ληστηρίων εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ τῆς

βουλῆς ὑπερέτας ἔδωκαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διαθείς ἐπέτρεχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἐνέπλησεν ἀγορᾶς δαψιλοῦς, ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς μέγα δόξης ἐπῆρτο καὶ δυνάμειος.

[18] Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (B.C. 55) and Cæsar's governorship was extended for five years according to the agreement. The provinces were allotted with an army to each consul in the following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa, but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and gainful. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavorable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together with his son of the same name, and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power.

(Y.R. 700)

[19] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἡ Καίσαρος θυγάτηρ κούσῃ τῷ Πομπηίῳ θνήσκει. καὶ δέος ἅπασιν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀνηρημένης τῆς ἐπιγαμίας, ὥς αὐτίκα μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου διοισομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἀσυντάκτου μάλιστα καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγεννημένης τῆς πολιτείας: αἱ τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἢ δωροδοκίαν σπουδῇ τε ἀδίκῳ καὶ λίθοις ἢ ξίφεσι καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἀναισχύντως τότε μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασεν, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτὸς ἔμμισθος ἐπὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἦει. ὥφθη δέ που καὶ μεσεγγύημα ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπωνύμου γενόμενον ἀρχῆς. οἱ τε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὑπατοὶ στρατεύειν μὲν που καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀπεγίνωσκον, διακλειόμενοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν: ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀτοπώτεροι, κέρδος ἀντὶ τῶν στρατειῶν ἐτίθεντο τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων διαδόχων χειροτονίας. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάνπαν ἐξέλειπον τὸ ἄρχειν, ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὴν πόλιν ἄναρχον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσυνταξίας γενέσθαι, Πομπηίου πάνθ' ὑπερορῶντος ἐπιτήδεις, ἵνα ἐν χρειᾷ γένοιτο δικτάτορος.

[19] About this time the daughter of Cæsar, who was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection, Cæsar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other, especially as the commonwealth had been for a long

time disorderly and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went to the elections to be bought. A case was found where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to obtain the (B.C. 54) consulship. The consuls holding office yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser ones strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether. The disorder was such that at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator.

(Y.R. 701)

[20] καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἀλλήλους διελάλουν, ὅτι μόνον ἂν γένοιτο φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἢ μόναρχος ἐξουσία, χρῆναι δ' ἐλέσθαι δυνατόν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥπιον, ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον, στρατιᾶς τε ἄρχοντα ἱκανῆς καὶ φιλόδημον εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐγκρατὴ καὶ σώφρονα, περὶ τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐπρόσιτον ἢ ὄντα ἢ νομιζόμενον εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τὴν προσδοκίαν τήνδε λόγῳ μὲν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ἔργῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν πάντα ἔπραττεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὴν ἀσυνταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσυνταξίᾳ ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. Μίλωνός τε τὰ ἐς Κλώδιον ὑπηρετήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρεσκομένου τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν Κικέρωνος κάθοδον, ὑπατείαν ὡς ἐν καιρῷ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀναρχίαν μετιόντος ἀποδιέτριβε τὰς χειροτονίας, μέχρι βαρυθυμῶν ὁ Μίλων, ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπίστου γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐς τὴν πατρίδα Λανούβιον ἐξῆι, ἣν Διομήδη φασὶν ἀλώμενον ἐξ Ἰλίου πρώτην ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

[20] Many citizens began to talk to each other about this (B.C. 53) saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the one-man power, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered. This expectation of a dictatorship Pompey discountenanced in words, but in fact he did everything secretly to promote it, and willingly overlooked the prevailing disorder and the interregnum consequent upon it. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favorable time in view of the present interregnum; but (Y.R. 702) Pompey kept postponing the comitia until Milo became (B.C. 52) disgusted, believing that Pompey was false to him, and withdrew to his native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city

founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome.

[21] Κλωδίου δ' ἐξ ιδίων χωρίων ἐπανιόντος ἐπὶ ἵππου καὶ περὶ Βοῦλλας ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπείδοντο μόνον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρώδευσαν, θεράπων δὲ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπιδραμὼν τῷ Κλωδίῳ, εἴτε κεκελευσμένος εἴθ' ὡς ἔχθρὸν δεσπότου κτείνων, ἐπάταξεν ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον ξιφιδίῳ. καὶ τὸν μὲν αἵματι ῥέομενον ἐς τὸ πλησίον πανδοκεῖον ὁ ἵπποκόμος ἐσέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Μίλων μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιστὰς ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἢ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐπανεῖλεν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν οὐ βουλευσάμενον τὸν φόνον οὐδὲ προστάξαντα· ὡς δὲ κινδυνεύσων ἐξ ἅπαντος, ἡξίου τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀτελὲς καταλιπεῖν. περιαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ πάθους ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ διενυκτέρευε, καὶ τὸ σῶμά τινας τοῦ Κλωδίου μεθ' ἡμέραν προύθεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων· ἀρπάσαντες δ' αὐτὸ τῶν τε δημάρχων ἔνιοι καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο σὺν ἐκείνοις, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκόμισαν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τιμῇ, βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντα, εἴτε ἐς ὄνειδος τῆς βουλῆς τοιάδε περιορώσης. καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ προπετέστεροι τὰ βάθρα καὶ τοὺς θρόνους τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφορήσαντες ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυράν, ὑφ' ἧς τό τε βουλευτήριον καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πλησίων οἰκίαι τῷ Κλωδίῳ συγκατεφλέγησαν.

[21] Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillæ. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighboring inn. Milo followed with his servants and finished him, — whether he was still alive, or already dead, is not known, — for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the killing, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honor upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pile for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighborhood caught fire and were consumed with the corpse of Clodius.

[22] Μίλωνι δὲ θράσος τοσόνδε περιῆν, ὡς οὐ δεδιέναι περὶ τῷ φόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ Κλωδίου περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τιμῇ. θεραπόντων οὖν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγροίκων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον περιπέμπας χρήματα τῶν τε δημάρχων Μάρκον Καίλιον πριάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατήει θρασυτάτα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίλιος εὐθὺς ἐσιόντα εἷλκεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ

δεδωροδοκηκότας ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ οὐ διδόναι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολήν, ἐλπίζων δέ, εἰ αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες μεθεῖεν, ἐκλύσειν τὴν δίκην τὴν ἀληθεστέραν. καὶ Μίλων μὲν οὐ βουλεῦσαι τὸ ἔργον εἰπὼν 'οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετὰ σκευῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὀρμησαί, τὸν λοιπὸν λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου διετίθετο ὡς θρασυτάτου δὴ καὶ φίλου θρασυτάτων, οἱ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπικατέπρησαν αὐτῷ ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ τε λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀδιάφθορον ὀπλισάμενοι ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν. Καίλιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Μίλων δούλων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, πολλὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ τοὺς Μίλωνος ἔτι φίλους ἐρευνώντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ἀναιρούντων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἢ σφραγῖσιν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ διέφερον. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀσυντάκτῳ πολιτείᾳ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ προφάσει τοῦδε τοῦ θορύβου προσπεσόντος θεράποντές τε ὄντες οἱ πλείους καὶ ὀπλισμένοι κατὰ ἀνόπλων ἐς ἀρπαγὰς ἐτράποντο: ἔργον τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας ἐφέροντο καὶ περιόντες ἡρεύνων ἔργῳ μὲν τὰ εὐληπτα σφίσιν ἅπαντα, λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Μίλωνος: πρόφασίς τε ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πυρὸς καὶ λίθων καὶ παντὸς ἔργου Μίλων.

[22] Such was the hardihood of Milo that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the murder than by indignation at the honor bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Cælius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Cælius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since one would not set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes with his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Cælius and Milo escaped disguised as slaves, but there was a heavy slaughter of the others. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As the government was without order these ruffians, who were for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, but pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning, stoning, and every sort of outrage.

[23] ἡ βουλὴ δὲ συνήει μετὰ δέους καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεώρων ὡς αὐτίκα

σφῶν ἐσόμενον δικτάτορα: χρήζειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὰ παρόντα τοιαῶδε
θεραπείας. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτοὺς μεταδιδάξαντος ὕπατον εἵλοντο χωρὶς
συνάρχου ὡς ἂν ἔχοι τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ'
εὐθυναν ὑπάτου. καὶ πρῶτος ὑπάτων ὁδε ἔθνη τε δύο μέγιστα καὶ στρατιάν
ἔχων καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως μοναρχίαν διὰ τὸ μόνος ὑπάτος εἶναι
Κάτωνα μὲν ἐψηφίσατο, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ἐνοχλοῖη, Κύπρον ἀφελέσθαι
Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως, νενομοθετημένον ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, ὅτι οἱ ποτε
ἁλόντι ὑπὸ ληστῶν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐς λύτρα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας δύο τάλαντα
ἐπεπόμφει. Κάτων μὲν δὴ καθίστατο Κύπρον Πτολεμαίου τὰ χρήματα
ρίψαντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων
ἐπύθετο: ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος δίκας προυτίθει τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ
μάλιστα δωροδοκίας καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἑδόκει γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ νοσεῖν τὰ
κοινὰ ἀρξάμενα ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν ἔξιν ταχεῖαν, νόμῳ τε ὠρίζεν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπατείας ἐς τὸ παρὸν εὐθύνειν τὸν ἐθέλοντα. καὶ ἦν ὁ
χρόνος ὀλίγῳ μείων ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ γεγένητο ὑπάτος. τῶν
οὖν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπονοούντων ἐς ὕβριν ἢ ἐς ἐπήρειαν αὐτὸν τοῦ
Καίσαρος ὧδε πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου προλαβεῖν καὶ παραινούντων τὸ παρὸν
διορθοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε
ἀξιολόγοις, ἐπονομαζόντων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀμφὶ
μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠγανάκτει, ὡς ἀμείνωνος ὄντος ὑποψίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῷ χρόνῳ περιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν
ἔλεγεν ἐς ἀκριβὴ διόρθωσιν ἐπιτετριμμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας.

[23] The Senate assembled in consternation and looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator at once, for they considered this necessary as a cure for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and the one-man power in the city, by virtue of being sole consul. In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, it was decreed that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy — a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus. Pompey proposed the prosecution of offenders and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption. He thought that the seat of the public disorder was there, and that by beginning there he should effect a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an accounting from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Cæsar also had been consul; wherefore Cæsar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Cæsar, and urged him to straighten out the present crookedness rather than stir up the past to the

annoyance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Cæsar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Cæsar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had reached back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away.

CHAPTER IV

Prosecutions for Bribery — Cæsar authorized to stand for the Consulship while absent — Enmity of Marcellus — Attempts to deprive Cæsar of his Command — Curio insists that Pompey shall lay down his Command also — Increasing Hostility to Cæsar in the Senate — Pompey's Neglect of Preparations for War — The Consuls invest Pompey with the Defence of Italy

[24] τοιαῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν αὐτίκα δικῶν ποικίλων. ἵνα τε μὴ δέισειαν οἱ δικασταί, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπώπτευε στρατιὰν περιστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπόντες ἐάλωσαν Μίλων τε ἐπὶ τῷ Κλωδίῳ φόνῳ καὶ Γαβίνιος παρανομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσεβείας, ὅτι χωρὶς νηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐσέβαλεν ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν Σιβυλλείων, Ὑψαῖος δὲ καὶ Μέμμιος καὶ Σέξστος καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις ἢ πλήθους δεκασμῷ. Σκαῦρον δὲ τοῦ πλήθους παραιτουμένου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπακοῦσαι τῇ δίκῃ: καὶ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς κατηγοροὺς ἐνοχλοῦντος, σφαγὴ τις ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιδραμόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος κατεσιώπησεν, ὁ δὲ Σκαῦρος ἐάλω. καὶ πάντων φυγὴ κατέγνωστο, Γαβινίου δὲ καὶ δήμευσις ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ τότε ἡ βουλὴ λαμπρῶς ἐπαινοῦσα δύο τε ἄλλα τέλη καὶ χρόνον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕτερον τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσεψηφίσαντο. Μέμμιος δὲ ἀλοὺς ἐπὶ δεκασμῷ, τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Πομπηίου διδόντος αὐτῷ φήναντι ἕτερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς καταδίκης, τὸν πενθερόν τοῦ Πομπηίου Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα προεκαλέσατο ἐς ὁμοίαν δεκασμοῦ δίκην. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν τῶν κρινομένων ἐσθῆτα μεταλαβόντος πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν μετελάμβανον. ὀλοφυράμενος οὖν ὁ Μέμμιος τὴν πολιτείαν διέλυσε τὴν δίκην.

[24] After making this answer he passed his law, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors might act without fear Pompey stationed soldiers around them and superintended them in person. The first ones convicted were absentees: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary to the Sibylline books; Hypsæus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for bribery and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should wait for the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All of them were banished. Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state's evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participation in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on

mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation.

[25] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς ἤδη τὰ χρήζοντα τῆς μοναρχίας διωρθωμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα σύναρχον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἐτέρων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένων οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐφεώρα καὶ ἐδυνάστευε, καὶ πάντ' ἦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τότε Πομπήιος· ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία τῆς βουλῆς μάλιστα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει, ζήλω τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπατείαν κεχρημένου καὶ ὅτι νοσοῦσαν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν πολιτείαν ὀξέως ἀναλάβοι καὶ οὐδενὶ σφῶν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φορτικός ἢ ἐπαχθὴς γένοιτο.

τῶν δὲ φυγάδων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἰόντων ἀθρόων καὶ παραινούντων φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς τὸν νόμον τοῦ δεκασμοῦ μάλιστα θέμενον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, τοῦσδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρηγόρει καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἔπεισεν εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον ἐξεῖναι Καίσαρι δευτέραν ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι μετιέναι. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντος ἐκεκύρωτο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιπράξειν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπονοῶν ἐδεδοίκει μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ιδιώτης γενέσθαι, ἐτέχναζε δὲ ἐπὶ δυνάμει εἶναι, μέχρι ὑπατος ἀποδειχθεῖν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτει χρόνον ἄλλον ὀλίγον ἐς τὴν παρούσαν οἱ τῆς Γαλατίας ἡγεμονίαν ἢ ἐς μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιλαβεῖν. διακωλύσαντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὑπατος ἦν, φασὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ μηνύοντι ἀποκρίνασθαι, κόπτοντα τὴν λαβὴν τοῦ ξίφους· ἥδε μοι δώσει.'

[25] Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms that made the one-man power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Cæsar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonwealth, and had not made himself troublesome or offensive to any of them during his term of office. The banished ones went to Cæsar in crowds and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Cæsar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the consulship a second time while absent, and this was enacted while Pompey was still consul and without opposition from him. Cæsar suspected that the Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and exposed (Y.R. 703) to his enemies. So he tried to retain his power (B.C. 51) until he should be elected consul, and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Cæsar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give

it to me.”

[26] πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὠκίκει, ὧν ὅσοι κατ’ ἔτος ἦρχον, ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τότε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον. τῶν οὖν Νεοκώμων τινά, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενον καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι νομιζόμενον, ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐφ’ ὕβρει τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξηνε ράβδοις ἐφ’ ὅταδή, οὐ πασχόντων τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων· καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀνεκάλυπτε, τὰς πληγὰς εἶναι ξενίας σύμβολον. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ δεικνύναι τῷ Καίσαρι. οὕτω μὲν ὑβριστικῶς ὁ Μάρκελλος, εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ ἤδη καὶ διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου· ἀλλὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Πομπήιος εὐπρεπεία τε λόγου καὶ εὐνοίας ὑποκρίσει, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐς πολλὰ χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενον ὑβρίζειν βραχεὶ διαστήματι χρόνου, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν, ὅτι χρή μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλῦειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοῦπιόν ἠρέθησαν ὕπατοι, Αἰμίλιος τε Παῦλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχός τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὧν καὶ ὁδε τῷ Καίσαρι καρτερὸς καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριτώτατος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος. τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπαγαγέσθαι χρήμασι, Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μῆτε συμπράττειν μῆτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἔτι πλεόνων, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίους, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές·

[26] Cæsar built the town of Novum Comum at the foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included a provision that those who had exercised the yearly chief magistracy should be Roman citizens. One of these men, who had held this office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Cæsar — a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention that the blows should be the marks of the foreigner, and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Cæsar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Cæsar’s provinces before his time had expired, but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, merely on account of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that Cæsar’s command must come to an end immediately on its expiration. For this (Y.R. 704) reason the bitterest enemies of Cæsar were chosen consuls (B.C. 50) for the ensuing year: Æmilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Cæsar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Cæsar was not able to influence

Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt. With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure.

[27] ὁ δὲ Κουρίων, ἵνα μὴ ἄφνω μετατιθέμενος γίγνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσηγεῖτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευὰς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς εἶναι, εἰδὼς μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔξειν τι τοῦτο πρόσκρουμα. καὶ γενομένων τῶνδε, ὡς προσεδόκησεν, ὁ μὲν εἶχε τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, Κλαύδιος δ' εἰσηγεῖτο πέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γὰρ ἔληγεν ὁ χρόνος, καὶ Παῦλος ἐσιώπα. Κουρίων δὲ νομιζόμενος ἀμφοτέροις διαφέρεισθαι, ἐπῆναι τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου γνώμην, ὡς δὲ ἐνδέον αὐτῇ προσετίθει τὸ καὶ Πομπήιον ὁμοίως Καίσαρι ἀποθεσθαι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν στρατόν· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καθαρὰν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀδεῇ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ὡς οὐκ ἴσον διὰ τὸ μήπω τὸν χρόνον ἐξῆκειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, σαφέστερον ὁ Κουρίων ἤδη καὶ τραχύτερον ἀπεγύμνου μὴ χρῆναι μηδὲ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους, εἰ μὴ καὶ Πομπηίῳ δοῖεν· ὄντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτων οὕτω τῇ πόλει τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσσεσθαι βεβαίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντες ιδιωτεύσειαν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς οὐ μεθήσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν ἤδη τι προσκοπτόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς τοῦ δεκάσμου δίκας. εὐπρεποῦς δὲ τῆς γνώμης οὔσης ὁ δῆμος ἐπῆναι τὸν Κουρίωνα ὡς μόνον ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αἰρόμενον ἔχθραν, καὶ ποτε καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τότε εἶναι φοβερώτερον τῆς Πομπηίου διαφορᾶς.

[27] Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him so that he might have that as an excuse for opposing Pompey. Things turned out as he had anticipated, so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Cæsar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, praised the motion of Claudius, but added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces and army just like Cæsar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and decidedly against appointing successors to Cæsar unless Pompey also should lay down his command; for since they were both suspicious of each other, he contended that there could be no lasting peace to the commonwealth unless both were reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would

not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Cæsar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home like an athlete, scattering flowers, as though he had won the prize in some great and difficult contest, for nothing was considered more perilous than to have a difference with Pompey.

[28] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος νοσηλευόμενος περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ σὺν τέχνῃ, τὰ τε ἔργα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλέγων ὅτι τε τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας καὶ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ στρατοῦ δοθέντος οὐ μετιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπικληθεὶς ἀξιοθεῖη: ἃ δὲ ἄκων ἔφη λαβεῖν, 'ἐκὼν ἀποθήσονται τοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θέλουσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένων τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς ὀρισμένους.' ἡ μὲν δὴ τέχνη τῶν γεγραμμένων εἶχεν εὐπρέπειάν τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐρέθισμα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεμομισμένῳ χρόνῳ: ἀφικόμενος δ' ἄλλα τε τούτοις ὅμοια ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τότε ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀποθήσασθαι. ὥς δὲ δὴ φίλος καὶ κηδεστὴς γενόμενος Καίσαρι, κάκεινον ἔλεγε μάλα χαίροντα ἀποθήσασθαι: χρόνιον τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἐπίπονον κατὰ ἐθνῶν μαχιωτάτων γεγονέναι καὶ πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι προσλαβόντα ἐπὶ τιμᾷ καὶ θυσίας ἤξειν καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦθ' ὥς Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα δοθησομένων διαδόχων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσόμενος ἐν ὑποσχέσει μόνῃ. Κουρίων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σόφισμα διελέγχων οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δεῖν ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα ἀποθέσθαι οὐδ' ἐξοπλίζειν Καίσαρα τῆς στρατιᾶς, πρὶν καὶ αὐτὸν ιδιωτεῦσαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐκείνῳ λυσιτελεῖν οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, ὅφ' ἐνὶ τηλικαύτῃ ἀρχῇ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν καταβιάζοιτο. οὐδὲν τε ἐπικρύπτων ἔτι ἀφειδῶς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐβλασφήμει ὥς τυραννίδος ἐφίμενον καί, εἰ μὴ νῦν σὺν φόβῳ τῷ Καίσαρος ἀποθοῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν, οὔποτε μεθήσονται. ἡξίου δ', ἂν ἀπειθῶσιν, ἅμφω ψηφίζεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ στρατὸν ἀγεῖρειν ἐπ' αὐτούς: ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐωνημένος.

[28] Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Cæsar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward, which he had not solicited, but had been called to serve the public weal. He added that the powers which he had accepted unwillingly he would gladly yield to those who wished to take them back, and would not wait the time fixed for their expiration. The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Cæsar, as though the latter was not willing to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. As a friend and marriage connection of Cæsar he said that the

latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power and now he would come back to his honors and his sacrificings and take his rest. He said these things in order that successors to Cæsar might be sent at once, while he (Pompey) should merely stand on his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Cæsar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Cæsar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Cæsar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them. In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Cæsar.

[29] Πομπήιος δ' αὐτῷ χαλεπόμενος τε καὶ ἀπειλήσας εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ προάστεια ἀγανακτῶν ὑπέβη. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ὑπόπτως μὲν εἶχεν ἤδη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, δημοτικώτερον δ' ὅμως ἡγοῦντο Πομπήιον καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδυσχέρανον τῆς παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ὑπεροψίας σφῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄντι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγοῦντο διαλύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Πομπήϊῳ δύναμιν, μέχρι πρότερον ἐκεῖνον ἀποθέσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ὄντα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστερον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κουρίων ἀνέστρεφεν, ὡς δέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον Καίσαρα, ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντας καταλύειν. οὐ πείθων δὲ διέλυε τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ ἀτελέσι πᾶσι· δύναται δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ δήμαρχος· ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπήϊῳ μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν, ἐς ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθηρημένην, ἀναγαγόντι αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. διαλυόμενοι δὲ ὅμως τοσόνδε μόνον ἐψηφίσαντο, Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον τέλος ἐν στρατιωτῶν ἐς Συρίαν ἐκάτερον πέμψαι φυλακῆς οὐνεκα διὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν. καὶ τεχνάζων ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπῆτει τὸ τέλος, ὃ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ στρατηγῶν δύο Καίσαρος, Τιτυρίου τε καὶ Κόττα, Καίσαρι κεκρήκει. ὁ δ' αὐτό, τιμήσας ἕκαστον ἄνδρα δραχμαῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις, ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ συνέπεμπεν ἄλλο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

[29] Pompey was angry with him and threatened him and at once withdrew indignantly to his country-seat. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Cæsar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to deprive Pompey of his power until after Cæsar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more towering designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Cæsar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the

same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it, leaving the whole business still unfinished. He had the power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigor after it had been reduced to extreme feebleness by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Cæsar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled. the legion that he had lately lent to Cæsar on account of the disaster to Cæsar's two generals, Titurius and Cotta. Cæsar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua.

[30] οὐδενὸς δὲ δεινοῦ περὶ Συρίαν φανέντος τάδε μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καπύῃ: οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεθρόουν καὶ ισχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιὰν Καίσαρος, τετρυμένην τε πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ οἶκοι ποθοῦσαν, μεταθίσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτε τὰ Ἰλπεῖα διέλθοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἔλεγον, εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας εἴτε διεφθαρμένοι, Καίσαρι δ' ἔρρωτο πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους ὑπὸ τε ἔθους τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ ὑπὸ κερδῶν, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον: ἐδίδου γὰρ ἀφειδῶς, θεραπεύων εἰς ἃ ἐβούλευεν: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέντες αὐτῶν ὁμῶς ὑπέμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τοῖς ἡγγελμένοις πίσυνος οὔτε στρατιὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν ὥς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἡγείρεν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ γνώμην ἕκαστον ἦτει: καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος πανούργως διήρει καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν παρὰ μέρος, εἰ δοκεῖ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους καὶ εἰ Πομπήιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνένευον οἱ πλείους, Καίσαρι δ' ἐπενήφιζον τοὺς διαδόχους. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος, εἰ ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀποθέσθαι, δύο μὲν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀπῆρεσκε, τριακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐς τὸ συμφέρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἀπέκλινον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν βουλήν διέλυσε βοῶν: 'νικᾶτε δεσπότην ἔχειν Καίσαρα.'

[30] The persons who had been sent by Pompey to Cæsar to bring these legions spread many reports derogatory to Cæsar and repeated them to Pompey. They said that Cæsar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Cæsar and labored zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Cæsar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest. In the Senate the

opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: “Shall successors be sent to Cæsar?” and again, “Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?” The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was decreed that successors to Cæsar should be sent. Then Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord. Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, “Enjoy your victory and have Cæsar for a master.”

[31] λόγου δ' ἄφνω ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος, ὅτι τὰς Ἄλπεις ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπερελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνει, θόρυβός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ φόβος ἀπάντων, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος εἰσηγεῖτο τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιὰν ἀπαντᾶν ὡς πολεμίῳ Καίσαρι. ἐνισταμένου δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ψευδέσι τοῦ Κουρίωνος εἶπεν: ‘εἰ κωλύομαι ψήφῳ κοινῇ τὰ συμφέροντα διοικεῖν κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ὡς ὕπατος διοικήσω.’ καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ἐξέδραμε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὰ προάστεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχου ξίφος τε ὀρέγων τῷ Πομπηίῳ ‘κελεύω σοι,’ ἔφη, ‘κἀγὼ καὶ ὁδε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος: καὶ στρατιὰν ἐς τοῦτό σοι δίδομεν, ἥ τε νῦν ἀμφὶ Καπύην ἢ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅσῃν αὐτὸς ἐθέλοις ἄλλην καταλέγειν.’ ὁ δ’ ὑπήκουε μὲν ὡς κελευόμενος πρὸς ὑπάτων, ἐπετίθει δ’ ὁμῶς: ‘εἰ μὴ τι κρεῖσσον,’ ἀπατῶν ἢ τεχνάζων καὶ τότε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν. Κουρίωνι δ’ οὐκ ἦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξουσία τις ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ προῖεναι τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐφίεται, ὠλοφύρετο δ’ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἡξίου κηρύσσειν μηδένα πῶ καταλέγοντι πείθεσθαι Πομπηίῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ ὁ τῆς δημαρχίας χρόνος ἔληγε, δείσας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπογνοὺς ἔτι δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχῶρει πρὸς αὐτόν.

[31] Suddenly a false rumor came that Cæsar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at Capua be turned against Cæsar as a public enemy. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumor was false he exclaimed, “If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul.” After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the suburbs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to Pompey, and said, “I and my colleague command you to march against Cæsar in behalf of your country, and we give you for this purpose the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy.” Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, “unless we can do better,” thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside of the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render

any further assistance to Cæsar, he hastily departed to join the latter.

CHAPTER V

Cæsar offers to lay down his Arms at the Same Time with Pompey — The Senate declares Cæsar a Public Enemy — Cæsar addresses his Soldiers — War openly declared — Cæsar crosses the Rubicon — Seizes Ariminum — Panic and Prodigies in Italy — Pompey departs to the Army at Capua

[32] ὁ δ' ἄρτι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διεπεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥήνον τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἄλπεια διελθὼν σὺν πεντακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππευσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ἣ συναφῆς τε ἦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς τελευταία. φιλοφρονησάμενος δὲ τὸν Κουρίωνα καὶ χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ὁμολογήσας ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Κουρίωνι μὲν δὴ συγκαλεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἤδη καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς, Καῖσαρι δ' ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι διαλύσεων. τοὺς οὖν φίλους ἐκέλευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἀποθήσεσθαι, μόνα δ' ἔξειν δύο τέλη καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας, ἕως ὑπάτος ἀποδειχθεῖη. καὶ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἀρκεῖν ἐδόκει, κατακωλύοντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Κουρίων, τρισὶν ἡμέραις τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις σταδίοις διαδραμῶν, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς νέοις ὑπάτοις ἐσιοῦσιν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους. περιεῖχε δ' ἡ γραφὴ κατάλογόν τε σεμνὸν ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ πρόκλησιν, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίῳ συναποθέσθαι, ἄρχοντος δ' ἔτι ἐκείνου οὔτε ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τάχος ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ σφόδρα πάντες ἀνέκραγον, ὥς ἐπὶ πολέμου καταγγελία, διάδοχον εἶναι Λεύκιον Δομίτιον. καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος εὐθὺς ἐξῆει μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἐκ καταλόγου.

[32] Cæsar had lately recrossed the straits from Britain and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and 300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was contiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he looked over the present situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Cæsar thought it best still to try and come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be chosen consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Cæsar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades in three days and delivered to the newly elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first (Y.R. 705) of the calends of January. The letter embraced a calm (B.C. 49) recital of all that Cæsar had done from the beginning of his career and a proposal that he would lay down his command at the same time with Pompey, but that if Pompey should retain his command he would not lay down his own, but would come

quickly and avenge his country's wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be appointed as Cæsar's successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 of the new levies.

[33] Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δημαρχοῦντοιν μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἐπαινούντοιν, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἔτι τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν φύλακα σφῶν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολέμιαν. καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι, Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὁμῶς πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυχλος οὕσα ὑβρίζοιτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφύροντες, ἦν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξαλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει, μήτε τινὰ σφαγὴν μήτε μύσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἀράς τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις ἐπαρώμενος. συνεξέθεον δ' αὐτῷ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος· καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη στρατὸς ἐωρᾶτο ἐκ Πομπηίου περιυστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οἶδε μὲν δὴ τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ ὀχήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτι ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἡρέθιζε λέγων, ὅτι καὶ σφᾶς τοσάδε ἐργασαμένους ἡγοῦνται πολέμιους καὶ τοιοῦσδε ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τι φθελγζαμένους οὕτως ἐξελαύνουσιν αἰσχυρῶς.

[33] Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with the latter in opinion, the Senate became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey's army the protector of Rome, and that of Cæsar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the Senate lest they should suffer some harm, although they were tribunes. Then Antony sprang from his chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, saying that while they (the tribunes) were expressing the opinion which they deemed conducive to the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or other outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey's army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made their way to Cæsar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Cæsar showed them in this condition to his army, whom he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to speak out for them, had been thus driven with ignominy from the city.

[34] ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέφκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἤδη σαφῶς, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ νομίζουσα Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν σὺν χρόνῳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὐποτε αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν ἐπὶ τηλικούτον ἔργον σὺν ὀλίγοις προσέτασσε Πομπηίῳ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας Ἰταλῶν ἀγείρειν, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὡς ἐμπειροπολέμους, ξενολογεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθνῶν ὅσα ἄλκιμα. χρήματα δ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ τὰ τε κοινὰ πάντα αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ σφῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ δεήσειεν, εἶναι στρατιωτικά: ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐφ' ἕτερα περιέπεμπον σὺν τε ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ, σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες ὀξυτάτης. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν περιεπεπόμφει, χαίρων δ' ἀεὶ ταχυεργίας τε ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ τόλμης μᾶλλον ἢ παρασκευῆς δυνάμει, μετὰ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν τοσῶδε πολέμῳ καὶ φθάσαι τὰ εὐκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας.

[34] The war had now been begun on both sides and already openly declared. The Senate, thinking that Cæsar's army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighboring provinces. They voted him for the war all the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which they collected with the greatest possible haste. Cæsar had sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advantageous positions in Italy.

[35] τοὺς οὖν λοχαγοὺς αὐτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτοις, εἰρηνικῶς ἐσταλμένοις, προύπεμπεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ἀρίμινον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφνω καταλαβεῖν: ἡ δ' ἐστὶν Ἰταλίας πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἐσπέραν, ὡς δὴ τὸ σῶμα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὑπεχώρησε τοῦ συμποσίου, τοὺς φίλους ἀπολιπὼν ἔτι ἐστιᾶσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβάς ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ἐπομένων οἱ τῶν ἰπέων ἐκ διαστήματος. δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔσθη τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνώμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὅπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνευγκῶν: 'ἡ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὧ φίλοι, τῆσδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἄρξει, ἡ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.' καὶ εἰπὼν οἶά τις ἔνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπῶν: 'ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω.' δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιὼν Ἀρίμινόν τε αἰρεῖ περὶ ἑὼ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρει, φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐφιστάς καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἢ βίᾳ χειρούμενος ἢ φιλανθρωπία. φυγαῖ τε καὶ μεταναστάσεις ἦσαν ἐκ πάντων χωρίων ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει καὶ δρόμος ἀσύντακτος μετ' οἰμωγῆς, τό τε ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νομίζοντες μετ' ἀπείρου στρατοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν.

[35] Accordingly, he sent forward some centurions with a few of his bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Cæsar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving some friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his course brought him to the river Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that might result from his crossing it with arms. Recovering himself he said to those who were present, "My friends, stopping here will be the beginning of sorrows for me; crossing over will be such for all mankind." Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the common phrase, "Let the die be cast." Then he resumed his hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards at the commanding positions, and, either by force or by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Cæsar had arrived with an army of boundless strength.

[36] ὧν οἱ ὕπατοι πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ εἶων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐμπειροπολέμῳ εὐσταθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξώτρυνον ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ στρατολογεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως καταληφθησομένης αὐτίκα. ἥ τε ἄλλη βουλή, παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὀξείας τῆς ἐσβολῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένης, ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει μετενόουν οὐ δεξάμενοι τὰς Καίσαρος προκλήσεις, τότε νομίζοντες εἶναι δικαίας, ὅτε σφᾶς ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸ εὐβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλονίκου μετέφερε. τέρατά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπιπτε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια: αἶμά τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὁ θεὸς ὕσαι καὶ ξόανα ἰδρῶσαι καὶ κερανοὶ πεσεῖν ἐπὶ νεῶς πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμίονος τεκεῖν: ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῇ προεσήμαινε τὴν ἐς αἰὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν τε καὶ μεταβολήν. εὐχαὶ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ φοβεροῖς προυγράφοντο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Μαρίου καὶ Σύλλα κακῶν γιγνόμενος ἐκεκράγει Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον ἀποθέσθαι τὰς δυναστείας ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τοῦ πολέμου λυθησομένου, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πέμπειν ἐς Καίσαρα διαλλακτάς.

[36] When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed at Cæsar's unexpectedly swift advance, for which it was still unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Cæsar's proposals, which it considered just at last, after fear had turned it from party rage to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule gave birth to a colt. There were many other prodigies which betokened an overturn and change in

the form of government for all time. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamored that both Cæsar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Cæsar in order to come to an arrangement.

[37] ἀντιπραπτόντων δ' ἐς ἅπαντα τῶν ὑπάτων, Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήιον ἐπισκώπτων τοῦ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν: ὁ δὲ 'ἔξετε,' εἶπεν, 'ἂν ἐπακολουθῇτέ μοι καὶ μὴ δεινὸν ἡγήσθε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεήσειεν.' οὐ γὰρ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅπη ποτ' ἂν ᾧσιν, ἔχειν ταῦτα σὺν ἑαυτοῖς: ἀμυνομένους δ' ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν, εἰ φειδοῖ χωρίων ἢ κατασκευῆς ἀπολελείπονται τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνων, ἐξῆει τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι συνέειποντο αὐτῷ: τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺ κατεῖχε, καὶ διενυκτέρευον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸ πλεόν ὅμως ἐξῆει καὶ ἐδίδωκε τὸν Πομπήιον.

[37] As the consuls opposed all accommodation Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the ground with his foot and raise armies in that way. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not consider it such a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves shall recover their homes." After saying this and after threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and the city immediately to take command of the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other senators remained undecided a long time and passed the night together in the senate-house. At daybreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey.

CHAPTER VI

Cæsar captures Corfinium and L. Domitius — The Consuls cross over to Dyrrachium — Pompey escapes from Cæsar at Brundisium — Cæsar takes the Money from the Public Treasury — Cæsar marches to Spain — Captures the Pompeian Forces there

[38] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Κορφινίῳ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον τὸν ἐπιτεμφθέντα οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι διάδοχον καταλαβὼν, οὐ πάντας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ οἱ τὸ Κορφίνιον οἰκοῦντες φεύγοντα τὸν Δομίτιον ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας καταλαβόντες τῷ Καίσαρι προσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ προστιθεμένην οἱ προθύμως ἐδέχετο ἐς ἐρέθισμα τῶν ἄλλων, Δομίτιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων μεθῆκεν ὅποι βούλοιο ἀπιέναι, ἐλπίσας μὲν ἴσως διὰ τὴν εὐποιάν παραμενεῖν, οὐ κωλύσας δ' ἐς Πομπήιον ἰόντα. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων οὕτως ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς Νουκερίαν ἐκ Καπύης καὶ ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἠπειίετο, ὥς τὸν Ἵόνιον διαβαλὼν ἐς Ἥπειρον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν παρασκευὴν συστήσων ἐν αὐτῇ. ἔθνεσί τε πᾶσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δυνάσταις ἔγραφε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὅ τι δύναιτο ἕκαστος, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀθρόως ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου στρατὸς ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν ὡς ὀρμήσων, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

[38] At Corfinium Cæsar came up with and besieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul but who did not have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was trying to escape, and brought him to Cæsar. The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his money with him. He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence, but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. While these transactions were taking place so swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Luceria and thence to Brundisium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed. Pompey gave some of the legions he already had in Italy to the consuls to be moved from Brundisium to Epirus.

[39] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τελῶν τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε τοῖς ὑπάτοις προαπάγειν ἐς Ἥπειρον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οἶδε αὐτίκα ἀσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον· ἦν Ἐπίδαμόν τινες εἶναι νομίζουσι διὰ τοιάνδε ἄγνοιαν. βασιλεὺς τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων, Ἐπίδαμνος, πόλιν ὥκισεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ

ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν Ἐπίδαμνον. τούτου θυγατρίδοϋς Δύρραχος, νομιζόμενος εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπίνειον ᾧκισε τῇ πόλει καὶ Δυρράχιον ὠνόμασε. πολεμουμένῳ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῷδε τῷ Δυρράχῳ συνεμάχησεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς, ἐξ Ἐρυθίας ἐπανίων· ὅθεν οἱ Δυρράχιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς μερίτην τῆς γῆς, οἰκιστὴν σφῶν τίθενται, οὐκ ἄρνούμενοι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸν Δύρραχον, φιλοτιμούμενοι δ' ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα μᾶλλον ὡς ἐς θεόν. φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇδε Δυρράχου παῖδα Ἴόνιον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ σῶμα θάψαντα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως κατασχεῖν Βρίγας ἐκ Φρυγῶν ἐπανελθόντας καὶ Ταυλαντίους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ταυλαντίοις ἕτερον γένος Ἰλλυριῶν Λιβυρνούς, οἱ τὰ περίοικα νηυσὶ ταχείαις ἐληίζοντο· καὶ Λιβυρνίδας ἐντεῦθεν ἡγοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ναῦς τὰς ταχείας, ὧν ἄρα πρώτων ἐς πείραν ἦλθον. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Λιβυρνῶν ἐξελαθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου Κερκυραίους ἐπαγόμενοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Λιβυρνούς· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι σφετέρους ἐγκατέμιζαν οἰκήτορας, ὅθεν Ἑλληνικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπίνειον. τὴν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν ὡς οὐκ αἴσιον ἐναλλάξαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ τήνδε ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκάλουν, καὶ Θουκυδίδης οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν· ἐκνικᾷ δ' ὅμως τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ Δυρράχιον κληίζεται.

[39] The consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium, which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the Dyrrachians claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after performing the funeral rites he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name. At a later period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbors, with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships liburnicæ, because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans, who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port; but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called

[40] οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὸν ὑπόλοιπον στρατὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀγαγὼν τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνέμενεν ἐπανελθεῖν, αἱ τοὺς ὑπάτους διέφερον, καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπελθόντα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἡμύνετο τὴν τε πόλιν διετάφρευε, μέχρι καταπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου περὶ δειλὴν ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλευσε, τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπολιπὼν: οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐρχομένης ἐξέπλεον οὐρίῳ πνεύματι.

καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὧδε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐς Ἥπειρον ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεπέρα: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρει μὲν, ὅπῃ τραπεῖη καὶ ὅθεν ἄρξαιτο τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν ὁρμὴν πανταχόθεν οὔσαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ὁρῶν, δείσας δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατὸν, πολὺν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ γεγυμνασμένον, μὴ οἱ διώκοντι τὸν Πομπήιον κατόπιν ἐπιγένοιτο, τόνδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐλάσας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐς πέντ' ἐπιδιήρει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐν Ὑδροῦντι κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ' ἐν Τάραντι, φύλακας εἶναι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἐτέρους δ' ἔπεμπεν ἅμα Κοῖντῳ Οὐαλερίῳ, Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν: καὶ κατέλαβον. Ἀσίνιός τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαν πεμφθείς, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Κάτωνι, πότερα τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά με ἔπεμψε.'

καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἐς Πομπήιον:

[40] A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the remainder to Brundisium, where he awaited the return of the ships that had carried the others over. Here Cæsar advanced against him, and he defended himself by walls and dug trenches in the city until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed away after nightfall, with a favorable wind. Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Cæsar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundisium, another at Hydrus, and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which he did. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business." Cato answered that in

order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra to Pompey.

[41] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγθεὶς τὸν τε δῆμον, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐλπίσι καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιλανθρωπίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἐλὼν ἀπαθῇ μεθείη μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων: τὰ δὲ κλεῖθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμιείων ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἡπεύλει. τῶν τε ἀψαύστων ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἃ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρᾷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδέν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικός πόλεμος ἐπιῖοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη Κελτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐλὼν λευκέναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν. Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐφίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δῆμαρχον Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἡρεῖτο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Λικινίῳ Κράσσῳ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλους δύο γίνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἀμφὶ τε τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ περὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν: καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γιγνομένοις ἐπέστησεν Ὀρτήσιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν.

[41] Cæsar hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he broke the bolts of the public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering, threatened him with death. He took away money hitherto untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the Gauls. Cæsar said that he had subjugated the Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Æmilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Mark Antony, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato, and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and intrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea, and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction.

[42] οὕτω κρατυνόμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἦει, ἔνθα Πετρήῳ καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατηγοῖς συμβαλὼν ἦττον αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τὰ γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάλως ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην. καὶ στρατοπεδεύων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ κρημνῶν ἐσιτολόγει διὰ γεφύρας τοῦ Σικόριος ποταμοῦ. χειμάρρου δ' ἄφνω τὴν γέφυραν καταβαλόντος, ἀνδρῶν τε πλῆθος ἀποληφθὲν ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ διέφθειραν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πετρήιον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐμόχθει μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου

στρατοῦ πάννυ καρτερῶς ὑπὸ τε δυσχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος ἥδη καὶ πολέμων: οὐδέν τε ἄλλ' ἢ πολιορκίας ἔργον ἦν, μέχρι θέρους ἐπελθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρίαν ἐχώρουν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀθροίσοντες, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀεὶ προλαμβάνων διετάφρευε τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵεναι καὶ τι καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν, προπεμπόμενον ἐς στρατοπέδου κατάληψιν, ἐκυκλώσατο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόντων. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε συνέλαβεν οὔτε κατηκόντισεν, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀφράνιον ἀπιέναι, δημοκοπῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους πανταχοῦ. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἐπιμιζίαι τε εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ λόγοι περὶ συμβάσεων κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

[42] Having prevailed so far as to make Italy inaccessible to Pompey, Cæsar went to Spain, where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive engagement with them near the town of Ilerda. He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris. Suddenly a freshet of melting snow carried away his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side. These were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Cæsar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the place, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Cæsar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions that had been sent forward to capture his camp. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Cæsar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favor of his enemies. Whence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file.

[43] ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν καὶ ἑτέροις ἐδόκει τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπιέναι, Πετρήιος δὲ ἀντέλεγε καὶ περιθέων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκτεινεν, ὅσους εὐρίσκοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιζίαν τῶν Καίσαρος, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων ἐνιστάμενόν τινα αὐτοχειρὶ διεχρήσατο: ἐξ ὧν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀχθόμενοι τῷ σκυθρωπῷ τοῦ Πετρηίου, ἐς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτρέποντο ταῖς γνώμαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ πού καὶ τὴν ὕδρειαν αὐτῶν προύλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν ἀμυχάνῳ γενόμενος ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς λόγους τῷ Καίσαρι συνήει μετὰ Ἀφρανίου, ἐφορώντων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ὁ μὲν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ποταμὸν διαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε χωροῦντας ἐς Πομπήιον ἔαν. γενόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ συνήγαγεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐπήκοον, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν ὧδε: 'ὕμῶν, ὧ πολέμιοι 'τῷδε γὰρ ἔτι τῷ ῥήματι χρώμενος

ἐναργεστέραν ὑμῖν τὴν ἔμναυτοῦ γνώμην ποιήσῶ, οὔτε τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἳ σφᾶς ἐμοὶ παρέδωσαν, διέφθειρα οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον ὑμῶν στρατόν, λαβὼν τὰ ὑδρεύματα, Περηίου ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Σίκωριν ποταμὸν ἀποληφθέντας προανελόντος. εἰ δὴ τις ἔστι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τούτων χάρις, φράζετε αὐτὰ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατιώταις ἅπασι.' τοσάδε εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυεν ἀπαθεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπέφαινε νῆγεῖσθαι Κάσσιον Κόιντον.

καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα:

[43] To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Cæsar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Cæsar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Cæsar. Soon afterward Cæsar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Cæsar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Cæsar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey. Arrived at this stream, Cæsar called a meeting of all those who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: " My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favors tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain. So much for the operations of Cæsar.

CHAPTER VII

*Campaign of Curio in Africa — He is defeated and killed — Mutiny in
Cæsar's Army at Placentia — Cæsar chosen Dictator*

[44] Λιβύης δὲ Οὐᾶρος Ἄττιος ἐστρατήγει τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ Ἰόβας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων Νομάδων βασιλεὺς τῷ Οὐάρῳ συνεμάχει, Κουρίων δ' ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπέπλει δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ δωδέκα μακραῖς καὶ ὀλκάσι πολλαῖς. Ἰτύκη δὲ προσσχὼν ἐν μὲν τινὶ βραχείᾳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἵππομαχίᾳ τρέπεται τινας τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ἔτι οὐσης αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπέστη προσαγορευθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ τιμὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τότε τὸ προσαγόρευμα παρὰ τῶν στρατῶν, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων ἄξιως σφῶν αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι: καὶ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλοι μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις προσίεντο, νῦν δ' ὅρον εἶναι τῇδε τῇ εὐφημίᾳ πυνθάνομαι τὸ μυρίου πεσεῖν. ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ πλεοντος ἐκ Σικελίας, οἱ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν διὰ δοξοκοπίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν χάρακα τὸν Σκιπίωνος κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας στρατοπεδεύσειν, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφάρμαζαν. καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ διήμαρτον: ὃ τε γὰρ Κουρίων ἐστάθμευσεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐνόσει, πιουσί τε τὸ βλέμμα ἀμαυρὸν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν ὁμίχλῃ, καὶ ὕπνος ἐπεγίγνετο σὺν κάρῳ, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἔμετοι τροφῆς ποικίλοι καὶ σπασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. ὦν δὴ χάριν ὁ Κουρίων παρ' αὐτὴν Ἰτύκην μετεστρατοπέδευε, δι' ἔλους ἰσχυροῦ τε καὶ μακροῦ τὸν στρατόν, ἀσθενῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν γεγονότα, ἄγων. ὥς δὲ σφισιν ἡ νίκη Καίσαρος ἢ περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπηγγέλλθη, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ παρετάξαντο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν βραχεὶ χωρίῳ. μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς γενομένης Κουρίωνος μὲν εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔπεσεν, Οὐάρου δὲ ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ κατετρώθησαν ἔτι πλείονες.

[44] Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces in Africa, and Juba, king of the Mauritanian Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Cæsar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Emperor by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honor conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden time the generals accepted this honor only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would establish his quarters near the camp of the latter, poisoned the water in the neighborhood. Their expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent

vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighborhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Cæsar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded.

[45] Ἰόβα δ' ἐπιόντος δόξα ψευδῆς προεπήδησεν, ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαυ ποταμὸν οὐ πολλὸν διεστῶτα ὑπεστροφέναι τὸν Ἰόβαν, πορθομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων, Σαβούρραν στρατηγὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταλιπόντα. καὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ πίσυνος ὁ Κουρίων θέρους θερμοῦ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἡμέρας ἦγε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβούρραν, ὁδὸν ψαμμώδη καὶ ἄνυδρον· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ νῆμα χειμέριον ἦν, ἐξήραντο ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὸ τε Σαβούρρα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρόντος κατείχετο τοῦ βασιλέως. σφαλεῖς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Κουρίων ἐς λόφους ἀνέδραμεν ὑπὸ τε καμάτου καὶ πνίγους καὶ δίψης ἐνοχλούμενος. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν κατείδον οὕτως ἔχοντα οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι· καὶ ὁ Κουρίων κατέβαινε ἀφρόνως μάλα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἀσθενῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων. κυκλωσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων ἐπὶ μὲν τινα χρόνον ὑπεχώρει καὶ ἐς βραχὺ συνεστέλλετο, ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ἀνέφευγεν αὐθις ἐς τοὺς λόφους. Ἀσίνιος μὲν δὴ Πολλίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ κακοῦ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰτύκῃ στρατόπεδον σὺν ὀλίγοις, μή τις ἐξ Οὐάρου γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἐνταῦθα κακοπραγίας ἐπίθεσις· Κουρίων δὲ φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενος σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔπεσεν, ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ Πολλίῳι μηδένα ἄλλον ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς Ἰτύκην.

[45] Meantime, while Juba was advancing a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbors, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were now dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain, where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning of the trouble, had retreated with a small force to the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, together with all his men, not one returning to

Utica after Pollio. Such was the result of the battle at the river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba.

[46] τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν μάχης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἀποτιμηθεῖσα ἐς Ἰόβαν ἐφέρετο: ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ κακοῦ φανεροῦ γενομένου, Φλάμματος μὲν ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτίκα ἔφευγεν αὐτῷ στόλῳ, πρὶν τινα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, Ἀσίνιος δ' ἐς τοὺς παρορμοῦντας ἐμπόρους ἀκατίῳ διαπλεύσας ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν ἐπιπλεῦσαί τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. καὶ τινες ἐς τοῦτο νυκτὸς ἐπέπλευσαν, ἀθρόων δ' ἐσβαινόντων ἐκείνων τὰ τε σκάφη κατεδύετο, καὶ τῶν ἀναχθέντων οἱ ἔμποροι τοὺς πολλοὺς χρήματα φέροντας ἔνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐρρίπτουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀναχθέντας, ἕτερα δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ, νυκτὸς ἔτι, περὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐγίνετο ὅμοια. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰόβας ἐπελθὼν περιέστησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ὥς λείψανα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νίκης κατηκόντισεν, οὐδέν τι φροντίσας οὐδὲ Οὐάρου παρακαλοῦντος. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ σὺν Κουρίωνι ἐς Αἰβύην ἐπιπλεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων δύο τέλη διώλετο ἅπαντα καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἱππῆες τε καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ στρατοῦ: Ἰόβας δ' ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀνέστρεφε, μέγιστον ἔργον τότε Πομπηίῳ καταλογιζόμενος.

[46] As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night. The soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with Curio were totally destroyed, together with the cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his great exploit to Pompey, returned home.

[47] καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀντώνιος τε περὶ τὴν Ἰλνυρίδα ἡττᾶτο ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίου κατὰ Δολοβέλλα Πομπηίῳ στρατηγούντος, καὶ στρατιὰ Καῖσαρος ἄλλη περὶ Πλακεντίαν στασιάσασα τῶν ἀρχόντων κατεβόησεν, ὥς ἐν τε τῇ στρατείᾳ βραδύνοντες καὶ τὰς πέντε μνᾶς οὐ λαβόντες, ἦν τινα δωρεὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι περὶ Βρεντέσιον ὑπέσχητο. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος ἐκ Μασσαλίας ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἠπείγετο συντόμως καὶ ἐς ἔτι στασιάζοντας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε: 'τάχει μὲν ὅσῳ περὶ ἕκαστα χρῶμαι, σύνιστέ μοι: βραδύνει δ' ὁ πόλεμος οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντας

ἡμᾶς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἔν τε Γαλατία πολλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνάμενοι καὶ ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὄλον, οὐκ ἐς μέρος αὐτοῦ μοι συνομόσαντες ἐν μέσοις ἔργοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολείπετε καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπανίστασθε καὶ προστάττειν ἀξιοῦτε, παρ' ὧν χρὴ προστάγματα λαμβάνειν. μαρτυράμενος οὖν ἑμαυτὸν τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς μέχρι δεῦρο φιλοτιμίας χρησόμεν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐνάτου τέλους, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα τῆς στάσεως κατήρξε, τὸ δέκατον διακληρώσω θανεῖν.' θρήνου δὲ ἀθρόως ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ τέλους γενομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες ἰκέτευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ μόλις τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδούς ἐς τοσοῦτον ὅμως ὑφῆκεν, ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μόνους, οἱ κατάρξαι μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, διακληρώσαι καὶ δωδέκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελεῖν. τῶν δὲ δωδέκα τῶνδε ἐφάνη τις οὐδ' ἐπιδημῶν, ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφήναντα λοχαγὸν ἔκτεινεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

[47] About this time [Gaius] Antonius was defeated in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant, Octavius, and another army of Cæsar mutinied at Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minæ that Cæsar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundisium. When Cæsar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: “ You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who have fled from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labors, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall now execute the law of our country by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began.” Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Cæsar's feet in supplication. Cæsar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Cæsar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him.

[48] ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὕτως ἐλέλυτο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρήλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικὸς ἡρεῖτο δικτάτορα, οὔτε τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίζομένης οὔτε προχειροτονοῦντος ἄρχοντος. ὁ δέ, εἴτε παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπιφθονον εἴτε οὐ χρήζων, ἄρξας ἐπὶ ἑνδεκα μόνας ἡμέρας ᾧδε γάρ τισι δοκεῖ ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ Ποῦπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ἡγεμόνας τε ἐς τὰ ἔθνη περιέπεμπεν ἢ ἐνήλλαττεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλέγων. ἐς μὲν Ἰβηρίαν Μάρκον Λέπιδον, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν Αὔλον Ἀλβῖνον, ἐς δὲ Σαρδῶ Σέξστον Πεδουκαῖον, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον Βροῦτον. τῷ δὲ δῆμῳ λυμώττοντι σῖτον ἐπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας δεομένῳ καταγαγεῖν συνεχώρησε, χωρὶς Μίλωνος. αἰτοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ χρεῶν

ἀποκοπὰς διὰ τε πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς πιπρασκομένοις ἐποῦσαν εὐωνίαν, τὰς μὲν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ ἔδωκε, τιμητὰς δὲ τῶν ὠνίων ἀπέφηνεν, ὧν ἔδει τοὺς χρήστας τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων διδόναι. καὶ τότε πράξας περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς περιέπεμπε τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς τε ἐξῆει Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκα τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ ἔτους πλησιάζουσιν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἶπετο παρακαλῶν συμβῆναι Πομπηίῳ: οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέψεσθαι.

[48] After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia Cæsar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling people chose him dictator without any decree of the Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls. He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain, Aulus Albinus to Sicily, Sextus Peducæus to Sardinia, and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the suffering people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of vendible goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money. When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundisium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of them should conquer would wield sovereign power. Cæsar departed on his journey and travelled with all possible speed.

CHAPTER VIII

Pompey's Forces — Pompey's Speech to his Army — Cæsar at Brundisium — He addresses his Soldiers — Cæsar sails for Epirus — Captures Oricum and Apollonia — Marches toward Dyrrachium — Encamps before it

[49] καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥδευεν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων δυνατῆς ἐπέιξεως, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ναῦς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ στρατὸν αἰεὶ πλείονα καὶ χρήματα συνῆγε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ Καίσαρος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐλὼν ἐφύλασσε αὐτοῦ τὸν διάπλουν τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, συντρέχων καὶ συνιπεύων καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχων πόνου παρ' ἡλικίαν: ὅθεν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως εὐνοιά τε ἦν, καὶ συνέθεον ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια Πομπηίου πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ θέαν. ἦν δ' ἐς τότε Καίσαρι μὲν δέκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἱππées μύριοι, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πέντε μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μεθ' ὧν τὸν Ἰόνιον διεπεπλεύκει, καὶ τούτοις ὅσοι συνετάσσοντο ἱππées, ἐκ δὲ Παρθυαίων δύο, τῶν σὺν Κράσσῳ πεπολεμηκότων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ... καὶ τι μέρος ἄλλο τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐσβαλόντων μετὰ Γαβινίου, σύμπαντα ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν ἑνδεκα τέλη καὶ ἱππées ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους. σύμμαχοι δ' ἐξ Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας τοξόται τε Κρήτες καὶ σφενδονῆται Θρᾶκες καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Πόντον βέλεσι χρῶνται, ἱππées τέ τινες Κελτῶν καὶ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἕτεροι τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς Κομμαγηνοὶ τε ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου πεμφθέντες καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Καπαδόκαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας τινες καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι. ὧν οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐς μάχας, ἀλλ' ἐς φρουρία καὶ ταφρείας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ στρατοῦ χρῆσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἵνα μηδένα τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦ πολέμου περισπῇ. καὶ τὰδε μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πεζά, νῆες δὲ μακραι μὲν ἐντελεῖς τοῖς πληρώμασιν ἐξακόσιαι, καὶ τούτων ἐς ἑκατὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβατῶν, αἱ καὶ μάλιστα προύχουσιν ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ σκευοφόρων ἄλλο πλῆθος. ναύαρχοί τε πολλοὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μάρκος Βύβλος.

[49] In the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Cæsar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the goodwill of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Cæsar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Bœotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelin-throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and

others from Galatia in the east, together with Commageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were employed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burthen. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all.

[50] ὥς δέ οἱ πάντα ἦν ἔτοιμα, συναγαγὼν ὅσοι τε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἐς ἐπήκοον, ἔλεξεν ὧδε:

καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἐπιούσι πολεμοῦντες, οὐ τὰ οἰκήματα πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι νομίζοντες: καὶ τόδε πράξαντες ὀξέως αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ἀπέφηναν: καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι Κελτῶν ἐπιόντων ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο ἐξ Ἀρδεατῶν Κάμιλλος ὁρμώμενος. πάντες τε οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὅπη ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἡγούνται πατρίδα. ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνθυμούμενοι δεῦρο διεπλεύσαμεν, οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρασκευασόμενοί τε καλῶς ἐνθάδε καὶ ἀμυνούμενοι τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῇ, διὰ δὲ τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄφνω καταλαβόντα. ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε εἶναι πολέμιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἡγεμόνας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑμέτερα περιπέμπει καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐφίστησι καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν: τοσσηδε τόλμη τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ εἰ τάδε πολεμῶν ἔτι καὶ δεδιώς καὶ δίκην σὺν θεῷ δώσων ἐξεργάζεται, τί χρή νικήσαντα προσδοκᾶν ἐκλείψειν ὠμότητος ἢ βίας; καὶ τάδε πράττοντι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος σύνεισιν τινες ἐωνημένοι χρημάτων ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας Γαλατίας πεπόρισται, δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσονομίας αἰρούμενοι.

[50] When all was in readiness Pompey called the senators, the knights, and the whole army to an assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too, our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hasted from Ardea and recovered it. All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion,

and whom you have decreed a public enemy. He now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own government. If he does these things while the war is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with a god's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, coöperate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead of his equals.

[51] ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλίποιμι τὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτην ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπιδίδωμι καί, εἴ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη ἀηττήτω μέχρι νῦν γενομένῳ, καὶ τάδε μοι πάντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὰ παρόντα συνενεγκεῖν εὐχομαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνευοῦση καθὰ καὶ περικτωμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αἴσιος. θαρρεῖν δὲ χρή τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ πολέμου, καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἔχοντι φιλοτιμίαν ὑπὲρ πατρίου πολιτείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ, τῷ πλήθει τῆς παρασκευῆς τῷ τε νῦν ὄντι ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ τε ἀεὶ καὶ προσεσομένῳ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἔργων ἀψώμεθα. ὅσα γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον ἔθνη, πάντα, ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βάρβαρα, ἡμῖν σύνεστι· καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἐμοὶ φίλοι, στρατιὰν καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν χορηγοῦσιν. ἴτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ὕβρεως μνημονεύοντες καὶ ὀξέως ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χωροῦντες.

[51] "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier and as general. If I have had any experience in war, if it has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need and that I may become a man of destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us, and the kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Cæsar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

[52] ὁ μὲν ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολὺ καὶ γνωριμώτατον πλῆθος, εὐφήμερον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευον ἄγειν,

ἐφ' ὃ τι χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἠγείτο γάρ, δυσχεροῦς ἔτι τῆς ὥρας οὔσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλιμένου, μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑπατόν τε ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοσῷδε διαθήσεσθαι τοῖς μὲν ναύαρχοις προσέταττεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς χειμασίαν ἐπιδιήρει καὶ περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν.

καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν οὕτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμελῶς ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὥς μοι προείρητο, περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἠπειγέτο, νομίζων τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ μάλιστα ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὔτε δὲ ἀγορὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἡθροισμένον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταλαβὼν, τοὺς παρόντας ὅμως ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν:

[52] When Pompey had thus spoken the whole army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them wherever he would. Pompey thought that as the weather was bad and the sea boisterous Cæsar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch of the sea, and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia. So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of what was about to take place. Cæsar, as I have already said, hastened to Brundisium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundisium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and addressed them as follows: —

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οὔτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, ὃ ἄνδρες, οἱ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμοὶ συναίρεσθε, οὔθ' ἢ τῶν ἄλλων βραδυτῆς ἢ ἔνδεια τῆς πρεπούσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὁρμῆς· ἀντί γάρ πάντων ἡγοῦμαί μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχυεργίαν. καὶ πρῶτους ἡμᾶς, οἱ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀξιῷ θεράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἵνα ἡμᾶς αἱ παροῦσαι νῆες ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαλάβοιμεν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῇ δ' ὀλιγότῃ τόλμαν, τῇ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ἧς ἔστιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἣν εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ θεράποντάς τε καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείνων, ἕως χειμάζουσιν ἐν ὑποστέγοις. ἴωμεν, ἕως Πομπήιος ἠγείται καμὲ χειμάζειν ἢ περὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδόσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατότατον ἐν πολέμοις ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον· φιλότιμον δὲ καὶ πρῶτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτίκα διωζομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἐκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν πλεῖν ἂν ἢ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἴδῃ, νομίζων ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατίθεσθαι: τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

[53] “Fellow-soldiers, — you who are joined with me in the greatest of undertakings, — neither the winter weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind us here our servants, our pack-animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may take us on board and carry us over at once without the enemy’s knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we realize that nothing is ours unless we conquer. Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants, their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is the unexpected. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honors of the coming conflict and to prepare a safe pathway yonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey’s sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. Although I am certain that you agree with me I await your response.”

[54] ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὀρμῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἄγειν σφᾶς, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας λογάδας ἑξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλευε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χειμέριοι δ’ ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίψαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τάδε προσλαβὼν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων: αἱ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ νῆες ὀλίγαι μακραί, Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν ἐφρούρου. ὑπὸ δὲ χειμῶνων ἐς τὰ Κεραῦνια ὅρη περιαχθεὶς τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἦεν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρικόν διὰ τραχείας ἀτραποῦ καὶ στενῆς, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διασπώμενος ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὡς εὐεπιχείρητος ἄν, εἴ τις ἦσθετο, γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἑω μόλις αὐτῷ συνήει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ φρούραρχος ὁ τῆς Ὀρίκου, τῶν ἔνδον αὐτῷ προειπόντων οὐ κωλύσειν ἐπιόντα Ῥωμαίων ὑπατον, τάς τε κλείς παρέδωκε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ κατέμεινε τιμῆς ἀξιούμενος. Λουκρήτιος δὲ καὶ Μινούκιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ὀρίκου ναυσὶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μακραῖς Πομπηίῳ σῖτον ἐν πλοίοις φυλάσσοντες τά τε πλοῖα κατέδυσαν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὰ λάβοι, καὶ ἐς Δυρράχιον διέφυγον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὀρίκου Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἠπείγετο: καὶ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν αὐτὸν δεχομένων, Σταβέριος ὁ φρούραρχος ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν.

[54] The whole army cried out with enthusiasm that he should lead on. Cæsar at once led, from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to cast anchor. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, against his will, and

held him in Brundisium, to his great disappointment, until the first day of the new (Y.R. 706) year. In the meantime two more legions arrived and (B.C. 48) Cæsar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Cæsar sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army. He then marched by night against the town of Oricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if his army had been anticipated he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townsmen to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Cæsar and remained with him in a position of honor. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Cæsar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Cæsar hastened to Apollonia, the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city.

[55] καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀλίσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀνέμνησεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν τοῦ τε χειμῶνος σὺν τῇ τύχῃ περιγένοιτο καὶ θαλάσσης τοσησδε χωρὶς νεῶν κρατήσκειαν Ὁρικὸν τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀμαχεὶ λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοιεν, καθάπερ εἶπεν, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι Πομπηίου. ‘εἰ δὲ καὶ Δυρράχιον,’ ἔφη, ‘τὸ ταμιεῖον τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς προλάβοιμεν, ἔσται πάντα ἡμῖν, ἃ ἐκείνοις δι’ ὅλου θέρους πεπονημένοις.’ τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον αὐτοὺς ὁδὸν μακράν, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαύων. Πομπήιος δὲ προμαθὼν ἀντιπαρώδευεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, σὺν ἐπεῖξει καὶ ὁδε πολλῇ, κόπτων τε τὴν ὕλην, ἣν παρώδευεν, ἵνα Καίσαρι δύσβατος εἴη, καὶ ποταμῶν γεφύρας διαιρῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν ἐμπιπράς, ἐν μεγίστῳ, καθάπερ ἦν, καὶ ὁδε τιθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευὴν διαφυλάξαι. κονιορτὸν δ’ ἢ πῦρ ἢ καπνὸν εἴ ποτε μακρόθεν ἴδοιεν αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, νομίζοντες εἶναι τὰ ἀλλήλων ἐφιλονίκουν ὥς ἐν ἀγῶνι δρόμου. καὶ οὔτε τροφῇ καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ὕπνῳ· ἐπειζὺς δ’ ἦν καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ βοαὶ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ λαμπτήρσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ὥς τῶν πολεμίων αἰεὶ πλησιαζόντων. ὑπὸ δὲ καμάτου τινὲς ἀπερρίπτουν, ἃ ἔφερον, ἢ ἐν φάραγι διαλαθόντες ὑπελείποντο, τὴν αὐτίκα ἀνάπαισιν τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φόβου διαλασσομένοι.

[55] Cæsar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labors of a whole summer." After speaking thus he led his

soldiers directly toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along the road, in order to obstruct Cæsar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it of the greatest importance (as it was) to defend his own arsenal. If either of them saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as when hostile armies are ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for a moment's rest.

[56] τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐκατέρων κακοπαθούντων προύλαβεν ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ναῦς τε ἐπιπέμπας Ὀρικὸν αὖθις εἶλε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκριβεστέραις φρουραῖς ἐφύλασσεν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Πομπήιου τὸν Ἄλωρα ποταμὸν ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσε. καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες ἵππομάχουν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη, ἀθρόοις δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, Πομπήιος μὲν ἔτι γυμνάζων τοὺς νεοστρατεύτους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἐκ Βρεντεσίου περιμένων. νομίσας δ' ἕαρος μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων διαπλέοντας οὐ λήσειν τὰς τοῦ Πομπήιου τριήρεις θαμινὰ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀναπλεούσας, χειμῶνος δ' εἰ παραβάλλοιντο, ναυλοχούντων ἐς νήσους τῶν πολεμίων, λαθεῖν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἴσως ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι μεγέθει τε νεῶν καὶ πνεύματι, μετεπέμπετο κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀναγομένων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν διαπλεῦσαι λαθόν, ὥς οὗ τινος αὐτὴν ἄλλου ῥαδίως ἐπαξομένου. καὶ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπικρύψας ἔπεμπε τρεῖς θεράποντας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ δωδέκα σταδίων ὄντα, οἱ κελήτιον ὅζον καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον ὥς δή τινι πεμπομένῳ πρὸς Καίσαρος ἔμελλον ἐτοιμάσειν.

[56] In the midst of such vicissitudes on either side Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Cæsar pitched his camp so that the river Alor ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other. The armies did not come to a general engagement, however, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Cæsar waited for the forces left at Brundisium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not come he decided to cross over secretly to that army, because no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to

procure a fast-sailing vessel and a first rate pilot as for a messenger sent by Cæsar.

CHAPTER IX

Cæsar attempts to cross the Adriatic in a Small Boat — Sends for Reënforcements — Antony arrives with the remainder of the Army — Skirmishes at Dyrrachium — Cæsar attempts to surround Pompey — Battle of Dyrrachium — Cæsar defeated

[57] αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ διαίτης ὑπεχώρησε μὲν ὡς κάμνων τῷ σώματι, τοὺς φίλους ἔτι ἐστιᾶσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπιθέμενος δ' ἐσθῆτα ἰδιώτου καὶ ὀχήματος εὐθὺς ἐπιβάς ἐξήλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὡς ὅδε ὢν ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεσταλμένος: τὰ τε λοιπὰ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων προσέτασεν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μάλιστα ἀγνοούμενος. χειμερίου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντος θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευον οἱ θεράποντες τὸν κυβερνήτην ὡς τῷδε μάλιστα λησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποταμὸν ὁ κυβερνήτης εἰρεσίᾳ βιαζόμενος ἔπλει: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἡ θάλασσα σὺν κλυδωνίῳ καὶ πνεύματι τὸ ρεῦμα ἀνέκοπτεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπισπερχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν θεραπόντων ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς ἐς οὐδὲν προκόπτων ἀπέκαμνε καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀποκαλυψάμενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ: 'θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα: Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην.' ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἐρετῶν καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προθυμία τε πᾶσιν ἐνίπιπτε καὶ ἡ ναὺς ὑπὸ βίας ἐξέπιπτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὸ πνεῦμα δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κῦμα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὄχθας διερρίπτει, μέχρι πλησιαζούσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὡς ἐν φωτὶ κατάδηλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, τῷ δαιμονίῳ χαλεψάμενος ὡς φθονερῷ, ἐφῆκε τὴν ναῦν ἐπανίεναι.

ἡ μὲν δὴ πνεύματι ταχεῖ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέπλει,

[57] Then he rose from supper pretending to be fatigued and told his friends to remain at the table. He put on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a chariot, and drove away to the ship, pretending to be the one sent by Cæsar. He gave the rest of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighborhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing. When they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot at the instigation of the servants put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress he became fatigued and gave it up. Then Cæsar threw off his disguise and called out to him, "Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Cæsar and Cæsar's fortunes." Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves cast the ship high on the bank. As the dawn was near and they feared lest the enemy should discover them in the daylight, Cæsar, after accusing his evil genius for its invidiousness, allowed the ship to return, and it

sailed up the river with a strong wind.

[58] Καίσαρα δ' οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῆς εὐτολμίας, οἱ δ' ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς στρατιώτῃ πρέπον ἔργον εἰργασμένον, οὐ στρατηγῷ. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι λήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν Ποστούμιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε διαπλευσαί τε καὶ φράσαι Γαβινίῳ τὸν στρατὸν εὐθὺς ἄγειν διὰ θαλάσσης: ἂν δ' ἀπειθῇ ταῦτα: προστάσσειν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον Καληνῷ. εἰ δ' οἱ τρεῖς ἀποκνοίεν, ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸν ἐγγράπτο ἄλλῃ, τὸν βουλούμενον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔπεσθαι τῷ Ποστούμῳ καὶ καταίρειν ἀναχθέντας ἐς χωρίον, ἐς ὃ τι ὁ ἄνεμος ἐκφέρει, μηδὲν τῶν νεῶν φειδομένους: οὐ γὰρ νεῶν χρῆζειν Καίσαρα, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν.

οὕτω μὲν ἀντὶ λογισμῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποίθει τῇ τύχῃ. τάδε οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος ἐς μάχην διεσκευασμένος ἐπήει. καὶ δύο αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρευνωμένων, ἧ μάλιστα εἷη διαβατός, τῶν τις Καίσαρος εἷς ἐπιδραμὼν τοὺς δύο ἀνείλε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνεξεύξεν, οὐκ αἴσιον τὸ συμβᾶν ἡγούμενος. αἰτίαν δ' εἶχε παρὰ πᾶσι καιρὸν ἄριστον ἐκλιπεῖν.

[58] Some of Cæsar's friends were astonished at this act of bravery; others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Cæsar saw that he could not conceal a second attempt he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundisium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, "that every one who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Cæsar did not want ships but men." Thus did Cæsar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence. Pompey, in order to anticipate Cæsar's reënforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Cæsar's men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital opportunity.

[59] Ποστούμιον δὲ διαπλεύσαντος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὁ μὲν Γαβίνιος οὐχ ὑποστάς τὸ πρόσταγμα ἤγε τοὺς βουλομένους διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, οὐδαμοῦ διαναπαύων: καὶ ἀνῆρέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤνεγκεν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβήσας Ἀπολλωνίαν μὲν παρέπλευσεν, ιστίοις μεστοῖς ἐπιπνέοντος ἀνέμου: χαλάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴκοσι τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, ἐπ' ἔρευναν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναχθεῖσαι, καθορῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐδίωκον. τοῖς δὲ ὡς ἐν γαλήνῃ δέος ἦν πολὺ, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνατρήσειαν ἢ καταδύσειαν αἱ μακραι τοῖς ἐμβόλοις: καὶ τὰ εἰκότα παρεσκεύαζοντο, σφενδόναι τε ἠφίεντο ἤδη καὶ βέλη. καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ἄφνω μείζων ἢ πρότερον ἐπέρραξεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ

μεγάλους αὖθις ἰστίοις ἐξ ἀέλπτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδέχοντο καὶ διέπλεον ἀδεῶς· αἱ δ' ἀπελείποντο, ῥοθίῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ θαλάσῃ κοίλῃ κακοπαθοῦσαι. καὶ μόλις ἐς ἀλίμενα καὶ πετρώδη διερρίφησαν, δύο τινὰς ἐς τέλμα τῶν Καίσαρος κατενεχθείσας ἐλοῦσαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Νυμφαῖον κατήχθη.

[59] When Postumius arrived at Brundisium Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed by the Illyrians and Cæsar was obliged to endure the outrage on account of his preoccupation. Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed for Apollonia with a favorable wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Cæsar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harborless and rocky coast. With difficulty they captured two of Cæsar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphæum.

[60] καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἤδη παρῆν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ λόφων ἐν φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, πείραι τε ἦσαν περὶ ἕκαστον φρούριον πυκναὶ περιταφρευόντων καὶ περιτειχιζόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ γιγνομένων ὁμοῦ καὶ ποιούντων ἐν ἀπόροις. ἐν δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς πείραις περὶ τὸ φρούριον ἡττωμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ λοχαγός, ὃς Σκεῦας ὄνομα ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρῶν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτρώθη βέλει καὶ προπηδήσας κατέσεισεν ὥς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμενος. σιωπῆς δ' αὐτῷ γενομένης, Πομπηίου λοχαγὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶα γνῶριμον ἐκάλει· ‘σῶζε τὸν ὅμοιον σεαυτῷ, σῶζε τὸν φίλον καὶ πέμπε μοι τοὺς χειραγωγήσοντας, ἐπεὶ τέτρωμαι.’ προσδραμόντων δ' ὥς αὐτομολοῦντι δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν μὲν ἐφθασε κτείνας, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ὦμον ἀπέκοψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἐπρασσεν ἀπογιγνώσκων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις αἰδῶς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ ὁρμῇ προσέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ φρούριον περιεσώθη, πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουράρχου Μινουκίου παθόντος, ὃς γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐξ τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τοὺτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δ', ἐκ Δυρραχίου τινὸς αὐτῷ πρασσομένης προδοσίας, ἦκε μὲν, ὥς συνέκειτο, νυκτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ πύλας καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ...

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐκ Συρίας ἤγε Πομπηίῳ Σκιπίων ὁ κηδεστής· καὶ αὐτῷ Γάιος Καλονίσιος περὶ Μακεδονίαν συμβαλὼν ἡττάτο, καὶ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη χωρὶς ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν.

[60] Now Cæsar had his whole army together and so had Pompey his. They encamped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Cæsar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scæva, while performing many deeds of valor, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save one of your equals, save your friend, send somebody to lead me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he cut off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scæva, lost an eye. Cæsar honored them both with many military gifts. A certain man of Dyrrachium having offered to betray the town to him, Cæsar went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis. . . . The same winter Pompey's father-in-law (Scipio) advanced with another army from Syria. Cæsar's general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole legion except 800 men.

[61] Καίσαρι μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης διὰ Πομπήιον ναυκρατοῦντα: ἐλίμαινεν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόαν ἡρτοποιοῦν, αὐτόμολοί τε Πομπήϊω τοιούσδε ἄρτους προσήνεγκαν ὥς εὐφρανοῦντες ἰδόντα. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἦσθη, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, 'οἷσις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα συνῆγεν ὥς καὶ ἄκοντα Πομπήιον βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην: ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἐκ τοῦδε κεκενωμένα προσλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἀνισθίς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπετόλμησεν ἔργῳ δυο χερεῖ τε καὶ παραλόγῳ, πάντα Πομπήϊου τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀποτείχισαι, ὥς μεγάλην, εἰ καὶ διαμάρτοι, δόξαν οἰσόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι: στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεχείρει τοσῶδε ἔργῳ, Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸν ἀνταπετάφρευε καὶ ἀντρωκοδόμει: καὶ μάταια τὰ ἔργα ἀλλήλοις ἐποιοῦν. γίγνεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν εἰς μέγας ἐν ᾧ Πομπήιος τρέπεται τε τοὺς Καίσαρος πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας σημειᾷ τε πολλὰ εἵλεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν αἰετόν, ὃ δὴ κυριώτατόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, μόλις ἔφθασεν ὁ φέρων ὑπὲρ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς ἔνδον ῥῖψαι.

[61] As Cæsar could obtain no supplies by sea, on account of Pompey's naval superiority, his army began to suffer from hunger and was compelled to make bread from herbs. When deserters brought loaves of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all

pleased, but said, “What kind of wild beasts are we fighting with ?” Then Cæsar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the redoubts that Cæsar had vacated and remained quiet. Cæsar was greatly vexed at this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey’s positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise. The circuit was 1200 stades. So, great was the work that Cæsar undertook. Pompey built a line of countervallation. Thus they parried each other’s efforts. Nevertheless, they fought one great battle in which Pompey defeated Cæsar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honor by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within.

[62] γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέρωθεν ἤγεν ἄλλον στρατόν, οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ τοῦτον περίφοβον, ὥς Πομπηίου μακρόθεν ἐπιφανέντος μήτε στήναι περὶ τὰς πύλας ὄντας ἤδη μήτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐν κόσμῳ μήτε πεισθῆναι τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἕκαστον, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀμεταστρεπτί χωρὶς αἰδοῦς καὶ παραγγέλματος καὶ λογισμοῦ. Καῖσαρος δ’ αὐτοὺς περιθέοντός τε καὶ σὺν ὀνείδει μακρὰν ἔτι τὸν Πομπήιον ὄντα ἐπεδεικνύοντος, καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὰ σημεῖα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ μόλις ὑπ’ αἰδοῦς κατέκυπτον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτοι· τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς τάραχος ἐνεπεπτώκει. εἷς δὲ καὶ στρέψας τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέτεινε τὸν οὐρίαχον ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Καῖσαρος ὑπασπισταὶ κατέκοπτον, οἱ δ’ ἐσελθόντες οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπήντων, ἀλλὰ μεθιμένα πάντα ἦν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἀφύλακτον, ὥστε αὐτὸ δοκεῖ συνεσπεσῶν ἂν τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ πάντα ἐξεργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ Λαβιηνὸς αὐτόν, θεοῦ παράγοντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔπειθε τραπῆναι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ὤκνησεν, ἥ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν τοῦ χαρακώματος ὥς ἐνέδραν ὑφορώμενος ἢ ὥς ἤδη κεκριμένου τοῦ πολέμου καταφρονήσας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω τραπεῖς ἐτέρους τε ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἔλαβεν ἐν ταῖς δύο μάχαις ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν καὶ δεῦτερον τόνδε καιρὸν ἐντελοῦς ἔργου μεθῆκεν. ὁ καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρά φασιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι σήμερον ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξείργαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τὸν νικᾶν ἐπιστάμενον εἶχον.

[62] While this remarkable defeat was in progress Cæsar brought up other troops from another quarter, but these also fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Cæsar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard

bearers, with his standard reversed, dared to thrust the end of it at Cæsar himself, but the attendants of the latter cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, misled by a god, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he considered the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Cæsar said, "The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy's favor if they had had a commander who knew how to make use of a victory."

CHAPTER X

Cæsar encourages his Men — Marches to Thessaly — Pompey encamps at Pharsalus — Cæsar short of Supplies — Pompey prefers Delay but is overruled by his Council — Prodigies before the Battle — The Armies at Pharsalus — Allies and Mercenaries

[63] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὴν τε νίκην ὑπερεπαίρων ἐπέστελλε βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος ἤλπιζε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβαλεῖσθαι, λιμῷ τε πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγμένον, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ, τὸ σφέτερον ἀμάρτημα φοβουμένους. οἱ δέ, θεοῦ σφᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν ἄγοντος, τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἡδοῦντο καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεμφομένου τε πρῶως καὶ συγγνώμην διδόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡρεθίζοντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου μεταβολῆς ἐκέλευον τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ διακληρώσαντα αὐτοὺς τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀναιρεῖν. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος μᾶλλον ἡδοῦντο καὶ συνεγίνωσκον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ σφῶν ἡδικῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας τὰ σημεῖα κτείνειν ἐπεβόων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ ποτε φυγόντες, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεῖα προαπεστράφη. ὥς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνασχόμενος ὀλίγους μόλις ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν. αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετριοπάθειαν ὁρμὴ τοσθδε ἐνέπιπτεν, ὥς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: καὶ ἐνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι διορθώσεσθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα νίκη καλῇ: κατὰ τε σφᾶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώνμυντο, ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μὴ ἐπανήξιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν.

[63] Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities magnifying his victory, and he expected that Cæsar's army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers because apprehensive of punishment for their bad conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their fault, and as Cæsar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with themselves and by a surprising change demanded that they should be decimated according to the law of their country. When Cæsar did not agree to this they were still more mortified, and acknowledged that he had been shamefully treated by them. They cried out that he should at least put the standard bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had turned in flight first. Cæsar would not consent to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, beseeching and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Cæsar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.

[64] ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρῆσασθαι τοιαύτῃ μετανοίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ στρατοῦ· ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιόνων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄξει, καὶ μεμῆσθαι τῆσδε τῆς προθυμίας διεκελεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρὴ καὶ τῶνδε προεξελεῖν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἥττης πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάζον προκαθελεῖν. ὠμολόγει τε μεταγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, ἔνθα ἔστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα Πομπηίῳ, δέον ἀποσπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐτέρῳ ἐς ὁμοίαν ἀπορίας.

καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετῆει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λανθάνων· Γόμφοις τε πόλιν μικράν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἐξεῖλεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρπάσαι. οἱ δ' ὥς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν ἐργάσασθαι τι λαμπρόν, εἰ μὴ διώκειν ὅλως ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Καῖσαρ ἐπτά συντόνως ἡμέραις ὁδεύσας ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ Φάρσαλον. λέγεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Γόμοις γενέσθαι παθήματα γενναῖα καὶ νεκροὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γερόντων ἐν ἰατρείᾳ φανῆναι, κυλίκων αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀτρώτοις, εἴκοσι μὲν ὥς ἐκ μέθης κατακεκλιμένους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἕνα δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου παρακαθεζόμενον οἷα ἱατρὸν, ὃς τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς ἄρα παρέσχε.

[64] Wherefore Cæsar's friends urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host, that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachium where Pompey had abundance of supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to some place where he would be subject to the same scarcity as themselves. After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi to which he came refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and allowed his army to plunder it. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, stuffed themselves immoderately and drank wine to excess. The Germans among them were especially ridiculous under the influence of drink. It seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not disdainfully neglected a close pursuit. After seven days of rapid marching Cæsar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, and that one of them, like a physician, was seated in a chair and had dealt out poison to them.

[65] Πομπήιος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀναζεύξει βουλὴν προτιθεῖ. καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ ναυτικόν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πολὺ προὔχεν, ἐπιπέμπειν Καίσαρι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἀλωμένῳ καὶ ἀποροῦντι, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτὸν Πομπήιον ἄγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐνοῦν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὔσαν καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, κρατυνόμενον δ' αὐτὴν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ οἰκείας καὶ ἡγεμονίδος γῆς αὐθις ἐπιχειρεῖν Καίσαρι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα ἂν οἱ γενόμενα παριδὼν ἐπέιθετο τοῖς λέγουσιν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἢ οὐ πολὺ σφίσιν ἔσσεσθαι τὸ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Δυρράχιον γενομένη νίκῃ: τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αἰσχιστον εἶναι, καταλιπεῖν φεύγοντα Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσιν ὁμοίως τὸν νικῶντα φεύγειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῖσδε προσθέμενος αἰδοῖ μάλιστα τῶν ἐφ' ἑθνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώντων καὶ φειδοῖ Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, μή τι περὶ Μακεδονίαν ὧν ἔτι πάθοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐς ἀγῶνα χρῆσασθαι θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ διανοούμενος ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίου ἀλλήλων ἀπέχον.

[65] After Cæsar had withdrawn Pompey called a council of war, at which Afranius advised that they should make use of their naval force in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Cæsar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Cæsar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Cæsar's army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, and that there was not much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Cæsar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished. Pompey sided with these advisers partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Cæsar's near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades.

[66] ἀγορὰ δὲ Πομπήϊῳ μὲν ἦν πανταχόθεν: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδιώκηντο καὶ ὁδοὶ καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρούρια, ὥς ἕκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἄνεμον αὐτῷ φέρειν: Καῖσαρ δὲ μόνον εἶχεν, ὃ τι μόλις εὗροι καὶ λάβοι κακοπαθῶν. καὶ οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ σπουδῇ δαμονίῳ συνενεχθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὠρέγοντο καὶ ἡγοῦντο πολέμῳ μὲν εἶναι παρὰ πολὺ ἀμείνους νεοστρατεύτων ἔτι ὄντων δέκα ἔτεσιν ἡσκημένοι, εἰς δὲ ταφρεΐας ἢ περιτειχίσεις ἢ σιτολογίας ἐπιπόνους ἀσθενέστεροι διὰ γῆρας: ὅλως τε κάμνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δρᾶν τι ... μετ' ἀργίας ἢ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι. ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰσθανόμενος ἐπικίνδυνον μὲν ἡγεῖτο γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ

ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδράσι καὶ τύχῃ Καίσαρος λαμπρᾷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων συνενεχθῆναι δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου, δυνατώτερον δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐκτρυῖσαι ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτοὺς οὔτε γῆς εὐπόρου κρατοῦντας οὔτε θαλάσσης χρωμένους οὔτε ναῦς ἐς φυγὴν ταχέϊαν ἔχοντας.

ὁ μὲν δὴ κρατίστῳ λογισμῷ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ἐς λοιμὸν ἐκ λιμοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφέρειν:

[66] Pompey's supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbors, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Cæsar, on the other hand, had only what he could find with difficulty and seize by hard labor. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valor rather than perish with hunger in inaction. Pompey perceived this and he considered it dangerous to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the amazing luck of Cæsar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no ships for rapid flight. So he decided on the most prudent calculation to protract the war and wear out the enemy by hunger from day to day.

[67] πολὺ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τε τῆς βουλῆς ὁμοτίμων οἱ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι βασιλέες τε πολλοὶ καὶ δυνάσται, οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας, οἱ δ' ἀμέτρως τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον εὐπραγίμασιν ἐπηρμένον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῷ πλέονες εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ κάμνοντες ὅλως τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ταχύτεραν μᾶλλον ἢ πρέπουσαν ἐπειγόμενοι γενέσθαι, πάντες ἐξώτρυνον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐπιδεικνύοντες αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα παρατάττοντά τε καὶ προκαλούμενον. ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τοῦδε αὐτοὺς ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι Καίσαρι μὲν τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, σφίσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαιρον ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπείγοιτο. ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐπηρμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀμέτρως καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως αὐτὸν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς ἐκόντα βραδύνοντα, ἦν' ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτίμων τοσῶνδε ἄρχοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα τε βασιλέων καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤρχεν, ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη καὶ τᾶλλα παρ' ὅλον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. νωθῆς τε γὰρ καὶ βραδὺς παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν ᾧασι γεγωνὼς παρεσκευάζετο ἄκων ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ κακῷ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸν ἀναπειθόντων.

[67] Pompey was surrounded by a great number of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very distinguished knights, and by many kings and princes.

Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one — all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Cæsar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey answered along this very line of argument by saying that Cæsar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, and that they had the more reason to remain quiet because Cæsar was pushed by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank — and for this reason called him derisively king of kings and Agamemnon, because that general also ruled over kings while war lasted — he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and gave in to them, being deceived now by the god that had misled him on other occasions during the whole of this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things, and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him to it.

[68] Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης τρία μὲν ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἐξῆι τέλη 'τὸν γὰρ Πομπήιον ἐπαινῶν τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ οὐδαμοῦ νομίζων μεταθήσεσθαι τοῦ βουλευµατος περιέπεμπεν ἐπὶ σῖτόν, πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦσθη τε τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἣν εἵκαζεν ἠναγκάσθαι Πομπήιον ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τάχιστα ἀνεκάλει πάντα καὶ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην 'ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἰλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, νεῶν τε αὐτῇ νικηφόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσειν εὐχετο κατορθώσας. ὥς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβέσθη, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἔσεσθαι τι λαμπρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τὰ Πομπηίου. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τινα τῶν ἱερείων ἐκφυγόντα οὐ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζῶον νωχελοῦς. μικρόν τε πρὸ ἔω πανικὸν ἐνέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ τότε περιδραμὼν αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπαύετο σὺν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ: περιεγειράντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιεροῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ νικηφόρῳ.

[68] That same night three of Cæsar's legions started out to forage; for Cæsar himself approved Pompey's dilatory proceedings and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Æneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the

Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Cæsar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Cæsar interpreted it as meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the fame and power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees settled on the altar, the type of weakness. Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep.

[69] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας πυθόμενοι ἤδοντο, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀλόγως σὺν ὀρμῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμον. ὧν γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς δάφναις ἀνέστεφον ἤδη, συμβόλῳ νίκης· καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαῖτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσυνον· εἰσι δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἤδη διήριζον. ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ' ὁμως ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσοῦτον ἀνδρὶ μεγαλουργῶ καὶ παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτῳ γενομένῳ τὸ δύσθυμον ἐνεπεπτώκει, εἴτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κύβον ἐχώρει πλήθους ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐς τότε ἀηττήτου· εἴτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐκ δυναστείας τοσῆσδε ἀθρόως ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν εἰπὼν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα, ὁπότερος ἂν ἐπικρατήσῃ, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασσεν ἐς τὴν μάχην· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν προπεσεῖν τινες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἡγοῦντο οὐδ' ἂν Πομπήιον κρατήσαντα μεθεῖναι τὴν μοναρχίαν.

[69] When his friends aroused him he said that he had just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Cæsar's vow, and they went about their work in a reckless and contemptuous way as though it were already accomplished. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared magnificent banquets for them. Some of them began already to contend with each other for Cæsar's office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey, being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these squabbles with concealed indignation. He remained altogether silent in hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; such dejection had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point when he had decided what was the best course but was about to cast the

die involving the safety of so many men and also involving his own reputation, until now invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. After merely saying to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of fright, and they inferred that if Pompey had been victorious he would not have laid down the supreme power.

[70] στρατιὰ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἐπομένῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα, Καίσαρι μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις, καὶ τούτων ἱππées ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους, Πομπηίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ τούτων ἱππées ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὧδε μὲν τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα λέγουσι δοκεῖ μυριάδας ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν συμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐς μάχην: οἱ δ' ὀλιγωτέρους ἐξακισμυρίων φασίν, οἱ δ' ὑπερεπαίροντες τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι λέγουσι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἡμιόλιον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τριῶν νομίζουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο τῷ Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι μέρη. τοσάδε μὲν ἀμφιγνοοῦσι περὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς: ὅπως δ' οὖν εἶχε, τοῖσδε μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐθάρρει. τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ἦν Καίσαρι μὲν ἱππées τε Κελτοὶ ... καὶ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἄλλος: Ἑλλήνων δ' ἐπέλταζον αὐτῷ Δόλοπες, Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰτωλοί. τοσοῖδε μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχουν, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔφα ἔθνη κατὰ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ πεζοί, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος Λάκωνες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσι τασσόμενοι, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος καὶ Βοιωτοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν. ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, κηρυζάντων μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρων μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν Θεσμοφόρων, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τραπέντες ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιούμενοι.

[70] Cæsar's army (for since many writers differ I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, in whom they place most confidence, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as foreigners and as contributing to them little real assistance) consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000. Of the whole number some say Pompey's forces were to those of Cæsar as one-and-a-half to one, others say that he had two parts out of three. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces

Cæsar had cavalry from both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Ætolians. Such were Cæsar's allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedæmonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Bæotians with them. The Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made on both sides that no harm should be done to them by the soldiers, since they were the priests of the Thesmophoræ. Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership.

[71] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὀλίγοι πάντες, ὅσοι περιέοντι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, Θρᾷκες τε καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Ἴωνες, Λυδοὶ τε καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες, καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος καὶ Ἀραβες οἱ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Κύπριοί τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Κρήτες σφενδονῆται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι νησιῶται. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται στρατὸν ἄγοντες, Δηϊόταρος μὲν τετράρχης Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐφ' ὧν, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεὺς. Ἀρμενίους δὲ ἤγε τοὺς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου στρατηγὸς Ταξίλης καὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Μεγαβάτης, ὑπαρχος Ἀρταπάτου βασιλέως· ἄλλοι τε μικροὶ δυνάσται συνεπελαμβάνοντο τοῦ πόνου. λέγονται· δὲ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νῆες ἐξήκοντα αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, Κλεοπάτρας τε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. ἀλλ' αἶδε μὲν οὐ συνεμάχισαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἐν Κερκύρα κατέμενε. καὶ δοκεῖ Πομπήιος τόδε μάλιστα ἀφρόνως ἐργάσασθαι, τῶν μὲν νεῶν καταφρονήσας, αἷς δὲ πολὺ πλούτων ἐδύνατο πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπακτὸν ἀγορὰν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ἀγῶνι πεζῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἀνδράσιν ἐκ πόνου πολλοῦ μεγαλαύχοις τε καὶ θηριώδεσιν ἐς μάχας γενομένοις. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς φυλαξάμενον περὶ Δυρράχιον θεοβλάβεια δοκεῖ παραγαγεῖν, ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἦδε τῷ Καίσαρι γενομένη· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου κουφόνως μάλα ἐπὶ ῥῃ, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφῶν κατεκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀπειροπολέμῳ ἐτράποντο.

[71] Besides the Greeks almost all the nations that one meets in making the circuit of the eastern sea sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and their neighbors the Arabs, Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deïotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia in the East, and Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles commanded THESSALY & SOUTHERN MACEDONIA

the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphrates. Those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artabazes. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the work. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country,

Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force. They remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land with men who boasted that they were inured to every kind of toil and who were ferocious fighters. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him at a time when it would inure most to Cæsar's advantage. Under this spell also Pompey's army was most nonsensically puffed up, and rendered insubordinate to its own commander, and hurried into action without previous experience in war. But this was the ordering of divine Providence to bring in the imperial power which now embraces everything.

CHAPTER XI

Speeches of the Commanders — Preparations for Battle — Battle of Pharsalus — Total defeat of the Pompeians Flight of Pompey — Losses on both sides

[72] ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ᾠκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας: τότε δ' αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκάτερος συναγαγὼν ἐπώτρυνε, Πομπήιος μὲν τοιάδε λέγων: 'ὕμεις, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, στρατηγεῖτε τοῦ πόνου μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγεῖσθε: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ Καῖσαρος ἐκτρύχειν ἔτι βουλομένου τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε προυκαλέσασθε. ὥς οὖν ἀγωνοθέται τῆς μάχης χρήσασθε μὲν ὥς ἐλάττωσι πολὺ πλείονες, καταφρονεῖτε δὲ ὥς ἡττημένων νενικηκότες καὶ γερόντων νέοι καὶ πολλὰ κεκμηκότων ἀκμητεὶς ἄνδρες, οἷς ὑπάρχει δύναμις τοσῆδε καὶ παρασκευῇ καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτὸ τῆς αἰτίας: ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμεθα μετὰ νόμων καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ βουλῆς, τῶν δ' ἰππέων, πρὸς ἄνδρα ἓνα ληστεύοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἴτε οὖν, ὥς ἡξιούτε, μετ' ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ᾧ περ τιθέμενοι τὴν τε φυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον γενομένην καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα μιᾷς ἡμέρας κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐλάβομεν.'

[72] Then each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: "You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task rather than the led, for while I was still desirous of wearing Cæsar out by hunger you urged on this engagement. Since, therefore, you are the arbiters of the battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanquished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and honorable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who has seized the government by robbery. Go forward then, as you have determined to do, with good hope, keeping in vision the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there." Such was Pompey's speech.

[73] ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ὧδε ἔλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοιάδε:

τὰ μὲν δυσχερέστερα ἤδη νενικήκαμεν, ᾧ φίλοι: ἀντὶ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπορίας ἀνδράσι μαχοῦμεθα: ἥδε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κρινεῖ πάντα. μέμνησθέ μοι τῆς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ὧν ἐφορῶντος ἐμοῦ συνώμνυσθε ἀλλήλοις, μὴ νικῶντες οὐδ' ἐπανήξειν. οἶδε εἰσὶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ἐφ' οὓς ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἤλθομεν: οἶδε οἱ περιφυγόντες ἡμᾶς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οἱ τοὺς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀθλοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ πολέμους τοσοῦσδε καὶ νίκας δυσαριθμήτους ἀνύσαντας καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν ἔθνη τετρακόσια περιποίησαντας τῇ

πατρίδι διέλκον ἀγεράστους ἄνευ θριάμβου τε καὶ δωρεᾶς, καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ προκαλούμενος ἔπειθον οὐδὲ χάρισιν ἐξήνουν. ἴστε, οὕς μεθῆκα ἀπαθεῖς, ἐλπίσας ἡμῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι δίκαιον. τῶνδε οὖν μοι τήμερον ἄθρόον ἀνενέγκατε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι σύνιστέ μοι, κηδεμονίας ἢ πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.

[73] Cæsar addressed his men as follows: “My friends, we have already overcome our most formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we met at the Pillars of Hercules, the same that we drove out of Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honors, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories, and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country’s sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. You know that I dismissed them unharmed, hoping that we should obtain justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have had any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you.

[74] ἔστι δὲ οὐ δυσχερὲς νεοστρατεύτων καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι πολυπόνους ἀγωνιστὰς περιγενέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐς ἀταξίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τραπέντων, ὃν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι δεδιότα καὶ ἄκοντα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τύχη τε παρακμάζοντα ἤδη καὶ νωθῇ καὶ βραδὺν ἐς ἅπαντα γεγενημένον καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενον. καὶ τὰδε μοι περὶ μόνων ἔστι τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μηδὲ φροντίζετε μηδ' ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἐκείνοις. ἀνδράποδα ταῦτ' ἔστι Σύρια καὶ Φρύγια καὶ Λύδια, φεύγειν αἰεὶ καὶ δουλεύειν ἔτοιμα: οἷς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτίκα ὤψεσθε, οὐδὲ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐγγυῶντα πολέμου. ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, κἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶνδε μὲν ὥς συγγενῶν φειδώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶνδε κατάπληξιν ἐξεργάσασθε. πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὥς ἂν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἔγωγε ὧν συνετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἢ θάνατον αἰρουμένους, καθέλετέ μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τεῖχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἂν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἴδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συνῶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεύσαι.

[74] “Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that

he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about them, pay no attention to them, do not fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, and Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not assign them any place in his line of battle. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to occupy theirs.”

[75] ὁ μὲν τοσάδε εἰπὼν φυλακὴν ὅμως τῶν σκηνῶν κατέπεμπε δισχιλίους τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας· οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης καὶ ἐς τὴν τάφρον αὐτὸ ἐνεχώννουν. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἡγουμένων τινῶν ἐς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς συσκευάζεσθαι, συνίει τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ ἔστεινε καθ' αὐτόν, ὅτι χωροῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας θηρίοις, λιμὸν ἔχοντες, ἄξιον θηρίων φάρμακον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναδύναι ἔτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐπὶ ξυροῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ τετρακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μετὰ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιέκόμει, τοὺς μὲν Ἰταλοὺς ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐς τρία διαιρῶν ἐπὶ μετώπου, μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῖς κατὰ μέρη τάσσων. τοξόται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναμεμίχато καὶ σφενδονῆται. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν οὕτω κεκόσμητο, ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐθάρρει· τὰ συμμαχικὰ δ' ἦγον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. πολὺθρον δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπήϊου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολὺγλωσσον· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς, παρεστήσατο τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Ἰταλικῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἵκαζεν, ἔξω τάξεως ἐκέλευσε κατὰ φυλάς ἐφεδρεύοντας, ὅταν ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγὼν γένηται, κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώκειν, ὅσα δύναιντο βλάπτοντας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ Καίσαρος ἀχαράκωτον ὃν διαρπάζειν.

[75] Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Cæsar detailed 2000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring and groaned in spirit, that although they had with them famine, the most appropriate cure for such wild beasts, he must now meet these creatures in a hand-to-hand contest.

But there was no drawing back now, his affairs being on the razor's edge. Wherefore, leaving 4000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Cæsar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front, divided into three lines with a moderate space between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was great clamor and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behavior. The rest, as Cæsar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Cæsar's camp, which was without defences.

[76] ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Πομπήϊω μὲν ὁ κηδεστὴς Σκιπίων ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ Δομίτιος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Λέντλος· Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Πομπήϊος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττον. Καῖσαρι δ' ἐστρατήγουν μὲν Σύλλας καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Δομίτιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως συνετάσσετο τῷ δεκάτῳ τέλει, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἰππέων, ἵνα πλέονες ὄντες, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν, κυκλώσαιντο. συνεῖς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τρισχιλίους εὐτολμοτάτους πεζοὺς ἐνήδρευσεν, οἷς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αἰσθωνται τοὺς πολεμίους περιθέοντας, ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐσπηδῶντας ἀνίσχειν ὀρθὰ ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἶσιν ἀπείρους καὶ νέους, ὠραῖζομένους ἔτι, τὸν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα κίνδυνον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ περιήεσαν ἐκάστους, καθιστάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα ἀναδιδόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ Ἀφροδίτην νικηφόρον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

[76] The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp. On Cæsar's side the commanders were P. Sulla, Antony, and Cn. Domitius. Cæsar took a convenient place in the tenth legion, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Cæsar perceived this movement he placed 3000 of his bravest foot-soldiers in ambush and ordered them, when they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart forward, and thrust their spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they could not endure injury to their faces. Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful,

exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Cæsar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible."

[77] ὥς δὲ σφίσιν ἔτοιμα πάντα ἦν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ὥς ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθείᾳ σιωπῇ, μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ ὀκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, ὁπότερος ἄρξει τῆς μάχης. τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος ὥκτειρον, οὐδενός πω τοσοῦδε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς ἓνα κίνδυνον συνελθόντος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκκρίτων ὄντων ἐκατέρων ἠλέουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοιεν Ἰταλοὺς Ἰταλοῖς συμφερομένους. ἐγγὺς τε τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένοις αὐτοῖς ἡ μὲν ἐκκαίουσα καὶ τυφλοῦσα πάντα φιλοτιμία ἐσβέννυτο καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς δέος, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἐκαθάρυνε δοξοκοπίας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμέτρει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι περὶ πρωτείων δύο ἄνδρε ἐρίζοντε ἀλλήλοιν αὐτῶ τε κινδυνεύετον ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, μὴδ' ἐσχάτῳ πάντων ἡττηθέντε ἔτι εἶναι, καὶ τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν δι' αὐτούς. ἐσῆι δὲ σφᾶς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ κηδεσταὶ τέως ὄντες καὶ πολλὰ συμπράξαντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, ξίφη νῦν φέρουσι κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τοὺς ὑποστρατευομένους ἐς ὁμοίας ἀθεμιστίας ἄγουσιν, ὁμοεθνεῖς τε ὄντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολίτας καὶ φυλέτας καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐνέλειπεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τοσαῖσδε μυριάσιν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἔθνους ἐπ' ἀλλήλας ἰούσαις πολλὰ τὰ παράδοξα συνέπιπτεν. ὢν ἐνθυμούμενος ἐκάτερος μετανοίας τε οὐ δυνατῆς ἔτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ ὥς ἐσόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ πρῶτος ἢ τελευταῖος ὥκνει τοσῆσδε ἀμφιβολίας ἄρξαι. καὶ φασιν αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον καὶ δακρῦσαι.

[77] When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Roman armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valor of these men (the elite of both parties), especially because they saw Romans embattled against Romans. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and exposed the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy had put themselves in a position where the one who should be vanquished could no longer hold even the humblest place, and how so great a number of the nobility were incurring the same risk on their account. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had coöperated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers. Even these circumstances were not wanting in this battle; because many unexpected things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of

them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin the fight. It is said that both of them shed tears.

[78] μέλλουσι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡ ἡμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἅπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτοῦ ταρασσόμενον ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως καὶ δείσας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειεν, ὑπεσήμεναι πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καῖσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίους κλαγγαῖς ὥς ἐν τοσφδε πλήθει πολλαὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἤπειγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν μετὰ τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὥς πολλῶν ἀγώνων τοιῶνδε ἐμπειροπόλεμοι. πλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἤδη τόξα καὶ λίθοι πρῶτον ἦν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων βραχὺ τὰ περὶ προλαβόντων πείραί τε καὶ ἐπελάσεις ἐπ' ἀλλήλους. καὶ προύχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸ δέκατον τέλος ἐκυκλοῦντο. Καῖσαρος δὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἄραντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξαναστάντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἐχώρουν, ὀρθοῖς ἄνω τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐπικαθημένους, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἀπόνοιαν οὔτε τὰς ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς πληγὰς ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἔρημον γενόμενον ἐκυκλοῦντο οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἱππῆες, αὐτοὶ δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν.

[78] While they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he gave the signal first and Cæsar reëchoed it. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. The latter advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stolidity and absolute silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to flank the tenth legion. Cæsar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders. The latter could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. Thereupon Cæsar's men, who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports.

[79] Πομπήιος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μήτ' ἐπεκθεῖν ἔτι μήτ' ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος μηδ' ἀκοντίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ διαστάντας ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ χειρὸς τοῖς δόρασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας, καὶ τότε τινὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ

στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὥς ἄριστον ἐν περικυκλώσει, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται: τάς τε γὰρ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς εὐτονωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμότερους: ἐστῶτας δ' ἀποψύχεσθαι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους δι' ἀτρεμίαν οἷα σκοποὺς εἶναι. ὁ καὶ τότε γενέσθαι: τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τέλος σὺν αὐτῷ περιδραμεῖν τὰ λαιὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔρημα ἱππέων γινόμενα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐς τὰ πλευρὰ ἐσακοντίζειν, μέχρι θορυβουμένοις ἐμπεσόντας βία τρέψασθαι καὶ τῆς νίκης κατάρξαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν ἔτι τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα: βοῇ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐκ τοσῆσδε φάλαγγος τοιάδε δρώσης οὐδ' οἰμωγαὶ τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἢ πλησσομένων, ἀλλὰ βρυχήματα μόνα καὶ στόνοι πιπτόντων, ἔνθα συνετάχθησαν, εὐσχημόνως. οἱ σύμμαχοι δέ, καθάπερ ἀγῶνα πολέμου θεώμενοι, κατεπλήσσαντο τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ οὔτε ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτόλμων ὑπὸ θαύματος, ὀλίγων αὐτὰς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν φυλασσόντων, περιδραμεῖν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἢ ἐστῶτες ἐθάμβουν.

[79] When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to bring their spears to a rest and ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Cæsar criticises it in his letters. He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Cæsar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field killing and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honorably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a game, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumfounded were they that they did not dare attack Cæsar's tents, although they were guarded only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor.

[80] ὥς δὲ ἐνέδωκε τὸ λαὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε βάδην ὑπεχώρουν ἅμα καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον ἄπρακτοι, βοῶντες: 'ἡσσήμεθα.' καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς σφῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ὥς ἀλλότρια προλαβόντες διέσπων καὶ διήρπαζον ἐς τὴν φυγὴν ὃ τι δύναιντο ἐπάγεσθαι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὀπλιτικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε ἥσσης αἰσθανόμενον ὑπεχώρει κατὰ πόδα, πρῶτον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἔτι ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀμυνόμενοι: ἐπικειμένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν εὐπραξίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστράφησαν ἐς φυγὴν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εὐμηχάνως δὴ τότε μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ συνέλθοιεν αὐθις μηδὲ τὸ ἔργον γένοιτο μάχης μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, κήρυκας ἐς τὰς τάξεις πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπε, οἱ τοῖς νικῶσιν

ἐκέλευον ἀψαυστεῖν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους μόνους χωρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις προσεπέλαζον παραινοῦντες ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι. ἀνὴρ τε παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκμανθάνων τὸ κήρυγμα εἰστήκει: καὶ σύμβολον ἤδη τοῦτο τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἦν, τὸ ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι, τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοιοτρόπως ἐσκευασμένων τε καὶ φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἀφιέντων. διεκθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνήρουν: καὶ ὁ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα ἐγίγνετο φόνος.

[80] As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "we are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they could carry away in their flight. Now the rest of Pompey's legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Then, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, Cæsar, with the greatest prudence, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still without fear. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand without fear" began to be passed as a sort of watchword among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Cæsar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.

[81] Πομπήιος δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἔκφρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπήει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος, οἷόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἰαντά φασιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοις πολεμίοις ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον: τὸ γὰρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐστάναι τε ἀκινδύνως ἐποίει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδνη κατὰ μέρος. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχέτως που περιθέων ἰκέτευε προσπονῆσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπηίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εἰ συσταῖεν αὐθις οἱ πολέμοι, μίαν ἡμέραν ἔσονται νενικηκότες, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔλοιεν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ κατωρθωκότες ἂν εἶεν. τάς τε οὖν χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὥρεγε καὶ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε δρόμου. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα ἔκαμνε, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὃ τε λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ἠώρει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπίς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αἰρήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ: ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἢ εὐτυχίαις ἀνθρώποι καμάτων αἰσθάνονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷδε προσπεσόντες ἐπεχείρουν σὺν πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπομαχομένους καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος μαθὼν ἐξ ἀλλοκότου σιωπῆς τοσοῦτον ἀπέρρηξεν: 'οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἡμῶν,' καὶ εἰπὼν τὴν τε

στολήν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβάς σὺν φίλοις τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀνέσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐν Λαρίσση γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαΐσαντο.

[81] When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he became dazed and retired slowly to his camp, and when he reached his tent he sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by a god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Cæsar's proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Cæsar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey's JULIUS CÆSAR AS IMPERATOR In the Palace of the Conservators, Rome

camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy's camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy's camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" Having spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Cæsar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense.

[82] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἑκατέρων, τῶν γε Ἰταλῶν 'οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν γε συμμάχων οὐδ' ἐξαριθμησὶς ἐγένετο ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ καταφρονήσεως' ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τριάκοντα λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὀπλίται διακόσιοι, ἧ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίου βουλευταὶ μὲν δέκα, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λεύκιος Δομίτιος, ὁ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν διάδοχος, τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἱππέων ἅμφι τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές φασι δισμυρίους ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, Ἀσίνιος δὲ Πολλίων, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν, ἑξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὑρεθῆναι τῶν Πομπηίου.

τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς αἰοιδίμου περὶ Φάρσαλον μάχης. ἀριστεῖα δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς καὶ πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα ἐκ πάντων ἐφέρετο, ὁμολογούμενος ἀριστευσαί, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ δέκατον: τὰ δὲ τρίτα Κρασσίνιος λοχαγός, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξίων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤρετο, ὃ τι προσδοκῇ, ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς

ἀνεβόησε: ‘νικήσομεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, καὶ μὲ τήμερον ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξει·’
ἡ στρατιὰ δ’ ἐμαρτύρει καθάπερ ἔνθουν ἐς ἐκάστην τάξιν μεταθέοντα πολλὰ
καὶ λαμπρὰ δρᾶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζητούμενος ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὗρέθη, τὰ ἀριστεῖα ὁ
Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ συνέθαψε καὶ τάφον ἐξαίρετον ἀνέστησεν ἐγγὺς
τοῦ πολυανδρίου.

[82] The losses of Italians on each side — for there was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either because of their multitude or because they were despised — were as follows: in Cæsar’s army, thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey’s side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Domitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Cæsar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Cæsar’s officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000. Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Cæsar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crastinus, whom Cæsar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, “We shall conquer, O Cæsar, and you will thank me either living or dead.” The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Cæsar bestowed military honors on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.

CHAPTER XII

Pompey sails for Egypt — Is assassinated there — Retreat of the Pompeians to Africa

[83] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκ Λαρίσσης ὁμοίῳ δρόμῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐπειχθεὶς σκάφους ἐπέβη σμικροῦ καὶ νεῶς παραπλευούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Μιτυλήνην διέπλευσεν: ὅθεν τὴν γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τριήρων τεσσάρων ἐπιβάς, αἱ αὐτῷ παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Τυρίων ἀφίκοντο, Κερκύρας μὲν καὶ τότε καὶ Λιβύης ὑπερεῖδεν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἦν ἄλλος πολὺς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀκραιφνές, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἑω φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθυαῖον ὡς δι' ἐκείνου πάντα ἀναληψόμενος τὸ ἐνθῆμα ἐπέκρυπτε, μέχρι περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν μόλις ἐξέφερε τοῖς φίλοις. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον τε ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Κράσσου καὶ θυμούμενον ἔτι τῇ Κράσσου συμφορᾷ, μὴδ' ἐς ἀκρατεῖς βαρβάρους ἄγειν εὐπρεπῇ γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν, Κράσσου μάλιστα γεγεννημένην. δεύτερα δ' αὐτοῦ προθέντος περὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἰόβα, Ἰόβα μὲν ὑπερεώρων ὡς ἀδόξου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ συνεφρόνουν, ἐγγύς τε οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ναυσὶ καὶ σίτῳ καὶ χρήμασι: τοὺς τε βασιλεύοντας αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ παῖδες εἰσι, πατρικοὺς εἶναι τῷ Πομπήϊῳ φίλους.

[83] From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to the sea where he embarked in a small boat, and meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Corcyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus. Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba. The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and abounding in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship. For these reasons he sailed to Egypt.

[84] ὁ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔπλει: ἄρτι δ' ἐκπεσούσης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἥ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνῆρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφήδρευε, καὶ πῶς κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπήϊον κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς

γῆς πολὺν ἔστησε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ εἵκασεν, ὅπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα. πέμψας τε ἔφραζε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐπετρόπευον δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν στρατιάν Ἀχιλλᾶς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνοῦχος· οἱ βουλὴν προυτίθεντο περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ παρὼν ὁ Σάμιος Θεόδοτος ὁ ῥήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ὢν τοῦ παιδός, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἔργον, ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ κτείνειν Πομπήιον ὡς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὐτελὲς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμπετο, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης οὔσης ἀλιτενοῦς καὶ μεγάλαις ναυσὶν οὐκ εὐχεροῦς, ὑπηρεταὶ τέ τινες τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνέβαινον ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος τότε μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάλοι δὲ αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατευσάμενος, δεξιὰν ἔφερε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐς φίλον τὸν παῖδα διαπλευσαι. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατός ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξετάσσετο ἅπας, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῇ φοινικίδι κατάδηλος ἦν περικειμένη.

[84] Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled from Egypt and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Mount Casius in Egypt, lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, judging that the king was there, which was the fact. So he sent messengers to tell of his arrival and to speak of his father's friendship. The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achilles, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favor with Cæsar. His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius, who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honor to Pompey, and the king was plainly seen in the midst of them wearing a purple robe.

[85] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἅπαντα, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σκάφους εὐτέλειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτόν οἱ παραγενέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινας πέμψαι· τοσοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ἱαμβείων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών· 'ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'σὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ,' ἐνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἐν τῷ διάπλωσι πλύντων ἁπάντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε· καὶ τὸν Σεμπρώνιον εἴτε ἐπιγινώσκων Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ ἐστρατευμένον ἑαυτῷ, εἴτε τοπάζων ἐκ τοῦ μόνον ἐστάναι, κατὰ δὴ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἄρα διδασκαλίαν οὐ συνεδρεύοντα αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· 'ἄρα σε γινώσκω, συστρατιῶτα;'

καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶτος, εἴθ' ἕτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταῦτα μακρόθεν ὀρῶντες ἀνώμωζόν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπονδῶν ἀνίσχοντες ἀπέπλεον τάχιστα ὥς ἐκ πολεμίας.

[85] Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed — the marshalling of the army, the meanness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles, "Whoever resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he were free when he went." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious. Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman soldier who had served under him or guessing that he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?" The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he immediately gave him the first stab and the others followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country.

[86] Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσον Καίσαρι ὥς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις ἀμοιβαῖς ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡμύνατο ἀξίως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά τις ἔθαψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελεῖ· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλος ἐπέγραψε: 'τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση ἀπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου.'

χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν τάφον τόνδε ἐπικρυφθέντα ὅλον ὑπὸ ψάμμου καὶ εἰκόνας, ὅσας ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὕστερον οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθηκαν, λελωβημένα πάντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτόν του ἱεροῦ κατενεχθέντα ἐζήτησε καὶ εὔρεν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεκάθηρε γνῶριμον αὐθις εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διωρθώσατο.

τόδε μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἦν Πομπηίῳ τῷ μεγίστους πολέμους ἀνύσαντι καὶ μέγιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὠφελήσαντι καὶ Μεγάλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ὀνομασθέντι καὶ οὐχ ἡττηθέντι ποτὲ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ ἀηττήτῳ καὶ εὐτυχεστάτῳ ἐξέτι νέου γενομένου: ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλιπεν ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ μὲν ἰσχύϊ μοναρχικῶς δυναστεύων, τῇ δε δόξῃ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος ζῆλον δημοτικῶς νομιζόμενος ἄρχειν.

[86] The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Cæsar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription: —

“What a pitiful tomb is here for one who had temples in abundance.”

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his partisans at a later period near Mount Casius had been degraded and removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places. Such was the end of Pompey, who had carried on the greatest wars and had made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before, but had remained unvanquished and most fortunate from his youth till now. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise royal power, but on account of his jealousy of Cæsar he had seemed to rule in the interest of the people.

[87] Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργου διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐπὶ Κερκύρας ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κάτωνα, ἐτέρου στρατοῦ καὶ τριακοσίων τριήρων ἄρχειν ὑπολελειμμένον, εὐβουλότερον οἶδε τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ περιφανέστατοι νειμάμενοι τὸ ναυτικόν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπλει πρὸς Φαρνάκην ὡς ἀναστήσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Κάτων ἐς Λιβύην ἔπλεον, Οὐάρῳ τε πίσυνοι καὶ τῷ μετὰ Οὐάρου στρατῷ καὶ Ἰόβῃ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ συμμαχοῦντι. Πομπήιος δ', ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρεσβύτερος υἱός, καὶ Λαβιηνὸς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκάπλας τὸ μέρος ἔχοντες ἠπείγοντο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποστήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸν ἄλλον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων συνέλεγον ἔν τε παρασκευῇ μερίζον ἐγγίνοντο. τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφυγε. τῶν δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ Κάτωνα σφῶν στρατηγεῖν αἰρουμένων, ὁ Κάτων οὐχ ὑπέστη παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων, οἳ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐπρέσβευον αὐτοῦ μόνην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν στρατηγίδα. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ στρατὸς κἀνταῦθα πολὺς ἡθροίζετο καὶ ἐγυμνάζετο. καὶ δύο αἶδε μάλιστα ἀξιόλογοι παρασκευαί, περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνεκροτοῦντο.

[87] Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and the other notables who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, proceeded to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Cæsar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Cæsar, collected a new army of Spaniards,

Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which Pompey himself over-looked and ran away from in his insanity. Cato had been chosen commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined the appointment since there were consulars present who outranked him, he having held only the prætorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Cæsar, one in Africa and the other in Spain.

CHAPTER XIII

Cæsar pursues Pompey — Passes through Asia Minor — The Alexandrian War — The War against Pharnaces — Another Mutiny in Cæsar's Army — Cæsar disbands them at their Request — Takes them back at their Entreaty

[88] αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῳ διέτριψε θύων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναλαμβάνων: ἔνθα καὶ Θεσσαλὸν ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει συμμαχήσαντάς οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναίους αἰτήσαςι συγγνώμην ἐπεδίδου καὶ ἐπέειπε: 'ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἢ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;' τῇ τρίτῃ δ' ἐξήλανεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Πομπηίου φυγῆς καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπορία τριήρων σκάφεσιν ἐπεραιοῦτο μικροῖς. Κάσσιος δὲ σὺν τῷ μέρει τῶν τριήρων ἐπιφαίνεται μεσοποροῦντι, πρὸς Φαρνάκην ἐπειγόμενος. καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι κατὰ σκαφῶν μικρῶν, ὑπὸ δέους τῆς Καίσαρος εὐτυχίας περιτύστου δὴ καὶ ἐπιφόβου τότε οὔσης ἐξεπλάγη καὶ νομίσας οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιτηδὲς ἐπιπλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγεν ἐς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τριήρων ἐς σκάφη, καὶ συγγνώμην ἤτει καὶ τὰς τριήρεις παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Καίσαρος εὐπραγίας: οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε αἰτίαν ἐτέραν ὁρῶ οὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἡγοῦμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Κάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκευῷ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ὑποστῆναι. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχροῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδοὺς ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκανε: ᾧ καὶ αὐτῷ δῆλόν ἐστι τὸν ἕτερον τῷ Κασσίῳ φόβον ὑπὸ τύχης ἐγγενέσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαυρούσης.

[88] Cæsar remained two days at Pharsalus after the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thessalian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward, having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in mid-stream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Cæsar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Cæsar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Cæsar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Cæsar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And yet he who thus disgracefully surrendered to Cæsar, through fear alone, when the latter was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his

power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Cæsar was uplifted.

[89] διασωθεὶς δ' οὕτω παραδόξως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιωθεὶς Ἰῶσι μὲν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ ἐνὶ ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω, συνεγίνωσκε πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦσι, πυθόμενος δὲ Πομπήιον ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσεν ἐς Ῥόδον. καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέρη προσιόντα περιμείνας ἐς τὰς Κασσίου καὶ Ῥοδίων τριήρεις ἐνέβη σὺν τοῖς παροῦσιν: οὐδενί τε ἐκφήνας, ὅπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιήσεται, περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀνήγετο, ἐπαγγείλας τοῖς λοιποῖς κυβερνήταις πρὸς τὸν λαμπτήρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεὼς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον εὐθύνειν: τῷ δ' αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτῃ, πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἀποσχών, προσέταξεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν: ἐσδέχονται δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ἔτι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὄντος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀπραγμοσύνην τινὰ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνόντων ὑπεκρίνετο φιλοφρόνως τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιὼν τοῦ κάλλους ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἐστὼς ἡκροᾶτο: ὅθεν αὐτῷ χάρις τε καὶ δόξα ἀγαθὴ ὡς ἀπράγμονι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐφύετο.

[89] Being thus unexpectedly saved, Cæsar passed the Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, the Æolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the great peninsula called by the common name of Lower Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey had gone to Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those whom he had on board the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime. After they had proceeded a long way from the land he ordered his pilot to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there. He was received by the king's guardians, the king himself being still at Mount Casius. At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no designs against them.

[90] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ κατέπλευσε, Ποθεινὸν μὲν καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶν ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ τῆς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον παρανομίας, Θεόδοτον δὲ διαδράντα Κάσσιος ὕστερον ἐκρέμασεν, εὐρὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. θορυβοῦντων δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰούσης, ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ ποικίλοι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔνθα καὶ φεύγων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξήλατο καὶ ἐς πολὺ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ διενήξατο: καὶ τὴν

χλαμύδα αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς περὶ τρόπαιον ἐκρέμασαν. τελευταῖον δ' ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῷ γίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀγών, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκράτει. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἑννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος, περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ τὰλλα ἡδόμενος αὐτῇ. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἕκαστα ὅπως ἐγένετο, ἀκριβέστερον ἢ περὶ Αἰγύπτου συγγραφὴ διέξεισι: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο: ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖας κατηρεῖφθη.

[90] When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime against Pompey. (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Cæsar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighboring shores. In one of these Cæsar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in (Y.R. 707) which he won a decisive victory. He consumed nine (B.C. 47) months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and enjoying himself with her in other ways. The details of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Cæsar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war.

[91] τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐργασάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ Συρίας ἐπὶ Φαρνάκην ἠπείγετο. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν εἵργαστο πολλὰ καὶ περιεσπάκει τινὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομιτίῳ Καίσαρος στρατηγῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχην ἐνενικήκει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεὶς Ἀμισὸν πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ῥωμαῖζουσιν ἐξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τομίας ἐπεποίητο πάντας: προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγίνωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένῳ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, στέφανόν τε χρύσειον αὐτῷ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἐγγυῶντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκου θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ὧν φέρουσι, προῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσχηνεύων τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μέχρι προσπελάσας τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκου καὶ τοσόνδε εἰπών: 'οὐ γὰρ αὐτίκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος;' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοῆς τρέπεται τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, σὺν χιλίοις που μάλιστα ὧν ἱππεῦσιν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῷ συνδραμοῦσιν: ὅτε καὶ

φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν: ‘ὦ μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιούτοις ἄρα κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τοῦδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης.’ ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μάχης ἐπέστελλεν: ‘ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα.’

[91] After Cæsar had performed these exploits in Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had Already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Cæsar’s lieutenant, Domitius, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Cæsar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Cæsar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Cæsar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, “Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?” Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, “O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man.” Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, “I came, I saw, I conquered.”

[92] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, οὐ σχολὴν ἄγων περὶ μικρὰ τρίβεσθαι τοσῶνδε πολέμων αὐτὸν περιμενόντων, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετῆλθε καὶ παροδεύων αὐτὴν ἐχρημάτιζε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων τοὺς φόρους, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν συγγραφὴν δεδήλωται. πυθόμενος δ’ ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν εἶναι καὶ Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἵππαρχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιᾷ φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπειγέτο. ὥς δ’ ἦλθεν, ἡ μὲν στάσις ἡ πολιτικὴ κατεπαύετο, ἑτέρα δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὥς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐννόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ: ἀφεθῆναι τε πάντες ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἠξίου. ὁ δ’ ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστά τινα ἐν Φαρσάλῳ, καὶ ἕτερα ἀόριστα, ὅταν ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθῇ: τότε δ’ ἔπεμπεν ἄλλας ὀρίζων ἐκάστῳ χιλίας δραχμάς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα διδόναι πάντα ἐκέλευον: καὶ περὶ τῶνδε Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ τέλος μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτῶν, οἳ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου παρεφύλασσον, περιέστησε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐξόδοις, δείσας περὶ ἀρπαγῆς: αὐτὸς δέ, πάντων δεδιότων καὶ παραινούντων αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάξασθαι, μάλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ἐπῆλθεν οὐ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὤφθη.

[92] After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on the Bosporus. As Cæsar had no time to waste on small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have shown in my Asiatic history. Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the sedition had been quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in the army because the promises made to them after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should be dismissed to their homes. Cæsar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but all cash down. Sallustius Crispus, who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape. He would have been killed if he had not fled. When Cæsar learned of this he stationed the legion, with which Antony had been guarding the city, around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed himself on the platform.

[93] οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τε ἄνοπλοι συνέτρεχον καί, ὥς ἔθος, ἄφνω φανέντα σφίσιν ἡσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ' ὃ τι θέλοιεν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν τῶν δωρεῶν ἐς ὅσιν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὥς δὲ μετριώτερον, ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας ἀνεβόησαν, ἐλπίσαντες στρατοῦ δεόμενον ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἀφίημι.' καταπλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης γενομένης ἐπεῖπε: 'καὶ δώσω γε ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἅπαντα, ὅταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ' ἐτέρων.' ἀδοκίτου δ' αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τοῦδε καὶ φιλανθρώπου φανέντος, αἰδῶς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ζήλου, εἰ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' ἀνθ' αὐτῶν ἕτεροι καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἔσσεσθαι νομιζομένων, ἐχθροὶ τε ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἔσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δέισαντες οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡσυχάζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μεταγνώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρεῖαν. ὁ δ' ἀνθυσύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων ἐπιφθέγγασθαι τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστηρῶ λόγῳ πολλὰ συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσεῖπεν: ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ιδιωτευόντων.

[93] The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from the service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still greater astonishment, and while the silence was most profound, he added, "And I will give you all that I have promised when I have my triumph with others." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind to them, shame immediately took possession of all, and reflection, together with jealousy at the thought of their abandoning their commander in the midst of such great wars and of others joining in the triumph instead of themselves, and of their losing the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and becoming enemies of Cæsar himself as well as of the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Cæsar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a short and austere word. Then he began to speak, addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellow-soldiers," which implied that they were already discharged from the army and were private individuals.

[94] οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσθαι. ἀποστρεφομένου τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπιόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπεῖξει πλέονι βοῶντες ἐνέκειντο παραμεῖναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφῶν τοὺς ἁμαρτόντας. ὁ δ' ἔτι μὲν τι διέτριπεν, οὔτε ἀπιὼν οὔτε ἐπανιών, ὑποκρινόμενος ἀπορεῖν: ἐπανελθὼν δ' ὁμως ἔφη κολάσειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄχθεσθαι δ', ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, ὃ προετίμησεν αἰεὶ, τοιαῦτα θορυβεῖ. 'καὶ τόδε,' ἔφη, 'μόνον ἀφίημι τῆς στρατείας: δώσω δὲ καὶ τῷδε ὁμως τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἅπαντα, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Λιβύης. δώσω δὲ καὶ γῆν ἅπασιν ἐκτελεσθέντων τῶν πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας, ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτέρων ἦν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐς αἰεὶ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου γῆν ἐπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνούμενος.' κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερήλγει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος: καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν διακληρῶσαι τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν ἔτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἅπασιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξήει.

[94] They could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service. But Cæsar turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater

eagerness and urged him to stay and punish them for their misdeeds. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honor, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and colonizing the takers among the losers, and making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase what may be needful." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Cæsar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Cæsar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa.

CHAPTER XIV

Cæsar sails for Africa — The Forces arrayed against him — Battle of Thapsus — Cato at Utica — He commits Suicide — Juba and Petreius kill each other

[95] διαβαλὼν δ' ἐκ Ῥηγίου τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐς Λιλύβαιον ἦλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶν τιμὴν φρουρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων, οὓς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους ἐπεποίητο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν Ἀδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἰχόμενον ἐς Ἰόβαν καταλαβὼν παρέτασεν ἐς μάχην παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥς ἐν καιρῷ συνοισόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρὶς αὐτοκράτορος οὔσιν. ἀντεπήγαν δ' αὐτῷ Λαβιηνὸς τε καὶ Πετρήιος, οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑποστράτηγοι, καὶ ἐκράτουν τῶν Καίσαρος παρὰ πολὺ καὶ τραπέντας ἐδίωκον σοβαρῶς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Λαβιηνὸν μὲν ὁ ἵππος ἐς τὴν γαστέρα πληγὴς ἀπεσεύσαστο καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παρασπιστὰι συνήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ Πετρήιος, ὡς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πείραν καὶ νικήσων, ὅτε βούλεται, διέλυε τὸ ἔργον ἐπειπὼν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν: 'μὴ ἀφελώμεθα τὴν νίκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡμῶν Σκιπίωνα.' καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο μέρος τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης ἔργον ἐφαίνετο κρατησάντων ἄν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν πολεμίων ἄφνω τὴν μάχην ὑπὸ τῶν νικῶντων διαλυθῆναι: αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγχερίμπτων ἅπασιν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τινα τῶν τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα, τοὺς ἀετούς, φερόντων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ περισπᾶσας μετενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Πετρήιος ἀνέξενε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀσπασίως ὑπεχώρει.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Λιβύῃ Καίσαρι μάχης τέλος ἦν:

[95] He crossed from Rhegium to Messana and went to Lilybæum. Here, learning that Cato was guarding the enemy's magazines with a fleet and a part of the land forces at Utica, and that he had with him 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against (Y.R. 708) the latter. He arrived at a time when Scipio had gone (B.C. 46) away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him, defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off. Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saying to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In one part of the day's work did Cæsar's luck

show itself, in that the victorious enemy seems to have abandoned the field at the very moment of success. It is said that in the flight Cæsar dashed up to his whole line and turned it around and seizing one of those who carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and Cæsar was glad to do the same. Such was the result of Cæsar's first battle in Africa.

[96] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, αὐτοῦ τε Σκιπίωνος ὀκτὼ τέλεσι πεζῶν καὶ ἰππέων δύο μυριάσιν, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ Λίβυες ἦσαν, πελτασταῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν ἐς τριάκοντα προσδοκωμένοι παρέσεσθαι σὺν Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷδε ἄγοντι πεζοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφὶ τρισμυρίους καὶ ἰππίας Νομάδας ἐς δισμυρίους καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐξήκοντα ἑτέρους, ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδείκναινε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο κατὰ τε πείραν ὧν ἤδη πεπόνθεσαν καὶ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐπιόντων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα τῶν Νομάδων ἰππέων. ὃ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων πόλεμος ἀήθης σφίσιν ὧν ἐξέπλησσε. Βόκχου δ' ἑτέρου Μαυρουσίων δυνάστου Κίρταν, ἡ βασιλείον ἦν Ἰόβα, καταλαβόντος, ὁ μὲν Ἰόβας, ἐξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦδε, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα μάλιστα ἀνεξεύγνυ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στρατοῦ, τριάκοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνους ὑπολιπὼν ἐλέφαντας τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνεθάρρησεν, ὥς τὸ πέμπτον τέλος αἰτήσαν ἀνταταχθῆναι τοῖς ἐλέφασιν κρατῆσαι πάνυ καρτερῶς· καὶ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῷδε τῷ τέλει ἐλέφαντες ἐς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπείκεινται.

[96] Not long afterward it was reported that Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Cæsar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, also frightened them. But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom. When this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Cæsar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be pitted against the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards.

[97] μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνου κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς μάχης καὶ πολυτρόπου γενομένης, περὶ ἐσπέραν μόλις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς ἐξήρει τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἀνιείς οὐδ' ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς νίκης, μέχρι τὸ σύμπαν ἐξεργάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅπη δύναιτο, διέφευγον· καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτός, ἅμα Ἀφρανίῳ πάντα μεθείς, ἔφευγεν ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ

δώδεκα ἀφράκτων.

ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ στρατός, ἐς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας μάλιστα συνελθὼν ἔκ τε πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μάχης ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ θάρσει γενόμενος, δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμβολῇ συνετρίβετο ἄθρῳς. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κλέος ἐς ἅμαχον εὐτυχίαν ἐδοξάζετο, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἡσσωμένων ἐς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ μεριζόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ προστιθέντων: ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος ἀβουλία τῶν στρατηγῶν, οὔτε διατριψάντων αὐτόν, ἕως ἀπορήσειεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ, οὔτε τὴν πρώτην νίκην ἐς τέλος προαγαγόντων, συντριφθεὶς οὕτως ὀξέως διαλυθῆναι.

[97] The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in all parts of the field until toward evening, when victory declared itself on the side of Cæsar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep. The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they could. Scipio himself with Afranius, abandoning everything, fled by sea with twelve open ships. And thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, in the second engagement, completely annihilated. And now Cæsar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to Cæsar's luck. And it seems that the result of this war also was due to the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to wear out Cæsar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory by pushing it sharply to the end.

[98] Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς Ἰτύκην τρίτῃ μάλιστα ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην ἰόντος ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ πάντων. καὶ οὐδένα κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναὺς ἐδίδου τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν: αὐτὸς δ' εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενε καὶ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχνουμένοις πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δεήσεσθαι ἐπιμειδῶν ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλακτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶς. σημηνάμενος δὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας καὶ συγγραφὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδοὺς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ δεῖπνον ἦν καθεζόμενός τε ἐγέυετο, ὥσπερ εἴηστο, ἐξ οὗ Πομπήιος ἀνήρητο: οὐδέν τε τῶν συνήθων ἐναλλάσσω οὐδ' ἐλάσσω προσφερόμενος ἢ πλείω, συνελεσχίνευε τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευκότων καὶ ἡρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ κατὰ πρύμνην ἔσοιτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος, εἰ φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς ἔω Καίσαρα ἐπελθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς ὕπνον ἀπιὼν ἐνήλλαξέ τι τῶν συνήθων, πλὴν ὅτι υἱὸν ἡσπάσατο φιλοφρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τῇ κλίνῃ τὸ σύνθηες οὐχ εὐρὼν παρακείμενον ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι προδιδόιτο ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς πολεμίοις: τίνι γὰρ ἔφη χρήσεσθαι προσιόντων, ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπίωσι; τῶν δὲ

αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων μηδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν βουλευεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαύεσθαι χωρὶς ξιφιδίου, ἀξιοπιστότερον ἔτι εἶπεν: 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι θέλοντι καὶ δι' ἐσθῆτος ἑμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξαι καὶ ἐς τὰ τεῖχη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαράξαι καὶ ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστῆσαι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτρίψαι;' πολλὰ τε ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρήγαγεν αὐτοὺς παραθεῖναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὥς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε.

[98] As these facts became known at Utica some three days later, and as Cæsar was marching right against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Cæsar, and that Cæsar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture, as had been his custom since Pompey's death. He changed his habits in no respect. He partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favorable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Cæsar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he change any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his sword in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betrayed by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" he said. When they besought him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without his sword, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his sword. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read.

[99] καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχε τῷ Πλάτῳ ὁ λόγος, ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβὼν ἔτρωσεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρνα: προπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἐξακουσθέντος ἐσέδραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας: καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔτι σῶα ὄντα ἐνέθηκαν ἔνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιρράψαντες ἐπέδησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὐθις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμφετο μὲν ἑαυτῷ πληγῆς ἀσθενοῦς, χάριν δ' ὡμολόγει τοῖς περισώσασιν καὶ καταδαρθεῖν ἔφη δεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος ἔχοντες ὥχοντο καὶ τὰς θύρας ὡς ἡρεμοῦντι ἐπέκλεισαν: ὁ δ' ὕπνου δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν τὰ δεσμὰ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγνυ καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἷα θηρίον τό τε τραῦμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύνων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλοις ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρίπτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα γεγωνώς, ὁμολογούμενος δὲ τὴν τε γνώμην, ἐς ὃ τι κρίνειε, πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμονώτατος φῦναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ

μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοῖς ὀρίσαι. Μαρκία γέ τοι τῇ Φιλίππου συνὼν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ παῖδας ἔχων ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔδωκεν ὁμῶς αὐτὴν Ὀρτησίῳ τῶν φίλων τινί, παίδων τε ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦ γυναικὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κακείνῳ κηύσασαν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐθις ὡς χρήσας ἀνεδέξατο. τοιόσδε μὲν δὴ Κάτων ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰτυκαῖοι λαμπρῶς ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μὲν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως, Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαντος Κάτων, ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἀντικάτων.

[99] When he had read the book through and when he thought that those who were stationed at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his bowels, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound put a bandage around it. When Cato came to himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks to those who had saved him and said that he only needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the sword with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. When Cato thought that they were asleep, he tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound, enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from high-souled considerations. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, when she was a virgin. He was extremely fond of her and had had children by her. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, — who desired to have children but was married to a barren wife, — until she bore a child to him also, when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely loaned her. Such a man was Cato. The Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Cæsar said (B.C. 47) that Cato had envied him the opportunity for a deed of honor, but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled the Cato, Cæsar wrote an answer to it which he called the Anti-Cato.

[100] Ἰόβας δὲ καὶ Πετρήιος τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενοι καὶ οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν οὔτε φυγὴν οὔτε σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ξίφεσι διεχρήσαντο ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἰόβα Καῖσαρ ὑποτελῇ Ῥωμαῖοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτῇ Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον ἐγκαταστήσας. Ἰτυκαῖοις δὲ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνος υἱῷ συνεγίνωσκε· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ δύο παίδων αὐτῆς ἐν Ἰτύκῃ καταλαβὼν ἐξέπεμπε σώους τῷ νέῳ Πομπηίῳ. τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων ὅσους εὔρε διέφθειρεν. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐφέρετο γενναίως, μέχρι καταλαμβανόμενος αὐτὸν τε διεχρήσατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθῆκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

[100] Juba and Petreius, in view of the circumstances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew each other with swords at a banquet. Cæsar made Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and appointed Sallustius Crispus its governor. He pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to young Pompey. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found. Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea. This was the end of Cæsar's war in Africa.

CHAPTER XV

Cæsar's Four Triumphs — Cæsar marches against Young Pompeius in Spain — Battle of Munda — Flight and Death of Young Pompeius

[101] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Καίσαρος πολέμῳ τέλος ἐγίνετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους, ἐπὶ τε Γαλάταις, ὧν δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Λιβυκὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχήσασιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι: ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὧν ἔτι παρήγετο. παρήγαγε δέ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίας θριάμβον Αἰγύπτιον, μετὰ τὸν Γαλατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκους. τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ εὐκότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβῳ, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ παθήματα ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρὶς γε Πομπηίου: τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἔτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθοῦμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ἐς τὰ στέρνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἢ Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτῃ διαχρώμενον ἑαυτόν, ἢ Κάτωνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ὡς θηρίον: Ἀχιλλᾷ δ' ἐφήσθησαν καὶ Ποθεινῷ καὶ τὴν Φαρνάκους φυγὴν ἐγέλασαν.

[101] When Cæsar returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of (B.C. 46) Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these misfortunes were represented in the processions and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, the only one whom he did not venture to exhibit, since the latter was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achilles and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

[102] χρήματα δ' ἐν τοῖς θριάμβοις φασὶ παρενεχθῆναι μυριάδας ἑξ καὶ ἥμισυ

ταλάντων καὶ στεφάνους δύο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, ἔλκοντας ἐς δισμυρίας καὶ δεκατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ' ὧν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ διένειμε, τὰ ὑπεσχημένα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλον, στρατιώτῃ μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς, λοχαγῷ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη καὶ ἱππάρχῃ τὸ ἑτὶ διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἐκάστῳ μὲν Ἀττικὴν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ἐτέρους χιλίους καὶ ἵππομαχίαν διακοσίων πρὸς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμιξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγῶνα ἐλεφάντων τε μάχην εἴκοσι πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐρετῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἐκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεῶν, ὥσπερ εὖξατο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι: καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὀνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῇ θεᾷ παρεστήσατο, ἣ καὶ νῦν συνέστηκεν αὐτῇ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος ἀναγραφάμενος ἐς ἡμῖς λέγεται τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων εὐρεῖν: ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλεν ἢ τῶνδε φιλονικία τὴν πόλιν.

[102] It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 talents [of silver] was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Cæsar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and præfect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected a temple to Venus, his ancestress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one-half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city.

(Y.R. 709)

[103] αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπήιον ἐστράτευεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸς ἦν ἑτὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος: τῶν τε γὰρ ἀρίστων ὅσοι διεπεφεύγесαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ

στρατὸς ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι συνῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων, ἔθνους ἀλκίμου καὶ χαίροντος αἰεὶ μάχαις. πολὺς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὄμιλος ἐστρατεύετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος εἶχον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ γνώμην ἔτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα σφαλεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν μάχην, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐλθόντι τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχετο, καίτοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ παραινούντων ἐκ πείρας ὧν ἀμφὶ τε Φάρσαλον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἐκτρίβειν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρία γῇ περιφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦκε μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, βαρυτάτῳ στρατῷ μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐπελθών· δέος δ' οἶον οὐ πρότερον ἐνέπιπτεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἀπογνώσεως.

[103] Cæsar, now in his fourth consulship, marched against young Pompeius in Spain. This was all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped from Africa had assembled here. The army was composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was a great number of emancipated slaves also in Pompeius' camp. All had been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this fact and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Cæsar straightway on his arrival, although the older ones, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Cæsar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Cæsar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven days, coming with a heavily-laden army by a very long (B.C. 45) route. Fear fell upon his soldiers as never before, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valor of the enemy.

[104] δι' ἃ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβράδυνεν, ἔστε πού τι αὐτῷ κατασκευπτομένῳ προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ὠνειδίσεν ἐς δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασσε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοὺς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ἦπτετο καὶ ὄκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβῳ, θεοὺς πάντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰκέτευε, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσχων, μὴ ἐνὶ πόνῳ τῷδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τό τε κράνος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρῶν ἐς πρόσωπον ἐδυσώπει καὶ προύτρπευεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ὥς τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἀρπάσας τινὸς ἀσπίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπών· 'ἔσται τοῦτο τέλος ἐμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ὑμῖν τῶν στρατειῶν,' προύδραμε τῆς τάξεως ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐπιβληθῆναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκκλίνειν, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἕκαστος ἵστατο παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐμπεσὼν μετὰ ὁρμῆς ὅλην ἡγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ἡττώμενος αἰεὶ παρὰ μέρος, μέχρις ἐς ἐσπέραν μόλις

ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

[104] For this reason Cæsar himself also was ready to move slowly until Pompeius approached him at a certain place where he was reconnoitering and accused him of cowardice. Cæsar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba and then, too, gave Venus for his watchword. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave Piety for his. When battle was joined fear seized upon Cæsar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Cæsar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encouraged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he dodged while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Cæsar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence.

[105] φόνου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ φυγῆς τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Κορδύβην, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ διαφυγόντες οἱ πολέμοι πάλιν ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσαιντο, ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτειγῆσαι τὴν Κορδύβην, οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἐπεφοροῦν ἀλλήλοις καὶ δόρασιν αὐτὰ διαπηγνύντες ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε τείχους ἠϋλίσαντο. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐάλω μὲν ἡ πόλις, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Πομπηίου Σκάπλας μὲν νήσας πυρὰν ἑαυτὸν ἐνέπρησεν, Οὐάρου δὲ καὶ Λαβιηνοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκομίσθησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ Καίσαρι. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥτης σὺν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ Καρθαίας, ἔνθα αὐτῷ νεῶν στόλος ἦν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὰ νεώρια λαθὼν ὥς τις ιδιώτης, φορεῖω κομιζόμενος: ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπογινώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν ἔδεισε περὶ ἐκδόσεως καὶ ἔφρευγεν αὐθις, ἐπιβαίνων σκάφους. ἐμπλακέντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα καλωδίῳ, κόπτων τις τὸ καλώδιον ξιφιδίῳ, τὸν ταρσὸν ἔτεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλωδίου τοῦ ποδός: καὶ διαπλεύσας ἔς τι χωρίον ἐθεραπεύετο. ζητούμενος δὲ κάνταυθα ἔφρευγε διὰ δυσβάτου καὶ ἀκανθώδους ὁδοῦ, τὸ τραῦμα περικεντούμενος, μέχρι κάμνων ὑπὸ τι δένδρον ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιπεσόντων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. τοῦδε μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεχθεῖσάν οἱ προσέταξέ τινα θάψαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ὅδε παρὰ δόξαν ἐλέλυτο: τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντας ἤθροιζεν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ Πομπηίου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, Πομπήιος μὲν καὶ ὅδε ὢν, Σέξστος δὲ καλούμενος τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

[105] After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled to Corduba, and Cæsar, in order to prevent the fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this kind of a wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Cæsar. Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat with 150 horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a fleet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place for medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Cæsar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A younger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight; but as yet he kept moving about in concealment and lived by robbery.

CHAPTER XVI

Unexampled Honors bestowed on Cæsar — He dismisses his Body-guard — Rumor of Cæsar's Intention to assume the Title of King Antony crowns him at the Lupercal — Cæsar plans a Campaign against the Parthians — Conspiracy against Cæsar's Life — Brutus and Cassius the Leaders — Other Conspirators — Brutus prevents the Killing of Antony — Cæsar comes to the Senate — Bad Omens at the Entrance — Cæsar assassinated

[106] ἄλλ' ὃδε μὲν ἔτι λανθάνων καὶ διαδιδράσκων ἐλήστευεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπειγέτο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελὼν, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἷας οὐ τις πρὸ τοῦ: ὅθεν αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπενουῶντο, θυσῶν τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ἀνὰ φυλὴν ἐκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασι, καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἦν ἐπ' ἐνίαις ὡς σωτῆρι τῆς πατρίδος, ᾧ πάλαι τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες. ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἡρέθη καὶ ὕπατος ἐς δέκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέων, καὶ θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικῶς ἡμψιεσμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετὲς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὁμνῶναι μηδενὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὀριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἔς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυῖντιλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυῖντιλίου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι. καὶ νεῶς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικείας, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων: οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν ὡς δεσπότην, εὐχοντο δὲ σφίσιν ἐπιεικῇ γενέσθαι.

[106] Having ended the civil wars Cæsar hastened to Rome, honored and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honors were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were superhuman — sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. His likeness was painted in various forms, in some cases crowned with oak as the savior of his country, by which crown the citizens were accustomed formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should perform his sacerdotal functions always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years the priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of

Cæsar's decrees. In honor of his gens the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

[107] εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ βασιλέα προσεπειῖν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἠπειλήσεν ὥς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. σπεῖραι δ' ὅσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνῃς. ὧδε δ' ἔχοντι καὶ χρηματίζοντι πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν προλελεγμένων τιμῶν ἢ βουλή, τῶν ὑπάτων ἡγουμένων, ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι ἐκάστω προσέφερον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδεξιοῦτο μὲν, οὐχ ὑπανέστη δὲ προσιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς προσηγορίας καὶ τόδε παρέσχε. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τιμὰς χωρὶς τῆς δεκαετοῦς ὑπατείας προσέμενος ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τὸν ἵπαρχον ἑαυτοῦ, Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἵπαρχεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἄρχοντι μὲν Ἰβηρίας, ἡγεμονεύοντι δ' αὐτῆς διὰ φίλων. κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἔφσυγε· καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὺς προῆγεν ἀθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἀρχὰς ἢ ἐς ἔθνων ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἥλπιζε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, καθάπερ Σύλλας ἐς ἴσον αὐτῷ δυναστεύσας ἐποίησεν.

[107] Thus while they feared his power they besought his clemency. There were some who proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the prætorian cohorts that had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordinary public attendance only. To him in this state and while he was transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honors aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, which afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honors conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Cæsar also recalled the exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Therefore the wearied people especially hoped that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had grasped the same power. But in this they were disappointed.

[108] ἀλλὰ τοῦδε μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, εἰκόνα δ' αὐτοῦ τις τῶν ὑπερεθιζόντων τὸ λογοποίημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐστεφάνωσε δάφναις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δῆμαρχοι Μάρυλλός τε καὶ Καισῆτιος ἀνευρόντες ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλον, ὑποκρινάμενοί τι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι χαρίζεσθαι, προαπειλήσαντι τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκεν εὐσταθῶς, ἐτέρων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἰόντα ποθὲν βασιλέα προσειπόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου στενάξαντος, εὐμηχάνως εἶπε τοῖς ἀσπασαμένοις: 'οὐκ εἰμὶ Βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ,' ὡς δὴ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένοις. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἀρξάμενον ἐξεῦρον καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐκέλευον ἄγειν ἐς δίκην ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν κατηγόρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντων οἱ μετὰ τέχνης ἐς τυραννίδος διαβολήν, καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν ἀξίους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι θανάτου, μόνης δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ παραλύειν τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ὁ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν διέβαλεν ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ τὰς ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καθιέντα καὶ τυραννικὸν ὅλως γεγονότα: ἥ τε γὰρ πρόφασις τῆς κολάσεως περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἦν, ἥ τε τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴ ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος ἦν ἐκ νόμου καὶ ὄρκου παλαιοῦ: τὴν τε ὀργὴν ὀξεῖαν ἐποίει τὸ μηδ' ἀναμεῖναι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ὑπόλοιπον.

[108] Some person among those who wished to spread the report of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, sought out this person and put him in prison, pretending to gratify Cæsar in this way, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Cæsar was well satisfied with their action. Some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and when the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am no king, I am Cæsar," as though they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus (B.C. 44) found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Cæsar was at last vexed and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of conspiring to make him odious by artfully accusing him of aiming at royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation.

[109] ὦν καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος καὶ μετανοῶν καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἡγούμενος ἄνευ πολεμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαρὺ καὶ δυσχερὲς διαπεπραῆχθαι, λέγεται

τοῖς φίλοις αὐτὸν ἐντείλασθαι φυλάσσειν ὥς δεδοκὸτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς λαβὴν ζητοῦσι καθ' αὐτοῦ. πυθομένων δ' ἐκείνων, εἰ συγχωρεῖ πάλιν αὐτὸν σωματοφυλακεῖν τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς σπεῖρας, 'οὐδὲν ἄνυχέστερον,' ἔφη, 'διηνεκοὺς φυλακῆς: ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ δεδιότος.' οὐ μὴν αἶ γε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πείραι κατεπαύοντο οὐδ' ὥς, ἀλλὰ θεώμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ Λουπερκάλια ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσεύου, πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, Ἀντώνιος ὑπατεύων σὺν αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διαθέων τότε γυμνὸς ἀηλιμμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ τῆσδε τῆς ἑορτῆς ἱερέες, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα ἀναδραμὼν ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι. κρότου δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν παρ' ὀλίγων γενομένου καὶ στόνου παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέρριψε τὸ διάδημα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐθις ἐπέθηκε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐθις ἀπερρίπτει. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διεριζόντων μὲν ἔτι ἡσύχαζε, μετέωρος ὢν, ὅπη τελευτήσκει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεβόησαν ἥδιστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα εὐφήμεον οὐ προσέμενον.

[109] When Cæsar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish cohorts as a body-guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honors for him brought to an end even thus, for, while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival, sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater number groaned, and Cæsar threw off the diadem. Antony again put it on him and again Cæsar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end. When they saw that Cæsar prevailed they shouted for joy, and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.

[110] ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἀπογνοὺς, εἴτε κάμων καὶ ἐκκλίνων ἤδη τήνδε τὴν πείραν ἢ διαβολήν, εἴτε τισὶν ἐχθροῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀφιστάμενος, εἴτε νόσημα τοῦ σώματος θεραπεύων, ἐπιληψίαν καὶ σπασμὸν αἰφνίδιον ἐμπίπτοντα αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀργίας, ἐπενόει στρατείαν μακρὰν ἔς τε Γέτας καὶ Παρθυαίους, Γέταις μὲν αὐστηρῶ καὶ φιλοπολέμῳ καὶ γείτονι ἔθνει προεπιβουλεύων, Παρθυαίους δὲ τινύμενος τῆς ἔς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. στρατιὰν δὴ προὔπεμπεν ἤδη τὸν Ἴόνιον περᾶν, ἑκακίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους. καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἐφοίτα, Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις Παρθυαίοις, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσειε. καὶ τινες ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὅτι χρὴ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καλεῖν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ βασιλείας ὀνόματα, τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν, ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα, ἄντικρυς ἀνειπεῖν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε παρητεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ὅλως

ἐπετάχυνεν, ἐπίφθονος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

[110] And now Cæsar, either renouncing his hope, or tired out, and wishing to avoid the plot and accusation, or giving up the city to certain of his enemies, or to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getæ and the Parthians. The Getæ, a hardy, warlike, and neigh-boring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumor gained currency that the Sibylline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason some people ventured to say that Cæsar ought to be called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, and that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Cæsar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the city in which he was exposed to such envy.

[111] ἐξίεναι δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα πρὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατέκανον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε διὰ ζῆλον εὐτυχίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπερόγκου πάνυ γενομένης, εἴθ', ὥς ἔφασκον αὐτοί, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμία, εὖ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ τὰδε τὰ ἔθνη προσλαβὼν ἀναμφιλόγως γένοιτο βασιλεὺς. ταύτης δὲ σκοπῶν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς προσθήκης ἀφορμὴν λαβεῖν ἐγχειρήσεως, ἐς ὄνομα μόνον αὐτοῖς διαφερούσης, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄντος ἀκριβῶς βασιλέως. συνεστήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μάλιστα δύο ἄνδρε, Μάρκος τε Βρούτος, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπὶ κλινῇ, Βρούτου τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν ἀνηρημένου παῖς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι προσφυγὼν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀτυχήματος, καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ὁ τὰς τριήρεις κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐγχειρίσας τῷ Καίσαρι, οἷδε μὲν ἄμφω τῆς Πομπηίου μοίρας γεγονότε, τῶν δ' αὐτῷ Καίσαρι φιλάτων Δέκμος Βρούτος Ἀλβῖνος, ἅπαντες αἰεὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως χρηματίζοντες ἄξιοι: οἷς γε καὶ πράξεις ἐνεχείρισε μεγίστας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἀπῶν στρατεύματα ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπέτρεψε, τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεων Δέκμῳ, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Βρούτῳ.

[111] Four days before his intended departure he was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they well knew that if he should conquer those nations he would be a king without a doubt. But I think that they took, as a pretext for their own design, this plan for an additional title, which really made no difference to them except in name, for in fact a dictator is exactly the same as a king. Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Cæpio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan

revolution), who had sided with Cæsar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Cæsar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Cæsar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honor and trust by Cæsar at all times. He had employed them in the largest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge of Transalpine, and Marcus Brutus of Cisalpine, Gaul.

[112] μέλλοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγήσειν ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐς ἀλλήλους διήριζον περὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτικῆς στρατηγίας, ἥ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμᾶται, εἴτε τῷ ὄντι φιλοτιμούμενοι περὶ αὐτήν, εἴθ' ὑπόκρισις ἦν τοῦ μὴ πάντα συμπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς διαιτῶν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνοι, Βρούτῳ δ' αὐτὸς χαρίζοιτο: τοσσηδὲ ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνοία καὶ τιμῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐχρήτο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, Σερουιλίας τῆς Κάτωνος ἀδελφῆς ἐρασθείσης τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε ὁ Βροῦτος ἐγίγνετο. διὸ καὶ νικῶν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς λέγεται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν εἰπεῖν Βρούτον, ὅπη δύναιτο, περισφύζειν. ἀλλ' εἴτε ἀχάριστος ὢν ὁ Βροῦτος, εἴτε τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἁμαρτήματα ἀγνοῶν ἢ ἀπιστῶν ἢ αἰδούμενος, εἴτε φιλελεύθερος ὢν ἄγαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμῶν, εἴθ' ὅτι ἐκγονος ὢν Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξελάσαντος ἐρεθιζόμενος καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου 'πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδριῶσι τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου καὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦδε τοῦ Βρούτου τοιάδε ἐπεγράφετο λάθρα: 'Βροῦτε δωροδοκεῖς; Βροῦτε νεκρὸς εἶ;' ἢ 'ὠφέλεις γε νῦν περιεῖναι' ἢ 'ἀνάξιά σου τὰ ἐκγονα' ἢ 'οὐδ' ἐκγονος εἶ σὺ τοῦδε'", ταῦτα καὶ τοιουτότροπα ἄλλα πολλὰ τὸν νεανίαν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὥς ἑαυτοῦ προγονικόν.

[112] Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as prætors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city prætor, this being the place of highest honor, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each other. Cæsar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favor Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Cæsar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) at the time of his birth, for which reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether it was because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by people who secretly affixed to the statues of the

elder Brutus and also to the tribunal of Brutus himself such writings as these, “Brutus, are you corrupted by bribes?” “Brutus, are you dead?” or “would that you were still alive!” or, “your posterity is unworthy of you,” or, “you are not the descendant of that Brutus.” These and many like incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his own ancestor.

[113] ἀκμάζοντος δ’ ἔτι τοῦ περὶ βασιλείας λόγου καὶ συνόδου μελλούσης ἔσσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς μετ’ ὀλίγον, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐμβάλων τὴν χεῖρα τῷ Βρούτῳ ‘τί ποιήσομεν,’ ἔφη, ‘παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἂν οἱ κόλακες τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμην περὶ βασιλείας προθῶσι;’ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου: ‘τί δ’, ἂν ἡμᾶς καλῶσιν ὡς στρατηγούς, τί ποιήσομεν, ὃ ἀγαθὲ Βρούτε;’ ἀμυνῶ τῇ πατρίδι,’ ἔφη, ‘μέχρι θανάτου.’ καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος ‘τίνα δ’,’ ἔφη, ‘οὐ προσλήψῃ τῶν ἀρίστων οὕτω φρονῶν; ἢ σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ χειροτέχναι καὶ κάπηλοι καταγράφειν σου τὸ δικαστήριον ἀσήμως μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἀριστοί, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν θέας αἰτοῦντες ἵππων ἢ θηρίων, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὡς σὸν προγονικὸν ἔργον;’ οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἄρα ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοοῦμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀλλήλοις προὔφερον καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάτερος φίλων ἀπειπειῶντο καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, οὓς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐκατέρων ἦδεσαν. καὶ συνήγειραν ἐκ μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀδελφῶ δύο, Καϊκίλιόν τε καὶ Βουκολιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥούβριον Ῥῆγα καὶ Κόιντον Λιγάριον καὶ Μάρκον Σπόριον καὶ Σερονίλιον Γάλβαν καὶ Σέξστιον Νάσωνα καὶ Πόντιον Ἀκύλαν, τούσδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων σφίσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Καίσαρος Δέκμον τε, περὶ οὗ μοι προεῖρηται, καὶ Γάιον Κάσκαν καὶ Τρεβόνιον καὶ Τίλλιον καὶ Κιμβρον καὶ Μινούκιον καὶ Βάσιλον.

[113] While the talk about the kingship was going on, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, “What shall we do in the senate-house if Cæsar’s flatterers propose a decree making him king?” Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, “What if we are summoned there as prætors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?” “I will defend my country to the death,” he replied. Cassius embraced him, saying, “Which of the nobility will you allow to share your thought? Do you think that artisans and shopkeepers have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or rather the noblest Romans, those who ask from the other prætors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, but from you liberty, as a boon worthy of your ancestry?” Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own friends, and of Cæsar’s also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Cæsilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Casca, Servius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Cæsar’s friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already mentioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius

[114] ὥς δὲ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν ἄλις ἔχειν καὶ πλέοσιν ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, συνέθεντο μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄνευ τε ὄρκων καὶ ἄνευ σφαγίων, καὶ οὐδεὶς μετέθετο οὐδὲ προύδωκε, καιρὸν δ' ἐζήτουν καὶ τόπον: ὁ μὲν δὴ καιρὸς ὑπερήπειγεν ὥς Καῖσαρος ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν αὐτίκα περιεξούσης στρατιωτικῆς: χωρίον δ' ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὥς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων, ὃ καὶ περὶ Ῥωμύλον τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γενόμενον ἐλέγετο συμβῆναι. δόξειν τε τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τότε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ γενόμενον, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πεπρᾶχθαι ἀκίνδυνόν τε, ὥς κοινόν, ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ: καὶ τὴν τιμὴν σφίσι μενεῖν, οὐκ ἀγνοουμένοις, ὅτι ἤρξαν. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπελέγοντο πάντες ὁμαλῶς: περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρόπου διεφέροντο, οἱ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον συναναιρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὑπατόν τε ὄντα σὺν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φίλον αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις γνωριμώτατον: ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι μόνῳ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τυραννοκτόνων ὥς βασιλέα ἀναιροῦντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ὥς Πομπηίου στασιῶται.

[114] When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They sought a time and place. Time was pressing because Cæsar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and would thereupon have a body-guard of soldiers. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed. It was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old, taking place in open Senate, would seem to be performed not by private plotters, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Cæsar's army. At the same time they thought the honor would be theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Cæsar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus said that they would win the glory of tyrannicide from the death of Cæsar alone, because that would be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction.

[115] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷδε μάλιστα ἀναπεισθέντες τὴν προσιούσαν αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς σύνοδον ἐφύλασσαν: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦδε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χωρῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς Λέπιδον τὸν ἵππαρχον, ἐπήγετο Δέκμον Βρούτον Ἀλβῖνον ἐς τὸν πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι προύθηκε, τίς ἄριστος ἀνθρώπων θάνατος: αἰρουμένων δὲ ἕτερα ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἐπήγει τὸν αἰφνίδιον.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧδε προυμαντεύετο ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἔλεσχίνευε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν αὔριον ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πότῳ νυκτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα νωθρὸν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον αἵματι πολλῷ καταρρεόμενον ἰδοῦσα κατεκώλυε μὴ προελθεῖν. θυομένῳ τε πολλάκις ἦν τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά. καὶ πέμπειν ἔμελλεν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσοντα τὴν βουλὴν. ἀλλὰ Δέκιμος παρὼν ἔπεισε μὴ λαβεῖν ὑπεροψίας διαβολήν, αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπελθόντα διαλύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκομίζετο φορεῖω, θεαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, καὶ βουλευτήριον ἔμελλε τῶν τις περὶ αὐτὸ οἴκων ἔσσεσθαι, εἰωθὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ὧδε γίνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἔωθεν κατὰ τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὡς στρατηγῶν εὐσταθέστατα ἐχρημάτιζον, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἱερῶν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάνυ ἠποροῦντο. καὶ τις, αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐχόντων, τῆς Κάσκα χειρὸς λαβόμενος εἶπε· ‘σὺ μὲν ὄντα με φίλον ἀπέκρυσας, Βροῦτος δ' ἀνήνεγκέ μοι.’ καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάσκας ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἄφνω τεθορύβητο, ὁ δ' ἐπιμεδιάσας ἔφη· ‘πόθεν οὖν ἔσται σοι τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἀγορανομίας;’ καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ἀνήνεγκεν. αὐτὸν δὲ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον σύννους τε ὄντας καὶ συλλαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις τῶν τις βουλευτῶν ἐπισπάσας, Ποπίλιος Λαίνας, ἔφη συνεύχεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ παρήνει ἐπιταχύνειν. οἱ δὲ ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως ἐσιώπων.

[115] The day before the meeting of the Senate Cæsar went to sup with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to the drinking-bout. While they were in their cups the conversation turned on the question, “What is the best kind of death for a man?” Various opinions were given, but Cæsar alone expressed the preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavorable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey’s theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings, as was the custom when the games were taking place. Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as prætors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Cæsar’s house and that the Senate was to be dismissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, “You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all.” Casca was suddenly conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, continued, “Where shall you get the money to stand for the ædileship?” Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popillius Læna, one of the senators, drew

them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror.

[116] φερομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῶν οἰκείων τις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθὼν ἔθει μηνύσων, ὃ ἔμαθεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Καλπούρνιαν ἦλθε καὶ τοσόνδε μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι χρήζοι Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ ἔργων ἐπειγόντων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἄρα τὰ γινόμενα πάντα πεπυσμένος. ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδῳ γεγονώς αὐτῷ ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσδραμὼν εὗρεν ἄρτι ἀναιρούμενον. ὑπὸ δ' ἄλλου καὶ βιβλίον περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιδοθὲν αὐτῷ προθυομένῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσιόντι, μετὰ χειρὸς εὐρέθη τεθνεῶτος. ἄρτι δ' ἐκβαίνοντι τοῦ φορείου Λαίνας, ὁ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον πρὸ ὀλίγου συνευξάμενος, ἐντυχὼν διελέγετο ἰδίᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἢ τε ὅψις αὐτίκα τοῦ γινομένου κατέπλησσε καὶ τὸ μήκος τῆς ἐντεύξεως, καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις διαχρήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸ συλλήψεως· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸν Λαίναν ὀρῶντες οὐ μηνύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τοῦ δεομένου καὶ λιπαροῦντι εἰκότα, ἀνέφερον, ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον εἶδον, ἀνεθάρρηναν. ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσιοῦσιν οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιοῦσι. καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄνευ καρδίας ἦ, ὥς ἔτεροι λέγουσιν, ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἔλειπε. καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, γελάσας ἔφη τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίῳ. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι καὶ τότε κινδυνεύσειε λαμπρῶς καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον εἶν τὸ σημεῖον, αὐθις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὥς καλλιερούμενου, τὴν βουλὴν βραδύνουσιν αἰδοῦμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὥς φίλων ἐπειγόμενος ἐσήει τῶν ἱερῶν καταφρονήσας· χρῆν γὰρ ἂ ἐχρῆν Καίσαρι γενέσθαι.

[116] While Cæsar was being borne to the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Cæsar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Cæsar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already murdered. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Cæsar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the curia, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popillius Læna, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Cæsar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Læna did not seem to be revealing anything to Cæsar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when

they saw him return thanks to Cæsar after the conversation they took new courage. It was the custom of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate, to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Cæsar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some say, the beginning of the entrails was wanting. A soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Cæsar, laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was still more entitled to credence. So Cæsar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went in disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Cæsar should meet his doom.

[117] οἱ δ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν πρὸ θυρῶν ἀποδιατρίβειν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ Τρεβόνιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελίποντο, Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προκαθίσαντα περιέστησαν οἷα φίλοι σὺν λεληθόσι ξιφιδίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν Τίλλιος μὲν Κίμπερ, ἐντυχὼν ἐς πρόσωπον, ἀδελφῷ φυγάδι κάθοδον ἤτει: ἀνατιθεμένου δὲ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅλως τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ μὲν Κίμπερ αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφύρας ὡς ἔτι δεόμενος ἐλάβετο καὶ τὸ εἶμα περισπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἵλκε, βοῶν: 'τί βραδύνετε ὦ φίλοι;' Κάσκα δ' ἐφεστὼς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ἤρεισε πρῶτος, παρολισθὼν δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στήθος. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε ἱμάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κίμβερος ἐπισπάσας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Κάσκα λαβόμενος καὶ καταδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς τὸν Κάσκαν εἵλκυσε σὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλευρὸν ἕτερος, ὡς ἐπὶ συστροφῇ τεταμένον, διελαύνει ξιφιδίῳ: καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπληξε καὶ Βρούτος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε καὶ Βουκολιανὸς ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μὲν τι σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου πληγὴν, ... εἴτε ἀπογινώσκοντα ἤδη, τὸ ἱμάτιον περικαλύψασθαι καὶ πεσεῖν εὐσχημόνως παρὰ ἀνδριάντι Πομπηίου: οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνύβριζον αὐτῷ πεσόντι, μέχρι τριῶν ἐπὶ εἴκοσι πληγῶν: πολλοὶ τε διωθιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἔπληξαν.

[117] The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others, with concealed daggers, stood around Cæsar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Cæsar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Cæsar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but missed his aim and wounded him in the breast. Cæsar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled Casca with great violence. While he was in this position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was exposed by his turning around, Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus

smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades. With rage and outcries Cæsar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but after receiving the wound from Brutus he despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, he fell in a decent position at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other.

CHAPTER XVII

*Panic in the City — The Murderers take possession of the Capitol —
Rottenness of Roman Society — The Conspirators distribute Bribes — Brutus
and Cassius come down from the Capitol — Proposals for Compromise to
Antony — Antony's Answer*

[118] Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοσοῦδε ἄγους ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἄνδρα ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον, φυγὴ τε ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτίκα καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἕτεροι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀστῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ προβεβουλευμένος, ἀλλ' οἷος ἐκ θορύβου πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, οἳ τε γὰρ μονομάχοι, ὥπλισμένοι ἔωθεν ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τινα θέας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διέθεον ἐς τὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παραφράγματα, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως σὺν φόβῳ καὶ δρόμῳ διελύετο, τὰ τε ὦνια ἠρπάζετο: καὶ τὰς θύρας ἅπαντες ἀπέκλειον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς ἄμυναν ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀντώνιος τε τὴν οἰκίαν ὠχύρου, τεκμαιρόμενος συνεπιβουλευέσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ Λέπιδος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ὦν ἐπύθετο τοῦ γεγονότος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον διαδραμῶν, ἐνθα ἦν αὐτῷ τέλος στρατιωτῶν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον αὐτοὺς μετεβίβαζεν ὡς ἐτοιμοτέρους ἕξων ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου: Ἀντωνίῳ γὰρ ἐξίστατο, φίλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντι μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπάτῳ. καὶ αὐτοῖς σκεπτομένοις ὁρμὴ μὲν ἦν ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι τοιάδε παθόντι, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἐσομένην ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔτι περιεσκόπουν. ἀμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατιωτικὸν μὲν οὐκ ἦν, οὐ γὰρ δορυφόροις ἠρέσκετο, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑπηρεσία μόνη καὶ αἱ πλέονες ἀρχαὶ καὶ πολὺς ὁμιλος ἄλλος ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ πολὺς θεράπων καὶ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρεπεπόμεφισαν, ὧν ἀθρόως διαφυγόντων τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οἳ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι διεκόμισαν οἴκαδε ἀνωμάλως, οἷα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάττης προστάτην.

[118] When the murderers had perpetrated their crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person was sacred and inviolable, there was an immediate flight from the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of JULIUS CÆSAR AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS In the Vatican Museum, Rome

those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre into the balcony of the Senate. The theatre itself was emptied in haste and panic-terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their front doors and put themselves in a posture of defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house,

apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Cæsar. Lepidus, the master of horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the plain in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Cæsar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Cæsar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Cæsar, for he did not like guards except the usual attendants of the magistracy. Many civilian officers and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate, but had fled en masse, all except three slaves, who placed the body in a litter and, with uneven step (being an uneven number), bore him homeward who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea.

[119] οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς ἐβούλοντο μὲν τι εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, οὐδενὸς δὲ παραμείναντος τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ὥσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντες ἐβοηδρόμουν βασιλέα καὶ τύραννον ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πῖλόν τις ἐπὶ δόρατος ἔφερε, σύμβολον ἐλευθερώσεως ἐπὶ τε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν παρεκάλουν καὶ Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῶν τότε σφίσιν ὁμωμοσμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πάλαι βασιλεῦσιν ἀνεμίμνησκον συνέθεον δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες χρησάμενοι ξιφίδια, οἱ τοῦ ἔργου μὴ μετασχόντες προσεποιούντο τὴν δόξαν, Λέντλος τε ὁ Σπινθήρ καὶ Φαώνιος καὶ Ἀκουῖνος καὶ Δολοβέλλας καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Πατίσκοι· οἱ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχον, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τοῖς ἁμαρτοῦσι συνέτυχον. τοῦ δήμου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ προσθέοντος ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ, καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ θορύβου διέφυγε, θαρροῦντες ὅμως, συγγενέσι τε σφῶν καὶ φίλοις οὔσι βαρυνομένοις τε τὴν τυραννίδα ὁμοίως, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους τῷ Καίσαρι πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε παρόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἄρτι τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένους καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διατεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ προαπωκισμένους μὲν, ἐς δὲ παραπομπὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξιόντος ἀφιγμένους. Λέπιδόν τε ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα, μὴ ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ χρώμενος ἐργάσαιτό τι δεινὸν αὐτοῦς.

[119] The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap on the end of a spear as a symbol of freedom and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers and recall the memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with

the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as being their own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny. They had apprehensions of the plebeians and of Cæsar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service and to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Cæsar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

[120] οὗτω δ' ἔχοντες τὸ Καπιτώλιον σὺν τοῖς μονομάχοις ἀνέθορον. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθη μισθώματα περιπέμπειν: ἡλπίζον γάρ, ἀρξαμένων τινῶν ἐπαινεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιλήψεσθαι λογισμῷ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πολιτείας. ἔτι γὰρ ᾤοντο τὸν δῆμον εἶναι Ῥωμαῖον ἀκριβῶς, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου τὴν τότε βασιλείαν καθαιροῦντος ἐπυνθάνοντο γενέσθαι: καὶ οὐ συνίεσαν δύο τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία προσδοκῶντες, φιλελευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ μισθωτοὺς σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμως τοὺς παρόντας. ὧν θάτερον εὐχερέστερον ἦν, διεφθαρμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας. παμμιγές τε γάρ ἐστιν ἡδὴ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ ξενίας, καὶ ὁ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῖς ἰσοπολίτης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ δουλεύων ἔτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῖς δεσπόταις ὅμοιος: χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἢ ἄλλῃ στολῇ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐστὶν ἐπίκοινος. τό τε σιτηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεὼν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται. τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔτι ὡς πάλαι καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα δέει τοῦ μὴ δικαίους πολέμους ἐνίουσ πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινῇ δὲ ἐς κληρουχίας ἀδίκους ἀλλοτρίας τε γῆς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οἰκιῶν ἐξίόν, ἄθρουν τότε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὄντα σφίσιν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοδὸν ἡδὴ διαπεπρακότες, εὖωνοι δ' ἐς ὃ τι μισθοῖντο.

[120] In this frame of mind they hastened up to the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping that if some would begin to praise the deed others would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the Roman people were still exactly the same as they had heard that they were at the time when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did not perceive that they were counting on two incompatible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The latter class were much easier to find of the two, because the government had been corrupt for a long time. The plebeians were now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen had equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves were dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume was common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the

poor, which took place in Rome only, drew thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude of discharged soldiers no longer returned one by one to their native places as formerly, fearing that some of them might be accused of having engaged in iniquitous wars, but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and houses belonging to others. These were now encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their colony, and as they had already sold their own belongings preparatory to their departure they were in readiness to be bought for any purpose.

[121] ὅθεν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκ τοσῶνδε καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν πληθὸς τι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθὺς ἀγέγερτο: οἱ καίπερ ὄντες ἔμισθοι τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, δεδιότες τὴν Καίσαρος δόξαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐσόμενον, ὥς δ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεβόων καὶ θαμινὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρεκάλουν, τέχνασμα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνδροφόνων σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες: οὐ γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι πρῶτος ἐπιφαίνεται Κίννας στρατηγός, οἰκείος ὢν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπελθὼν ἐς μέσους τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, ὥς παρὰ τυράννου δεδομένης ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τύραννον ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας τυραννοκτόνους, καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐσέμνυνεν ὥς ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα τῷ προγονικῷ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὥς εὐεργέτας καλεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ γεραίρειν. καὶ Κίννας μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὐχ ὁρῶντες ἐπιμιγνύμενον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδέ τι πλεόν ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης μόνης αὖθις παρεκάλουν.

[121] From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Cæsar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers; for there could be no peace without amnesty to them. While they were thus engaged the prætor Cinna, a relative of Cæsar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his prætorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Cæsar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honors. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace.

[122] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ περιώνυμος, ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ ἔτους ἡρημένος, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξορμήσειε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν μὲν ὕπατον ἐσθῆτα ἡμφιέσατο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς περιεστήσατο, τὸν δὲ ταυτὰ οἱ παρασχόντα δεύτερος ὃδε ἐλοιδόρει καὶ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένοις ὑπεκρίνεται καὶ μόνῃς ἄκων τῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι 'εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν θέσθαι τῇ πόλει γενέθλιον, τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἀνεθάρρουν ὥς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπάτου σφίσι συγγνωμόνων ὄντων καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἥδοντο μὲν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἄνδρα νέον καὶ γνώριμον καὶ ὕπατον ἔξιν ἐς ἐναντίωσιν Ἀντωνίου, κατήεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν μόνοι Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ἡμαγμένος τὴν χεῖρα: συγκατήνεγκαν γὰρ δὴ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλθον ἐς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδέτερος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ἀλλήλους ἐπῆνουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐμαρτύρουν, ὅτι τοὺς μονομάχους σφίσιν ἐν καιρῷ παράσχοι. τὸν τε δῆμον ἐξώτρυνον ὅμοια τοῖς προγόνους ἐργάσασθαι τοῖς καθελοῦσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐκ ἐκ βίας ἄρχοντας ὥσπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ἡρημένους ὑπὸ νόμοις: Σέξστον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος, καλεῖν ἠξίου, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους Καισήτηιον καὶ Μάρυλλον, οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἠλῶντο.

[122] But after Dolabella, a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Cæsar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended to have been privy to the conspiracy against him, and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent — some say that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic — then the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a prætor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from the wound he had received when he and Cassius were dealing blows at Cæsar. When they reached the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary they praised each other as for something confessedly admirable. They considered the city fortunate and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Cæsar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Cæsar), who was still warring against Cæsar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Cæsetius and Marullus, who

had been deposed by Cæsar, should be recalled from exile.

[123] τοιάδε μὲν εἶπον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ ἐπανήλθον αὐθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν πω τοῖς παροῦσι. τῶν δ' οἰκείων σφίσι καὶ συγγενῶν τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντων ἡρέθησαν οἱ πρεσβεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐς Λέπιδόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὁμονομίας πέρι καὶ προνομίας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ φειδοῦς τῶν ἐσομένων τῇ πατρίδι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ συμφρονοῖεν. καὶ ἐδέοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ πεπραγμένον 'οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν ἐν φίλοις Καίσαρος', γενόμενον δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐλέω τε τῶν δεδρακότων αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ μῖσος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ οἰκτῇ τῆς πόλεως κεκενωμένης στάσεσιν ἤδη συνεχέσιν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ μέλλουσα στάσις διολέσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄσιον, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἐνίους, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις ἐξερίζειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὰ ἴδια καταθέσθαι ἢ, εἴ τις ἀνηκέστως ἔχει, τὰ ἴδια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀναθέσθαι.

[123] After they had thus spoken Cassius and Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they had not yet entire confidence in the present posture of affairs. Having first enabled their friends and relatives to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers asked, not extolling the deed that had been done, however, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Cæsar's friends. They asked that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators (who had been actuated, not by hatred toward Cæsar, but by love of country), and out of compassion for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife, and which a new sedition might deprive of the good men still remaining. "If enmity were entertained against certain persons," they said, "it would be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It would be far preferable to sink private animosity in the public weal, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present."

[124] Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, εἴτε φιλίας ἔνεκα εἴτε τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀρχῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ νομίζοντες εὐμαρέστερα σφίσιν ἅπαντα ἔσεσθαι τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἐκποδῶν γενομένων· τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βουλὴν ἐπιτρέπουσαν ἐς ἐκείνους, Δέκμον τε μάλιστα, τῆς ὁμόρου Κελτικῆς ἡρημένον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἄρχειν, στρατὸν πολὺν ἐχούσης. ἐδόκει δὴ караδοκεῖν ἔτι τὰ γενησόμενα καὶ τεχνάζειν εἰ δύναιτο περισπάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Δέκμου, ἄθυμον ἤδη τοῖς ἀτρύτοις πόνοις γεγενημένην. οὕτω δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς εἰπόντας ἡμείψατο· 'κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν ἰδίαν οὐδὲν ἐργασόμεθα· ἔνεκα δὲ τοῦ μύσους καὶ ὧν Καίσαρι πάντες ὠμόσαμεν, φύλακες αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ἢ τιμωροὶ παθόντι τι ἔσεσθαι, εὖορκον ἦν τὸ ἄγος ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μετ'

ὀλιγωτέρων καθαρῶν βιοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πάντας ἐνόχους ὄντας ταῖς ἀραῖς. ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς οἷς οὕτω δοκεῖ, σκεψόμεθα μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ νομοιοῦμεν εὐαγὲς ἔσσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι ἂν κοινῇ δοκιμάσῃτε.'

[124] Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Cæsar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Cæsar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labors. Having come to this decision, Antony replied to the messengers, "We shall do nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Cæsar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we will agree to whatever may be decided in common to be propitious for the city."

[125] ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο. οἱ δὲ χάριν τε ἤδεσαν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ἐν ἐλπίδι βεβαίῳ τὰ πάντα θέμενοι: τὴν γὰρ βουλὴν σφίσι συμπράξειν ἐς πάντα ἐπεποιθεσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευσε νυκτοφυλακεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν μέσῳ προκαθημένηας ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ: καὶ ἦσαν πυραὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔθειον ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐς τὰς τῶν βουλευτῶν οἰκίας οἱ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οἰκεῖοι, παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας: ἀντιπαρέθειον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς φυλάξει τὰς κληρουχίας τὰς τε ἤδη δεδομένηας καὶ τὰς ἐπηγγεμένους. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ὁ καθαρῶτατος λεῶς ἀνεθάρρει, τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν δεδρακότων πυθόμενοι: καὶ ἐς μνήμην τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπεφέροντο καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις διηροῦντο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετεκομίζετο, εἴτε τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὰ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας ἐς ἀκινδυνότεραν τὴν Ἀντωνίου μεταφερούσης, εἴτε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος.

[125] Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would cooperate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and he had fires lighted throughout the city. By this means the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the

houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonized soldiers ran about uttering threats lest they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or proclaimed to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Cæsar's merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Cæsar's money and his official papers were transferred to Antony's house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it.

CHAPTER XVIII

Antony summons the Senate — Debate on the Killing of Cæsar — Antony cunningly proposes a Self-denying Ordinance — It is rejected — A Speech by Lepidus — Antony addresses the Senate — The Senate votes Amnesty to the Murderers and Confirmation of Cæsar's Acts

[126] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων διάγραμμα νυκτὸς ἀνεγινώσκετο Ἀντωνίου τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλοῦντος ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ὃν τῆς οἰκίας Ἀντωνίου: οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐθάρρει κατελθεῖν, ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τῶν μονομάχων ὄντων ἐκείνοις συνεργῶν, οὔτε στρατιὰν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διαταράξαι: Λέπιδος δὲ ὁμῶς εἰσήγαγε. πλησιαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ συνέθεον ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Κίννας ὁ στρατηγός, αὐτῆς ἐπικείμενος τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣν ἐχθὲς ὡς τυράννου δόντος ἐξεργίφει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτόν τινες τῶν ἀδεκάστων καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Καίσαρι, δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καίπερ οἰκεῖος ὢν αὐτοῦ, βλασφημῶς ἐδημηγόρησε, λίθοις ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐδίωκον: καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συμφυγόντα, ξύλα συμφέροντες, ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ Λέπιδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἔργον παρρησίας ἤρξεν ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατέδεισαν οἱ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς αὐτοί:

[126] While these things were taking place Antony, by means of a notice sent around by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the prætor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Cæsar's veterans, when they saw him, were indignant that he, although a relative of Cæsar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech, threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them. This was the first decided expression of opinion in favor of Cæsar. The hirelings, and the murderers themselves, were alarmed by it.

[127] ἐν δὲ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ βραχὺ μὲν ἦν τὸ καθαρεῖον σπουδῆς βιαίου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν, οἱ δὲ πλείονες σὺν παρασκευῇ ποικίλῃ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις συνήργουν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοπίστως ἠξίουσαν καὶ παρεῖναι σφίσι καὶ συνεδρεῖν, ἐξ ὑπευθύνων ἐς κριτὰς μεταφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐκώλυεν, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐλευσομένους: οὐδὲ ἦλθον. εἴτα ἐπὶ διαπείρα τῆς βουλῆς

οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μάλα θρασέως τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπῆνουν ἀντικρυς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκάλουν τυραννοκτόνους καὶ γεραίρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν γέρα περιήρουν, ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκείνων δεομένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὰ πραξάντων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐδικαίουν ὥς εὐεργέτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ὑπανήρουν καὶ φείδεσθαι μόνον αὐτῶν ἤξιουν.

καὶ οἱ μὲν τάδε ἐτέχναζον καὶ περιεώρων, ὃ τι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐνδεξαμένη μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ κατ' ὀλίγον εὐεπιχείρητος αὐτοῖς ἔσοιτο· οἱ δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὥς ἄγος ἀπεστρέφοντο, αἰδοῖ δὲ μεγάλων οἴκων περισφύζειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐκώλουν, ἡγανάκτουν δέ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσιν ὥς εὐεργέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀντέλεγον μὴ χρῆναι περισφύζοντας φθονεῖν τῶν περισσῶν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν. ὥς δέ τις εἶπε τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, οὐκ εἰὼν ἔτι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τῶν περιόντων προτιθέναι. ἑτέρου δὲ ἐγκρατῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι χρὴ δύο τῶνδε πάντως τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ Καίσαρα τύραννον προαποφαίνειν ἢ τούτους ἐξ ἐλέου περισφύζειν, τούτου μόνου δεξάμενοι τὸ λεχθέν οἱ ἕτεροι ἦτουν σφίσι ψῆφον ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ, καὶ εἰ καθαρῶς ἐθέλουσι κρῖναι, μηδέν' αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεάσαι τὰ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐνηφισμένα ἄρχοντι ἤδη, ὣν οὐδὲν ἐκόντας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἢ δεῖσαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνηρημένου τε Πομπηίου καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ μυρίων ἄλλων, ψηφίσασθαι.

[127] In the Senate only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder. Most of them sought to aid the murderers in various ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some of them extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyrannicides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the deed for the sake of reward, but thought that they should merely be thanked as public benefactors. Still others were opposed to thanking them and thought that it would be sufficient to grant them impunity. Such were the devices to which they resorted, and were trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the great families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honor them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honoring them would be dishonoring Cæsar, it was answered that it was not permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another having said plainly that one of two things must be decided beforehand — either that Cæsar was a tyrant or that his murderers were to be pardoned as an act of clemency — the others [Cæsar's enemies] seized upon this simple

proposition and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Cæsar, under the solemn pledge that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiased judgment, the penalty of the oath should not befall them for having previously voted Cæsar's decrees under compulsion — never willingly and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the killing of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

[128] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐφορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφεδρεύων, ἐπειδὴ λόγων ὕλην οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ ἀναμφίλογον εἶδεν ἐσφερομένην, ἔγνω τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτῶν οἰκείῳ φόβῳ καὶ φροντίδι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαχέαι. εἰδὼς οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐς ἱερwsύνας καὶ ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἡρημένους ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατείαν ἐξίων ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἦρητό, σιωπὴν ὡς ὕπατος ἐπικηρύξας ἔφη: ‘τοῖς αἰτοῦσι περὶ Καίσαρος ψῆφον ἀνάγκη τάδε προεἰδέναι, ὅτι ἄρχοντας μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰρετοῦ προστάτου γενομένου τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δεδογμένα πάντα κύρια μενεῖ, δόξαντος δ’ ἐπὶ βία τυραννῆσαι τὸ τε σῶμα ἄταφον τῆς πατρίδος ὑπερορίζεται καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἀκυροῦται. ἔστι δέ, ὡς ὄρω περιλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφικνούμενα γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ὑπακούσεται: καὶ δεῖξω μετ’ ὀλίγον. ὃ δὲ ἐστὶ μόνον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ περὶ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν προθήσω πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ εὐμαρεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν δυσχερεστέρων προλάβετε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ἤρξαμεν ὑπὸ τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἄρχομεν αἰρετοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου γενόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχειν κεχειροτονήμεθα: ἔς γὰρ πενταετες, ὡς ἴστε, καὶ τὰ ἀστικά ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτήσια τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας διετάξατο. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ὑμεῖς ἐκόντες ἀποθήσεσθε ἔστε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τοῦδε μάλιστα κύριοι, τότε πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ἀξίῳ κρῖναι: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐποίσω.’

[128] When Antony, who had been looking on and waiting, saw that sufficient material for discussion had been introduced which was not open to dispute, he resolved to balk their scheme by exciting fear and anxiety for themselves. Seeing a great number of these senators themselves who had been designated by Cæsar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony proclaimed silence as consul and said: “Those who are asking for a vote on the character of Cæsar ought to consider in the first place that all the things done and decreed under his government and while he was the chosen ruler of the state remain in full force. If it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to decide, because they concern us alone, I will propose to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier

ones. Almost all of us have held office under Cæsar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones.”

[129] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς οὐ περ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δαλὸν ἐξάψας ἡσύχαζεν· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων ἄθροοι μετὰ βοῆς, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἄλλαις οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἃ ἔλαβον. τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας τι νεώτερον ἢ ἄλλη πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐναντίωσις ὑποῦσα ἀνηρέθιζε. καὶ τῶνδε αὐτὸς ὁ ὕπατος ἐξῆρχε Δολοβέλλας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυνατόν ἐφαίνετο κατ' ἔννομον χειροτονίαν ὑπατεῦσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν ὄντι. ὁξεῖα δὴ τοῦ χθὲς ὑποκριναμένου μετασχεῖν τῶν γεγονότων ἐγίγνετο μεταβολή, λοιδορουμένου τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τιμᾶν ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας σφῶν ἀτιμώσουσιν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας, οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ λήπιζον χάριν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποφανεῖν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἔσεσθαι χειροτονίας ἐπὶ τὸ νομιμώτερον ἐκ τοῦ μοναρχικοῦ· ὁ καὶ κόσμον αὐτοῖς οἴσειν ἔν τε μοναρχίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ τὰ ὅμοια προτιμωμένοις. καὶ τούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπὶ ἐνέδρᾳ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀπετίθεντο, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὰς ἀντιληψόμενοι νομιμώτερον. τοῖς δὲ ἢ τε ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ κυρίους ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς χειροτονίας ἑσομένους ᾗδεσαν.

[129] Having lighted this kind of a firebrand among them, not in reference to Cæsar, but to themselves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose immediately en masse, and with loud clamor protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or for some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honor on murderers and dishonoring their own magistrates under the pretext of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people's gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honor to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the prætors, in order to ensnare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their

places, in common with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control the future election.

[130] ὧδε δὲ ἔτι ἐχόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῆλθον: καὶ γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντες ἐκάλουν ὡς δὲ ὤφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγῇ κεκραγόντων μόλις ἐγίγνετο, εἷς μὲν τις ἐβόησεν, εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἰδίαν εἴτε παρεσκευασμένος: ‘φυλάσσεσθε παθεῖν ὅμοια.’ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῷ παραλύσας τι τοῦ χιτωνίσκου θώρακα ἐντὸς ἐπεδείκνυεν, ὑπερεθίζων ἄρα τοὺς ὀρώντας ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν σφύζεσθαι χωρὶς ὀπλων οὐδὲ ὑπάτοις. ἐπιβοώντων δ’ ἐτέρων τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τῶν πλεόνων περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παρακαλούντων, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔφη: ‘περὶ τούτου σκοποῦμεν, ὡς ἔσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεῖ: δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἦδη τὸ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῆς, ὅτι μὴδὲ Καίσαρα ὤνησαν ὅρκοι τοσοῖδε καὶ ἀραί.’ ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξιέναι παρακαλοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπῆναι μὲν ὡς εὐορκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αἰρουμένους καὶ ‘αὐτὸς ἄν,’ ἔφη, “συνετασσομένην ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρῶτος ἐβόων, εἰ μὴ ὕπατος ἦν, ᾧ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δικαίου μέλει: ὧδε γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ ἔνδον παραινοῦσιν. οὕτω δέ που καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, οὓς εἴλε πολέμῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως περισώσας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε.”

[130] While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for some time. When they were perceived in an elevated place, and the shouters had been with difficulty silenced, one of their number, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, “Have a care lest you suffer a like fate.” Antony loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, “That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Cæsar.” Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, “I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is called expedient rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Cæsar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them.”

[131] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρὰ μέρος τεχνάζοντος οἱ ἀμύνειν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀξιοῦντες Λέπιδον ἡξίουσαν ἀμύνειν. Λεπίδου δὲ τι μέλλοντος λέγειν, οἱ πόρρῳ συνεστῶτες κατελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡξίουσαν, ἵνα ὁμαλῶς ἅπαντες ἐπακούσειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἦει, νομίζων ἦδη τὸ πλῆθος τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα παρελθὼν ἔστενε καὶ ἔκλαιεν ἐν περιόπτῳ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ἀνενεγκὼν δὲ ποτε εἶπεν: ‘ἐνταῦθα χθὲς μετὰ Καίσαρος ἰστάμην, ἔνθα νῦν

ἀναγκάζομαι ζητεῖν περὶ Καίσαρος ἀνηρημένου, τί βούλεσθε.’ ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πολλῶν: ‘ἀμύνειν σε τῷ Καίσαρι,’ ἀντανεβόησαν οἱ μισθωτοί. ‘τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει.’ ὁ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἔφη: ‘βουλόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ποῖαν λέγετε εἰρήνην; ἢ ποίοις ὅρκοις ἀσφαλῆς ἔσται; τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πατρίους πάντας ὠμόσαμεν Καίσαρι καὶ κατεπατήσαμεν, οἱ τῶν ὁμομοκότων ἄριστοι εἶναι λεγόμενοι.’ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμύνειν ἀξιοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ‘ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἡμῶν,’ ἔφη, ‘μεθέστηκεν, ἱερὸς τῷ ὄντι καὶ τίμιος ἀνὴρ, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους αἰδοῦμεθα βλάψαι. καὶ τάδε,’ ἔφη, ‘σκοποῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόβουλοι, καὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς πλείοσιν.’ ἀνακραγόντων δὲ αὐθις: ‘ἐπέξιθι μόνος,’ “βούλομαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ εὐορκὸν ἐστὶ μοι καὶ μόνῳ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς βούλεσθαι δεῖ μόνους οὐδὲ μόνους ἀντιτιθέναι.”

[131] When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus was about to speak those who were standing at a distance asked him to go down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he said, “Yesterday I stood with Cæsar here, where now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do about his murder.” Many cried out “Avenge Cæsar.” The hirelings shouted on the other side, “Peace for the republic.” To the latter he replied, “Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Cæsar and we have trampled on them — we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers.” Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, “Cæsar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of those who still remain. Our conscript fathers,” he added, “are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of most of them.” They shouted again, “Avenge him yourself.” “I would like to,” he replied, “and it is right that I should do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I should wish to do it alone, or alone set ourselves up against them.”

[132] τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτον τεχνάζοντα οἱ μισθωτοὶ φιλότιμον εἰδότες ἐπὶνουν καὶ ἡροῦντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἱερωσύνην. τοῦ δὲ ἡψατο μὲν ἡ ἡδονή, ‘μέμνησθε,’ δὲ ἔφη, ‘μοι τοῦδε καὶ ὕστερον, ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι δοκῶ.’ μᾶλλον οὖν ἔτι παρρησίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν μισθωτῶν ἐνισταμένων, ‘ἀσεβὲς μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ παράνομον, ἐργάσομαι δὲ ὅμως, ὃ βούλεσθε.’ καὶ εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνέτρεχεν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ὁ Δολοβέλλας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνίστατο ἀσχημόνως. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναμένων ἅμα τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γιγνόμενα, σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐφεώρα: καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην διαφόρῳ. ὥς δὲ ἅλις ἔσχε τῆς ὀψεως καὶ οὐδ’ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι γεγένητο θερμότερον, τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἔγνω περισφύζειν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ὥς ἐν βαρυτάτῃ χάριτι περισφύζων, τὰ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα κυροῦν συμβόλῳ καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα συντελεῖν.

[132] While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Cæsar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider me worthy of it," whereupon the mercenaries, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who was waiting to see what the people would do, looked at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people would not do anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a matter of the greatest favor), and at the same time to have Cæsar's acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement. Accordingly he commanded silence again and spoke as follows: —

[133] σιωπὴν τε κατακηρύξας αὖθις ἔλεγεν:

ἐγὼ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτόντων πολιτῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες ὁμότιμοι, σκεπτομένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐπεφθεγγόμην: περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀντ' ἐκείνων ψῆφον αἰτοῦσιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔργων προύθηκα μέχρι νῦν, καὶ τοσοῦτους ἡμῖν τὸ ἐν ἀγῶνας ἡγείρεν, οὐκ ἀλόγως: εἰ γὰρ ἀποθησόμεθα τὰς ἀρχάς, ὁμολογήσομεν ἄνδρες τοσοῖδε καὶ τοιοῖδε ἀναξίως αὐτῶν τετυχηκέναι. ὅσα δ' οὖν μηδὲ ἐπακούσεται ῥαδίως, ἐπισκέψασθε νῦν αὐτὰ καὶ συναριθμεῖτε κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας καὶ δυνάστας. πάντα γὰρ δὴ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ δύσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡμῖν ἐχειρώσατο δυνάμει καὶ κράτει, συνεστήσατο, νόμοις καὶ χάρισι καὶ φιланθρωπίαις βεβαιωσάμενος: ὧν τίνας ὑποστήσεσθαι δοκεῖτε ἀφαιρουμένους, ἃ ἔλαβον, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐμπλήσαι πολέμων ἐθέλετε, οἱ τῇ πατρίδι ὡς ἀσθεनेστάτῃ μάλιστα οὔσῃ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς περισφύζειν ἀξιοῦτε;

καὶ τὰ μὲν πορρωτέρω τοῖς τε δεινοῖς ἔτι καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἀφεστηκότα ἐάσω: ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἀγχοῦ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ σύνοικα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτήν, τοὺς τὰ νικητήρια λαβόντας καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὡς ἐστρατεύοντο, ὑπὸ τῇ αὐτῇ συντάξει συνωκισμένους ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὧν ἔτι πολλαὶ μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τί νομίζετε πράξειν ἀφαιρουμένους, ὧν εἰλήφασιν ἢ προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι πόλεων τε καὶ χωρίων; καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ παρελθούσα νῦν τὴν εἰκόνα ἔδειξε.

[133] "Fellow-citizens, while you have been considering the case of the offenders I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Cæsar instead of on them, I had brought forward, until this moment, only one of Cæsar's acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up

by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Cæsar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organized by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favors and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new wars — you who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country? But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itself, — men who are here after receiving the rewards of victory, many of them with arms in their hands and in the same organization in which they fought, men assigned to colonies by Cæsar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), — what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country? The past night showed you a sample. They were coursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers.

[134] δεομένοις γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτόντων ἀντιπαρέθεον ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ ἀπειλῆς: τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος συρόμενον καὶ αἰκίζόμενον καὶ ἄταφον ῥιπτούμενον ἔτι γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῖς τυράννοις ἐπιτέτακται περιόψεσθαι νομίζετε τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὐτῷ; καὶ τὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν νομιεῖν, ἃ εἰλήφασιν, ἔξιν βέβαια τοῦ δόντος ὑβρίζομένου; τί δὲ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν ἐργάσεσθαι; τί δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας; πόσον δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσσεσθαι φθόνον παρά τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν, ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς τὸν ὑμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μέχρῃς ὠκεανοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγνωστον προαγαγόντα; καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰτίᾳ καὶ καταγνώσει μᾶλλον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοσὴνδε ἡμῶν ἀνωμαλίαν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ὑπατον ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἱερὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ, βουλῆς ἀγγελμενῆς, ὑπὸ ὧσιν θεῶν κατακανόντας τιμὰν ἀξιώσομεν, ἀτιμοῦν δὲ τὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δι' ἀρετὴν τίμιον; τούτων μὲν οὖν ὡς οὔτε ὁσίων οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντων προλέγω πάντα ἀπέχεσθαι: γνώμην δὲ ἐσφέρω τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβουλευμένα τῷ Καίσαρι πάντα κυροῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαρτόντας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὅτι γὰρ ὁσιον οὐδὲ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ σύμφωνον ἔτι τῷ κυροῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα, περισφάζειν δὲ ἐξ ἐλέου μόνον, εἰ ἐθέλοιτε, διὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους, εἰ δὴ καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ οἶδε λαμβάνειν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμολογοῖεν ἐν χάριτος μέρει.

[134] “Think you that Cæsar’s fellow-soldiers will allow his body to be dragged through the streets, dishonored, and cast away unburied — for our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants? Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such fickleness on our part be held in greater reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honor on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in a sacred place, in full

senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonor one whom even our enemies honor for his bravery ? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as being sacrilegious in themselves and not in our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Cæsar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Cæsar's acts). Let them be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the light of a favor."

[135] τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σὺν ἀνατάσει τε καὶ ὀρμῇ βαρυτέρᾳ, γίγνεται δόγμα, ἡσυχάζοντων ἤδη καὶ ἀγαπώντων ἀπάντων, φόνου μὲν οὐκ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, κύρια δὲ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, 'ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει.' ἐβίβασαντο γὰρ τόδε ἐς ἀσφάλειαν οἱ τῶν περισφωζομένων οἰκεῖοι προστεθῆναι μάλιστα, ὥς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνέδωκεν. ἐννημισμένων δὲ τούτων, ὅσοι τῶν κληρουχῶν ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἡξίου ἴδιον περὶ σφῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ δόγμα ἕτερον γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτῶν τὰς κληρουχίας. καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπιδεικνὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν φόβον. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτερον αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ὅμοιον: Λεύκιον δὲ Πείσωνα, ὅτῳ τὰς διαθήκας ὁ Καῖσαρ παρετίθετο, τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν τρόπον τῆς βουλῆς διαλελυμένης τινὲς περιστάντες παρεκάλουν μῆτε τὰς διαθήκας προφέρειν μῆτε θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα φανερώς, μὴ τι νεώτερον ἕτερον ἐκ τούτων γένοιτο. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον ἠπειλοῦν ἐσαγγέλλειν, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον οὐσίαν τηλικαύτην ἀφαιροῖτο γιγνομένην κοινήν, αὗτις ἄρα ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὴν τυραννίδα.

[135] When Antony had said these things with intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others remaining silent and agreeing, the following decree was passed: "There shall be no prosecution for the murder of Cæsar, but all of his acts and decrees are confirmed, because this policy is deemed advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Cæsar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to confirm their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate to pass it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Cæsar had made the custodian of his will and urged him not to make the will public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus

giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.

CHAPTER XIX

*Piso calls for the Reading of Cæsar's Will — Brutus addresses the People —
His Speech applauded*

[136] ἐκβοήσας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστον καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτι παροῦσάν οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιῶσας συναγαγεῖν, εἶπεν: ‘οἱ τύραννον λέγοντες ἔνα ἀνηρηκέναι τοσοῖδε ἡμῶν ἀνθ’ ἑνὸς ἤδη τυραννοῦσιν: οἱ θάπτειν με κωλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὰς διαθήκας ἀπειλοῦσι προφέροντι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δημεύουσιν αὐθις ὥς τυράννου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῶ πεπραγμένα κεκύρωται: ἃ δὲ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶ κατέλιπεν, ἀκυροῦσιν, οὐ Βροῦτος ἔτι οὐδὲ Κάσσιος, ἀλλ’ οἱ κἀκείνους ἐς τόνδε τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκριτίσαντες. τῆς μὲν οὖν ταφῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε κύριοι, τῶν δὲ διαθηκῶν ἐγώ: καὶ οὐποτε ἃ ἐπιστεύθην προδώσω, πρὶν καμὲ τις ἐπανεῖλη.’ θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως γενομένης παρὰ πάντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τι καὶ ἐλπίζόντων ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, τὰς τε διαθήκας ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔδοξε προφέρειν καὶ θάπτειν τὸν ἄνδρα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη.

[136] Then Piso called out with a loud voice and demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: “These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid the burying of a Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Cæsar’s acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to him. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder. Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been intrusted to me unless somebody kills me also.” This speech excited clamor and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was decreed that the will should be read in public and that Cæsar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned.

[137] Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος περιέπεμπον καὶ παρεκάλουν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. συνδραμόντων δὲ ὁξέως πολλῶν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν:

ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὃ πολῖται, οἱ χθὲς κατ’ ἀγορὰν ἐντυχόντες, οὔτε ὥς ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγόντες ‘οὐ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν’ οὔτε ὥς ἐπὶ κρημνόν, οἱ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ Κίinna πάθος, ὁξύτερόν τε καὶ ἀλογώτερον αὐτῶ γενόμενον, οὔτως ἠνάγκασεν. ἡσθόμην δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς ἐς ἐπιορκίαν καὶ ἐς αἰτίαν ἀπορίας εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοῦς. ἃ δὴ περὶ τούτων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐροῦμεν, ὃ πολῖται, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ τᾶλλα δημοκρατουμένων πράξομεν. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπὶ τὴν

πατρίδα ἤλασε σὺν ὅπλοις πολεμίοις καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ δημοκρατικώτατος ὑμῶν ἔπαθεν, οἷα ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἄλλο πολιτῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐλαυνόμενοι διωλώλεσαν, εἰκότως αὐτῷ δεδιότι καὶ βέβαιον ἔχοντι τὴν τυραννίδα ἀμνηστίαν αἰτοῦντι ἔδομεν καὶ ὠμόσαμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ὁμνύναι προσέταττεν οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα μόνον οἷσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐκόντας, τί ἂν ἔπραξαν οἱ νῦν ἐπιβουλευόντες ἡμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὄντας γε Ῥωμαίους οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἂν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν ἐκόντας ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ.

[137] When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: “ Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we intrust ourselves to you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whose help we shall do what remains to be done for the restoration of democratic government. After Gaius Cæsar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the most popular man among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Cæsar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly intrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present accusers have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude.

[138] εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν ἔτι εἰς δουλείαν εἰργάζετο ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπιωρκήσαμεν: εἰ δὲ οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας οὔτε στρατείας ἢ ἱερωσύνας ἢ κληρουχίας ἢ τιμὰς ἄλλας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν οὐδὲ προεβούλευεν ἢ βουλὴ περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἅπασιν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος καὶ οὐδὲ κόρος αὐτῷ τοῦ κακοῦ τις ἐγίγνετο, οἷος ἐγένετο Σύλλα, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθελὼν ἀπέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν πολιτείαν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ ἄλλην στρατείαν χρόνιον ἀπιὼν ἐς πενταετὲς ὑμῶν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια προελάμβανε, ποῖα ταῦτα ἦν ἐλευθερία, ἥς οὐδ' ἐλπίς ὑπεφαίνετο ἔτι; τί δὲ οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται Καισήτιος καὶ Μάρυλλος; οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἄρχοντες ἀρχὴν ἐξηλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει; καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὁ ὄρκος οὐδ' ἐπάγεσθαι δίκην ἔτι οὔσι δημάρχους ἐπιτρέπουσιν: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἐξήλασεν, οὐδὲ δίκην ἐπαγαγών.

πότεροι οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀσύλους ἡμάρτανον; ἢ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος, ὅτῳ

ταῦτα οὐχ ἐκόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σὺν ὅπλοις καὶ τοσοῦσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας κατακανεῖν, ἐθέμεθα: τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ὥμοσάν τε καὶ ἐπηράσαντο ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσσεσθαι; ποῦ δὲ οἱ φόροι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ λογισμοὶ συνεφέροντο; τίς δ' ἡμῶν ἀκόντων ἦνοιγε τὰ ταμιεῖα; τίς τῶν ἀψαύστων καὶ ἐπαράτων ἐκίνει χρημάτων καὶ ἐτέρῳ δημάρχῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἠπειλεί;

[138] “If Cæsar did no more against your liberty then are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership of colonies, nor any other posts of honor; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Cæsar’s command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Cæsar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his appointments your elections for five years), what sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope could be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Cæsetius and Marullus? Were not the incumbents of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Cæsar banished them even without a trial. Have we then, or has he, done violence to inviolable persons — unless you say that Cæsar was sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens? Did not our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion take an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so forever? What has become of the public tribute? What of the public accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who removed part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him?

[139] ἀλλὰ τίς, φασίν, ἔτι ὄρκος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης ἂν γένοιτο; εἰ μὲν οὐ τυραννήσει τις, οὐδὲ ὄρκων δεῖ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐδέχσεν οὐδέποτε: εἰ δ' ἐπιθυμήσει τις ἄλλος τυραννίδος, οὐδὲν πιστόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τύραννον οὐδ' εὐὸρκον. καὶ τὰδε προλέγομεν ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ προερούμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ: καὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τιμῇ παρὰ Καίσαρι τὴν πατρίδα τῆς ἡμετέρας τιμῆς προειμήσαμεν. διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κληρουχίαις, ἐρεθίζοντες ὑμᾶς. εἰ δὴ τινες τῶν ὥκισμένων ἢ οἰκισθησομένων πάρεστε, χαρίσασθέ μοι καὶ ἐπισημήνασθε ἑαυτοὺς.

[139] ““But what kind of an oath after this will be a guarantee of peace ?” they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never

needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we said before, while we were still in danger; this we will continue to say forever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honor securely at the hands of Cæsar, had a higher regard for our country than for our offices. They slander us about the colonies and so excite you against us. If there are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known."

[140] ἐπισημνηναμένων δὲ πολλῶν 'εὖ γε,' εἶπεν,

ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐποιήσατε συνελθόντες. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένους τε καὶ περιποιουμένους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ ἴσα τὴν ἐκτέμνουσαν ἀντιγεραίρειν. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Βρεττανοὺς τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ ἀριστεύοντας ἔδει τιμῶν καὶ ἀριστείων τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὄρκοις προλαβὼν ἐπήγαγε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν μάλ' ἀβουλοῦντας, ἐπήγαγε δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς Λιβύην ὀκνοῦντας ὁμοίως. εἰ μὴν δὲ μόνα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπέπρακτο, ἠδεύσθε ἂν ἴσως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτεῖν ἀριστεία: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἢ χρόνος ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη λήθη τὰ ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς ὑμῶν ἔργα σβέσει, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμῖν ἐστί τὰ ἀριστεία: ἃ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι στρατευομένοις ὁ δῆμος ἐδίδου, οἰκείων μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀναμαρτήτων οὐ ποτε γῆν ἀφαιρούμενος οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐπινέμων τὰ ἀλλότρια οὐδ' ἡγούμενος δεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι δι' ἀδικημάτων.

τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅτε κρατήσαιεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀφηροῦντο, ἀλλὰ ἐμερίζοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέρος ὥκισον τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν πεπολεμηκότων: καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἐνίστε τῆς δορικτήτου γῆς καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπένεμον ἢ ἐωνοῦντο ἑτέραν. οὕτω μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνώκιζεν ἀλύπως ἅπασι: Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ, οἱ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πατρίδι φρουρῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δεόμενοι, οὔτε διέλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, οὔτε γῆν ὑμῖν ἐωνοῦντο ἢ τὴν τῶν δεδημευμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπένεμον, οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφαιρούμενοις ἐς παρηγορίαν ἐδίδουσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ταμείων ἔχοντες, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεδημευμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἀδικουσαν πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ ληστηρίου νόμῳ τὴν τε γῆν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τάφους καὶ ἱερά, ὧν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πολεμίους ἀφηρούμεθα, ἀλλὰ δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν.

[140] A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, "Bravo, my men, you have done well to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honors and bounties from your country, to give her equal honor in return as she sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Cæsar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Cæsar, taking advantage of your military oath, led you against your country much against your will. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you

had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you shall have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not by taking land from your unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with new-comers, nor by considering it proper to requite your services by means of acts of injustice. When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public money. In this way the people colonized you without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Cæsar, who invaded their country like a foreign land and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. They took, by the law of war, — nay, by the practice of robbery, — from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we do not take away even from foreign enemies, except a mere tenth of their produce by way of tax.

[141] οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὁμοεθνῶν διένεμον, τῶν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάντων καὶ προπεμψάντων καὶ εὐξαμένων πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων νικητηρίων. καὶ συνώκιζον ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀθρόους ὑπὸ σημείοις καὶ συντάξει στρατιωτικῇ, μήτε εἰρηνεύειν δυναμένους μήτε ἀδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἐξελαθέντων· ὁ γὰρ ἀλώμενος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀφηρημένος ἔμελλεν ὑμῖν περιπολῶν ἐφεδρεῦειν καιροφυλακῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὅπερ οἱ τύραννοι μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο, οὐ γῆν ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν εἶχον παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθροὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔχοντες αἰεὶ βέβαιοι φύλακες ἦτε τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ταῦτα ὑμῖν συναδικούσης· εὖνοια γὰρ ἐς τυράννους γίγνεται δορυφόρων ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν καὶ συνδεδέναι. καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ θεοί, συνοικισμὸν ἐκάλουν, ὃ θρῆνος ὁμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ καὶ ἀνάστασις οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐχθροὺς ἐποίουν τοῖς ὁμοεθνήσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σφετέρου συμφέροντος· ἡμεῖς δέ, οὓς οἱ νῦν τῆς πατρίδος προστάται φασὶν ἐλέω περισφάζειν, τήν τε γῆν ὑμῖν τήνδε αὐτὴν ἐσαεὶ βεβαιοῦμεν καὶ βεβαιώσομεν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν τῶνδε ποιούμεθα. καὶ ἔχετε καὶ ἔχετε, ἃ εἰλήφατε· καὶ οὐ μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ἀφέληται ταῦτα, οὐ Βροῦτος, οὐ Κάσσιος, οὐχ οἶδε πάντες, οἱ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας προεκινδυνεύσαμεν. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπίμεμπτον, ἰασόμεθα ἡμεῖς, διαλλακτικόν ὑμῖν ἅμα ἐς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἐσόμενον καὶ ἥδιστον ἤδη πυθομένοις. οἷς τὴν τιμὴν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφορμῆς ἀποδώσομεν, ἵνα μὴ βέβαιον ἔχητε μόνον ὑμεῖς τὴν κληρουχίαν,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφθονον.

[141] “They divided among you the property of your own people, the very ones who sent you with Cæsar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who is driven out and deprived of his goods will always be watching his opportunity to ensnare you. This was the very thing that the tyrants sought to accomplish, — not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of common crimes and common fears. And this, ye gods, they call colonization, in which are common the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes. They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it forever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple. You have and shall keep what you have received. None of us will take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing wanting in this business we will supply — a reconciliation with your fellow-countrymen most agreeable to them now, as they hear that we shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred.”

[142] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βρούτου λέγοντος ἀκροώμενοί τε ἔτι πάντες καὶ διαλυόμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπὶ ἡνουν ὡς δικαιοῦτατα, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀκαταπλήκτους διὴ καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδήμους ἐν θαύματι ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐς εὖνοιαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετετίθεντο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοῖς συμπράξιν ἐμελλον. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν, καὶ ἀνεγινώσκετο αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ Κικέρων πολὺ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγκώμιον ἐπέλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ἡδόμενοι κατεκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον. καὶ οἶδε ἀναπέμειν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοσφδε ὄμηρα ἐκέλευον, καὶ ἀνεπέμποντο οἱ παῖδες Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου. ὁφθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον κρότος ἦν καὶ βοή, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν τι βουλομένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι δεξιώσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλαγήναι πρότερον ἐκέλευον. καὶ γίγνεται μὲν οὕτω, καὶ διεσεῖετο μάλιστα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡ γνώμη ὑπὸ δέους ἢ φθόνου, ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ὑπεροισόντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

[142] While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, and after the assembly was dissolved, his discourse was approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of

the people. The latter were favorably inclined toward them, and promised to coöperate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were delighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made their appearance they were received with shouts of applause, and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, which was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear and envy lest the conspirators should get the upper hand of them in other political matters.

CHAPTER XX

The Reading of Cæsar's Will — Antony's Funeral Oration — The Populace roused to Fury — The Murderers flee from the City

[143] διαθῆκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥφθησαν φερόμεναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατρίδος Ὀκταύσιος, τῷ δῆμῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὄντων ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα Ἀττικά δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο αὐθις ἐς ὀργὴν ὁ δῆμος, τυράννου μὲν κατηγορίας προπεπυσμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἀνδρὸς ὀρῶντες. οἰκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγγράπτο παῖς: ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαῖοις παραγράφειν τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἐτέρους, εἰ μὴ κληρονομοῖεν οἱ πρότεροι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταράσσοντο καὶ δεινὸν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγοῦντο καὶ Δέκμον ἐπιβουλεύσαι Καίσαρι, παῖδα αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πείσωνος τὸ σῶμα φέροντος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλῆθός τε ἄπειρον ἐς φρουρὰν συνέδραμον σὺν ὅπλοις, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ πομπῆς δαυιλοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα προυτέθη, οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ θρήνος ἦν αὐθις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπατάγουσιν οἱ ὀπλισμένοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἔχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ ἡρημένος εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἷα ὑπάτος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενῆς συγγενοῦς ἦν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενῆς· ἐτέχναζεν αὐθις καὶ ἔλεγεν ὧδε.

[143] Cæsar's will was now produced and the people ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavius, the grandson of his sister, was adopted by Cæsar. His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas. The people were again stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Cæsar when he had been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Cæsar's body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent display placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to Cæsar on his

mother's side), resumed his artful design and spoke as follows: —

[144] “Οὐκ ἄξιον, ὦ πολῖται, τοσοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον παρ’ ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, ἐνὸς ὄντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅλης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. ὅσα δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἀγάμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος, ἔτι περιόντι ἐψηφίσασθε, ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐκ Ἀντωνίου τάδε φωνὴν εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀναγνώσομαι.” καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ σοβαρῶ καὶ σκυθρωπῶ, τῇ φωνῇ δ’ ἐνσημαινόμενος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιστάμενος, οἷς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξεθείαζον, ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἢ πατέρα πατρίδος ἢ εὐεργέτην ἢ προστάτην οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῇ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δὲ πού τι καὶ βραχὺ ἐκάστῳ, μεμιγμένον οἴκτῳ καὶ ἀγανακτήσει, ἔνθα μὲν τὸ ψηφισμα εἶποι ‘πατέρα πατρίδος,’ ἐπιλέγων: ‘τοῦτο ἐπικεικίας ἐστὶ μαρτυρία,’ ἔνθα δ’ ἦν ‘ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος’ καὶ ‘ἀπαθῆς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος προσφύγοι,’ ‘οὐχ ἕτερος,’ ἔφη, “τῷδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρηται, οὐ βιασάμενος οἷα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμὰς, ἃς οὐδὲ ἤτησεν. ἀνελευθερώτατοι δὲ ἄρα ἡμεῖς, οἱ τοιάδε τοῖς ἀναξίοις οὐδὲ αἰτοῦσι δίδομεν. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ὑπεραπολογεῖσθε ὥς οὐκ ἀνελευθέρων, ὧ πιστοὶ πολῖται, τοιαύτη καὶ νῦν πρὸς τεθνεῶτα χρώμενοι τιμῇ.”

[144] “It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral oration of so great a man should be pronounced by me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive — the Senate and the people acting together — I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own.” Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Cæsar to be superhuman, sacred, and inviolable, and which named him the father of his country, or the benefactor, or the chieftain without a peer. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Cæsar’s corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Cæsar as the father of his country he added that this was a testimonial of his clemency; and again, where he was made sacred and inviolable and everybody else was to be held unharmed who should find refuge with him,—“Nobody,” said Antony, “who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honors from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most servile are we if we give such honors to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of servility by paying such honors as you now pay to the dead.”

[145] καὶ αὖθις ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὅρκους, ἧ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα παντὶ σθένει πάντας ἢ, εἴ τις ἐπιβουλευέσειεν, ἐξώλεις εἶναι

τοὺς οὐκ ἀμύναντας αὐτῷ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιτείνας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασχών, 'ἐγὼ μὲν,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ Ζεῦ πάτριε καὶ θεοί, ἔτοιμος ἀμύνειν ὡς ὧμοσα καὶ ἡρασάμην: ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις δοκεῖ συνοίσειν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, συνενεγκεῖν εὐχομαι.' θορύβου δ' ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα προφανῶς ἐς αὐτὴν εἰρημένῳ γενομένου, ἐπικαταπήχων αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ παλινῳδῶν ἔφη:

ἔοικεν, ὦ πολῖται, τὰ γεγενημένα ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ του δαιμόνων ἔργα εἶναι. καὶ χρὴ τὸ παρὸν σκοπεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ γεγενημένον, ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ μεγάλων ἐστὶ κινδύνων ἡμῖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ τὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐς τὰς προτέρας στάσεις ὑπαχθῶμεν καὶ ἐκτριφθῇ πᾶν, ὃ τι λοιπόν ἐστιν εὐγενὲς τῇ πόλει. προπέμπωμεν οὖν τὸν ἱερὸν τόνδε ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας, τὸν νενομισμένον ὕμνον αὐτῷ καὶ θρῆνον ἐπάδοντες.

[145] Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Cæsar and Cæsar's body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so." A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony quieted them again and recanted, saying, "It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting our accustomed hymn of lamentation for him."

[146] τοιάδε εἰπὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἷά τις ἔνθους ἀνεσύρατο, καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὐκόλον, τὸ λέχος ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς περιέστη κατακύπτων τε ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὕμνει καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἔθνη, ὅσα προσποιήσεται τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν: 'μόνος ὃδε ἀήττητος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ συνελθόντων. σὺ δ', ' ἔφη, 'καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ὑβρισμένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, ἄγρια ἔθνη τὰ μόνα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐμβαλόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλόν.' πολλὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιθειάσας τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ θρηνῶδες ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου μετεποίει καὶ ὡς φίλον ἄδικα παθόντα ὠδύρετο καὶ ἔκλαιε καὶ ἡρᾶτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐθέλειν ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς Καίσαρος.

εὐφορώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸ πάθος ἐκφερόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ

πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος οἷα χορὸς αὐτῷ πενθιμώτατα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὐθις ὀργῇ ἐνεπίπλατο. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἕτεροι θρήνοι μετὰ ὥδῃς κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ χορῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤδοντο καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐθις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος κατέλεγον καὶ πού τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐν θαύματι: 'ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τούσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με,' οὐκ ἔφερεν ἔτι ὁ δῆμος, ἐν παραλόγῳ ποιούμενος τὸ πάντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφαγέας χωρὶς μόνου Δέκμου, αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου στάσεως γενομένους, ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων προαχθέντας ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, Δέκμον δὲ καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ θετὸν ἀξιοθεῖναι γενέσθαι.

[146] Having spoken thus,, he gathered up his garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and sang first as to a celestial deity. In order to testify to Cæsar's godlike origin, he raised his hands to heaven and with rapid speech recited his wars, his battles, his victories, the nations he had brought under his country's sway, and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, "Thou alone hast come forth unvanquished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the out-rage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome." Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and prayed that his own life might be given in exchange for Cæsar's. Carried away by extreme passion he uncovered the body of Cæsar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus, mourned with him in the most lugubrious manner, and from sorrow became again filled with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Cæsar himself was supposed to speak, recounting the benefits he had conferred on his enemies by name, and speaking of the murderers themselves, exclaiming, as it were, " Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me!" The people could endure it no longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all the murderers who, with the single exception of Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Cæsar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed by him worthy of adoption as his son.

[147] ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ

λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον: τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑώρατο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντῃ, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ δῆμος οἰκτίστην σφίσι φανεῖσαν οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν ἀνῶμωξάν τε καὶ διαζωσάμενοι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔνθα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐκφυγόντας πρὸ πολλοῦ περιθέοντες ἐζήτουν, οὕτω δὴ μανιωδῶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τε καὶ λύπης, ὥστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίνναν ἐξ ὁμωνυμίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κίννα, τοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τε περὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, διέσπασαν θηριωδῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθη. πῦρ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οἰκίας ἔφερον, καὶ καρτερῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τε ἀμυνομένων καὶ τῶν γειτόνων δεομένων τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἀπέσχοντο, ὅπλα δ' ἠπέλιψαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οἴσειν.

[147] While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Cæsar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, which gave him a shocking appearance. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding themselves, they burned the senate-chamber where Cæsar was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the murderers, who had fled some time previously. They were so mad with rage and grief that like wild beasts they tore in pieces the tribune Cinna on account of his similarity of name to the praetor Cinna who had made a speech against Cæsar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the similiarity of name, so that no part of him was ever found for burial. They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbors besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following day.

[148] καὶ οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς ἐξέφυγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαλαθόντες, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπανελθὼν ἔφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς εὐαγὲς θάψαι τε ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ μετὰ θεῶν θέσθαι. κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐθις ἔθεσαν, ἔνθα τὸ πάλαϊ Ῥωμαίοις ἔστι βασιλείον, καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάθρα, ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο συνεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαψιλεστάτην οὖσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἔνιοι παρ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες, ἐξῆψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον, ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἀξιουμένου: ὁ γάρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάουιος, τὸ τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ' ἵχνος ἐκείνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσιών, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔτι νῦν, ἐρριζωμένην ὑπ' ἐκείνου, μειζόνως ἐκρατύνετο καὶ τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἡζίωσεν: ὧν δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἐξ ἐκείνου πρώτου, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκάστοτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἄρχοντα, ἢ μὴ τύχῃ τυραννικὸς ὧν ἢ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀποθανόντα ἀξιοῦσιν, οἱ πρότερον

οὐδὲ περιόντας αὐτοὺς ἔφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.

[148] The murderers fled from the city secretly. The people returned to Cæsar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where in the olden time stood the palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together sticks of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected, but now there stands the temple of Cæsar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honors; for Octavius, his son by adoption, who took the name of Cæsar, and, following in the footsteps of the latter in political matters, greatly strengthened the government founded by Cæsar, and which remains to this day, decreed divine honors to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honors to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings while living.

CHAPTER XXI

Comparison of Cæsar with Alexander

[149] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς καλοῦσιν εἰδοῖς Μαρτίαις, Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μάλιστα μέσου, ἣν τινα ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ὁ μάντις οὐ περιοίσειν προύλεγεν· ὁ δ' ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ἔφη περὶ τὴν ἑω: 'πάρειςιν αἱ εἰδοί.' καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἀλλὰ οὐ παρεληλύθασιν,' ὁ δὲ καὶ τοιῶνδε προαγορεύσεων αὐτῷ σὺν τοσῷδε τοῦ μάντεως θάρσει γενομένων καὶ σημείων ὧν προεῖπον ἐτέρων ὑπεριδὼν προῆλθε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτος ἄγων ἕκτον ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχέστατος ἐς πάντα καὶ δαιμόνιος καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ εἰκότως ἐξομοιούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἄμφω γὰρ ἐγενέσθην φιλοτιμοτάτω τε πάντων καὶ πολεμικωτάτω καὶ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχυτάτω πρὸς τε κινδύνους παραβολωτάτω καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφειδεστάτω καὶ οὐ στρατηγία πεποιθότε μᾶλλον ἢ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ. ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄνδρὸν τε πολλὴν ἐς Ἄμμωνος ὤδευεν ὥρα καύματος, καὶ τὸν Παμφύλιον κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακοπέισης διέτρεχε δαιμονίως, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαίμονος κατέχοντος, ἔστε παρέλθοι, καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὀδεύοντι ὕοντος. ἀπλώτου τε θαλάσσης ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀπεπείρασε, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρῶτος ἀνέβη καὶ ἐς πολεμίων τεῖχος ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ τρισκαίδεκα τραύματα ὑπέστη. καὶ ἀήττητος αἰεὶ γενόμενος ἐνὶ σχεδὸν ἡ δύο ἔργοις ἕκαστον πόλεμον ἐξήνυσε, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἐλὼν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρῳσάμενος, δυσαρκτότατον ἔθνος καὶ φιλελεύθερον καὶ οὐδενὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλην Φιλίππῳ κατ' εὐπρέπειαν ἐς ἡγεμονίαν πολέμου δόξασαν ὑπακούειν ἐπ' ὀλίγον· τὴν δὲ Ἀσίαν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ὅλην ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὥς λόγῳ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην καὶ δύναμιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσῃν εἶδε γῆν, ἐκτήσατο καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐνθυμούμενός τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἀπέθανε.

[149] So died Gaius Cæsar on the so-called Ides of March, which correspond nearly with the middle of the Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer predicted that he should not survive. Cæsar jokingly said to him early in the morning, "Well, the Ides have come," and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, "But they are not past." Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsayer, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Cæsar went on his way and was killed, being fifty-six years of age. He was a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia against a head sea successfully. A god restrained the waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. In India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he

was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered many barbarians in Europe and made himself master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war. He overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he saw, and died while he was devising means to capture the rest.

[150] Καίσαρι δὲ ἢ τε Ἰόνιος θάλασσα εἶξε, χειμῶνος μέσου πλωτὴ καὶ εὖδιος γενομένη, καὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν ἐπὶ Βρεττανοὺς διέπλευσεν οὐπω γεγόμενον ἐν πείρα, κρημνοῖς τε τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐποκέλλοντας ἐκέλευε τὰς ναῦς περιαγνύναι. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον κλύδωνα μόνος ἐν σκάφει σμικρῷ νυκτὸς ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευε προχέαι τὰ ἱστία καὶ θαρρεῖν τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἐς τε πολεμίους προεπῆδησε μόνος ἐκ πάντων δεδιότων πολλακίς, καὶ τριακοντάκις αὐτὸς ἐν Κελτοῖς μόνος παρετάζετο, μέχρι τετρακόσια αὐτῶν ἐχειρώσατο ἔθνη, οὕτω δὲ τι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφοβα, ὡς νόμῳ τῷ περὶ ἀστρατείας ἱερέων καὶ γερόντων ἐγγραφῆναι 'πλὴν εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι'. τότε δὲ καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἱερέας στρατεύεσθαι. περὶ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολέμων καὶ ἀποληφθεὶς ἐπὶ γεφύρας μόνος καὶ κακοπαθὼν τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέρριψε καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξήλατο καὶ ζητούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων ἐν τῷ μυχῷ διενήχετο λανθάνων ἐπὶ πολὺ, μόνην ἐκ διαστήματος ἀνίσχων τὴν ἀναπνοήν, μέχρι φιλία νηὶ προσπελάσας ὥρεξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξε καὶ περιεσώθη.

ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐμφύλια τάδε ἢ διὰ δέος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ἢ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία συμπεσόν, στρατηγοῖς τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις συνηνέχθη καὶ στρατοῖς πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις, οὐ βαρβάρων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμαζόντων μάλιστα εὐπραξίαις καὶ τύχαις: καὶ ἀπάντων ἐκράτησε, διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ὅδε πείρας ἐκάστων ἢ διὰ δύο, οὐ μὴν ἀηττήτου καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἡττῶντο λαμπρῶς, ὅθ' ἡ μεγάλη σφᾶς συμφορὰ κατέλαβε Κόττα καὶ Τιτυρίου στρατηγούντων, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πετρήιος αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀφράνιος συνέκλεισαν οἷα πολιορκουμένους, ἐν τε Δυρραχίῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ λαμπρῶς ἔφευγον καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον κατεπλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ ἐς παντὸς πολέμου τέλος ἀήττητος: τήν τε Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύν, γῆς ἤδη καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκ δύσεων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην κρατοῦσαν, ἐχειρώσατο βίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπία πολὺ βεβαιότερον καὶ πολὺ ἐγκρατέστερον Σύλλα βασιλέα τε αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἀκόντων, εἰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐκ ἐδέχετο. καὶ πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ ὅδε διανοούμενος ἀνῆρέθη.

[150] The Adriatic Sea yielded to Cæsar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces

by running them on the rocks of the British coast. He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Cæsar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment an exception was made of a Gallic war, in case of which priests and old men were required to serve in the army. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment, leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy, swam under water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he came near a friendly ship, when he made himself known by raising his hands, and was saved. In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces were not, like Alexander's, always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by young Pompey. But Cæsar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by good-will, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

[151] συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὁμοίως πρόθυμα μὲν ἐς ἄμφω καὶ μετὰ εὐνοίας γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς μάχας θηριώδεσιν εἰκότα, δυσπειθῇ δὲ πολλακίς ἑκατέρῳ καὶ πολυστασίαστα διὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἀποθανόντας γε μὴν ὁμοίως ὠδύραντο καὶ ἐπεπόθησαν καὶ θεῶν τιμῶν ἡξίωσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς ἄμφω καὶ καλοί. καὶ τὸ γένος ἐκ Διὸς ἦσθην ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Αἰακίδης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ὁ δὲ ἅπ' Ἀγχίσου τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. φιλονικότεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐξερίζουσιν ὄντες ταχύτατοι πρὸς διαλύσεις ἦσαν καὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συγγνώμῃ καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ κρατῆσαι μόνον ἐνθυμούμενοι.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον συγκεκρίσθω, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμήσαντος αὐτῶν ἑατέρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ βασιλείας ἡσκημένης ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, τοῦ δ' ἐξ ιδιωτείας, εὐγενοῦς μὲν καὶ περιφανοῦς, χρημάτων δὲ πάνυ ἐνδεοῦς.

[151] Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honors. Both were well-formed and handsome in person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Æacus and Hercules, Cæsar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer. Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Cæsar from a private station, well born and illustrious indeed, but very short of money.

[152] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ σημείων τῶν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἑκάτερος ὑπερόπτης καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τὴν τελευτὴν προειποῦσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπησαν, καὶ τὰ σημεία αὐτὰ ὁμοιά τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν συνηνέχθη: ἐγένετο γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ δις ἄλοβα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κίνδυνον σφαλερὸν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις, ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τῆς κλίμακος συντριβείσης ἀποληφθέντι τε ἄνω, καὶ ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαλομένῳ καὶ πληγέντι τὰ στέρνα χαλεπῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον ὑπὲρ βαρυτάτῳ, καὶ πίπτοντι ἤδη καὶ περισωθέντι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναρρηζάντων τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ περιφόβου τε ὄντος ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τῷ νέῳ καὶ ὀκνοῦντος ἐς μάχην ἰέναι, προδραμόντι πάντων ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον καὶ διακόσια ἀναδεξαμένῳ δόρατα ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα, μέχρι καὶ τόνδε ὁ στρατὸς ἐπιδραμὼν ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ φόβου περιέσωσεν. οὕτῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δευτέρα δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αὐτόν. Πειθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὁ μάντις Ἀπολλοδώρῳ δεδοικότε Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα θυόμενος εἶπε μὴ δεδιέναι, ἐκποδῶν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτίκα ἔσεσθαι: καὶ τελευτήσαντος εὐθύς Ἡφαιστίωνος ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἔδεισε, μὴ τις ἐπιβουλὴ γένοιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ Πειθαγόραν αὐτὸν ἤρετο, ὃ τι λέγοι τὸ σημεῖον: τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὰ ὕστατα λέγει, αὐθις ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὅμως Ἀπολλοδώρόν τε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν μάντιν τῆς παρρησίας.

[152] Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the sooth-sayers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a liver, and the first time it indicated a doubtful danger. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracæ and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down

the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Cæsar in Spain while his army was in great fear of young Pompey, and hesitated to join battle. Cæsar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, rushed forward and rescued him. Thus in the case of each the first victims without livers presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. As Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephæstion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephæstion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech.

[153] Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον βουλευτήριον ἐσιόντι, καθά μοι πρὸ βραχέος εἴρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα γίνεταί· καὶ χλευάσας ἔφη τοιαῦτά οἱ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γεγονέναι. τοῦ δὲ μάντεως εἰπόντος καὶ τότε αὐτὸν κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον ἔχειν τὸ σημεῖον, ἐνδούς τι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐθύετο ὅμως αὐτῆς, μέχρι βραδυνόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱερῶν δυσχεράνας ἐσηλθε καὶ ἀνηρέθη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνέπεσεν. ἐπανίοντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πλησιάζοντα ἤδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἱαμβεῖον εἰπόντος, ὅτι 'μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,' δευτέρα γοῦν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι παρεκάλουν μὴ ἐς δύσιν ὀρῶντα μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιοδεῦσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν λαβεῖν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. ὁ δ' ἐς τοῦτο μὲν ἐνδύναι λέγεται καὶ ἐπιχειρήσαι περιοδεῦσαι, λίμνη δὲ καὶ ἔλει δυσχεραίνων καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μαντεύματος καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δύσιν ὀρῶν. ἐσελθὼν γε μὴν καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Παλλακότταν, ὃς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπολαμβάνων ἐς ἔλη καὶ λίμνας ἐκφέρει καὶ κωλύει τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδεν, — ἐπινοοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον διατειγίσαι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκπλέοντά φασιν ἐπιτωθᾶσαι τοῖς Χαλδαίοις, ὅτι σῶος ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐσέλθοι τε καὶ ἐκπλέοι. ἔμελλε δ' ἐπανελθὼν αὐτίκα ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνήξασθαι. ἐπετώθασε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁμοίᾳ. τοῦ γὰρ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς προειπόντος, ὅτι μὴ περιοίσει τὰς Μαρτίας εἰδούς, ἐλθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἔφη, τὸν μάντιν χλευάζων, ὅτι πάρεσιν αἱ εἰδοί· καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅμως ἀπέθανεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σημεῖα τὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐχλεύασαν ὁμοίως, καὶ τοῖς προειποῦσιν αὐτὰ μάντεσιν οὐκ ἐχάλεπνεν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὅμως ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μαντευμάτων.

[153] As Cæsar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded

somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was killed. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, "He who guesses right is the best prophet." Again, the Chaldeans urged him not to march his army into the city while looking toward the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being bothered by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation and navigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dyke this stream and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But scarcely had he returned back to it when he died. Cæsar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Cæsar mocked him saying, "The Ides have come "; and the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsayers who uttered them, yet they became the inevitable victims of the prophecies.

[154] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τῆς τε πατρίου καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ξένης, φιλόκαλοι, τὰ μὲν Ἰνδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξετάζων τοὺς Βραχμῆνας, οἱ δοκοῦσιν Ἰνδῶν εἶναι μετεωρολόγοι τε καὶ σοφοὶ καθὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι, τὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος καθίστατο Κλεοπάτραν. ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις διωρθώσατο καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώμαλον ἔτι ὄντα διὰ τοὺς ἔσθ' ὅτε μῆνας ἐμβολίμους 'κατὰ γὰρ σελήνην αὐτοῖς ἡριθμεῖτο ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμον μετέβαλεν, ὥς ἦγον Αἰγύπτιοι. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλευσάντων μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν, καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς Φίλιππον ἀνελόντας. ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν, αἱ ἐξῆς βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν.

[154] Both were students of the science and arts of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the Persians. Cæsar likewise interrogated the Egyptians while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans. He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Cæsar changed it to the sun's course, as the Egyptians reckoned it. It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but

all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show. MARK ANTONY In the Vatican Museum, Rome

BOOK 3

οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ πλείστου Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο: ἀπάντων δὲ
αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν,
ἦδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
Ῥωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο ὁμοῦ.

CHAPTER I

The City after Cæsar's Funeral — Antony puts the False Marius to Death — He deceives the Senate — He falsifies Cæsar's Decrees — Brutus and Cassius leave the City — Dolabella appointed Governor of Syria and Antony Governor of Macedonia

I. **THUS** was Gaius Cæsar, who had been foremost in extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them.

[2] Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλὴ δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χालεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τοιῷδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὖνοιαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἀματίος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο υἱωνὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ. γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενῆς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπωκοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν αἰετὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὁμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικὴν, Τρεβόνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιθυνίαν· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ βουλῇ διέφερεν, ἤρηντο μὲν καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βροῦτος, ἔτι δὲ ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ ... ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἷα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθεράπευον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχήματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου κωλύοντος ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι.

[2] The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration over Cæsar, by which, chiefly, the people were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Cæsar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and made himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of provinces from Cæsar himself had gone away to take charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul,

Trebonius to Asia adjoining Ionia, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special favorites of the Senate, had been chosen by Cæsar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. Being still city prætors, they remained there necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years.

[3] τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγετο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἷα ὑπατος συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν Ἀμάτιον χωρὶς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἐθαύμαζεν ὥς μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιοῦντο ἥδιστα· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρὶς τοιαύσδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ τὰ κατὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀματίου στασιῶται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις πόθω τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράχει ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, οὐκ ἡξίου σφῶν καταφρονεῖν· τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρῶτους. ἐξελαυνόμενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον τε ἠγανάκτουν καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἔδρας ἔνιοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυν ἀνηρημένων. ὥς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δεῖξιν, εὐθὺς εἶποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπίμψαν, ἕως ἐτέρων ἐπιτεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοι τε ἀνηρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ κατερρίφησαν.

[3] It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On the rumor of this plot, Antony, using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they enjoyed it exceedingly because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honored, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming against Antony and called on the magistrates, in place of Amatius, to dedicate the altar and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Cæsar. Having been driven out of the forum by soldiers sent by Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Cæsar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show a shop where the statues had been broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and

of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the Tarpeian rock.

[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαντο, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητον ἐξ ἄρρητου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγήγερτο. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἔχαιρον ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρως ἐν ἄδεϊ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον γενόμενοι. ὥς δὲ καὶ Σέξστον Πομπήιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου περιποθήτου πᾶσιν ἔτι ὄντος, εἰσηγήσατο καλεῖν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν, ἀντί τε τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας δεδημευμένης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἕκαστα ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ προθυμίας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ ὅλην εὐφήμερον ἡμέραν: οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικώτερος, ὅθεν οὐδὲ περιποθητότερος ἦν. ὁ τε Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Βρούτος, ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πᾶσι τότε τιμωτάτῳ, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐδόκουν ἔξειν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὧν ἐπεπράχσαν ἐγκρατῇ, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχύσεως. ἃ καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον: καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συγγινώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον ἔδωκε φρουρὰν περιστήσασθαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδιημούντων ἐαυτῷ καταλέγοντα.

[4] So this tumult was quieted. The extreme fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that Brutus and his associates could not rest secure otherwise. Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still at war with Cæsar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50,000,000 of Attic drachmas out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody, in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and the ones most honored by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what they had done would be confirmed, and the republic be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually, and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city.

[5] ὁ δέ, εἴτε εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχὼς εἴτε τὴν συντυχίαν ὥς εὐχρηστον ἀσπασάμενος τὴν φρουρὰν κατέλεγεν, αἰεὶ προστιθείς μέχρι ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὀπλιτῶν, οὓς εὐμαρῶς ἂν ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖς ᾤετο ἔξειν καὶ

ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα λοχαγούς ὡς ἡγεμονικούς τε καὶ ἐμπειροπολέμους καὶ οἱ γνωρίμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι: ταξιάρχους δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πρέποντα κόσμον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήσας ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ κοινωνοῦς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενοι συνεβούλευον τὴν φρουρὰν ὡς ἐπίφθονον ἐς τὸ ἄρκουιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσιν, ὅταν σβέσῃ τοῦ δήμου τὸ παραχῶδες. ἐψηφισμένον δ' εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα Καίσαρι πέπρακτό τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξιὼν ἀνέτιθετο, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς: καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πᾶσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, τὴν δὲ χάριν οἱ λαβόντες ἥδεσαν Ἀντωνίῳ. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῇ βουλῇ δι' ἄρεσκειας ἔπρασεν, ἵνα μὴ φθονοῖεν ἔτι τῆς φρουρᾶς.

[5] Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter for his service otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through service under Cæsar. He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honor and made sharers of his public councils. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Cæsar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Cæsar's intentions were in Antony's possession, and Cæsar's secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Cæsar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony's discretion. Antony made many additions in order to secure the favor of many persons. He made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own guards, and although all were advised that these were Cæsar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew that the favor was due to Antony. In the same way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards.

[6] καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὔτε τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐξεστρατευμένων εἰρηναίου φανέντος, οὔτε τὴν ἐνέδραν Ἀματίου καὶ παρ' ἑτέρου ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι, οὔτε τὸ ποικίλον Ἀντωνίου φέροντες ἀφόβως, ἤδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὔτε τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιουμένην ἔργοις ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς

τοῦτο ὑφορώμενοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐπεποίησαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραῖς τρία τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβώνιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ἐς Βιθυνίαν κρύφα ἔπεμπον χρήματα ἀγεῖρην ἀφανῶς καὶ στρατὸν περιβλέπεσθαι. αὐτοὶ τε ἠπείγοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔθνων λαβέσθαι. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ οὕτω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, τὴν ἐν ἄστει στρατηγίαν προλιπόντες ἀτελεῖ, δόξαν ὑποπτον φιλαρχίας ἔθνων ἐνέγκασθαι, ἡροῦντο ὁμως ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα διατριῖναι ποι μᾶλλον ιδιωτεύοντες ἢ ἐν ἄστει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε ἀφόβως ἔχοντες οὔτε τὰ εἰκότα ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεπράχσαν τιμώμενοι. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἡ βουλή συνειδυῖα τὴν γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῇ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἐξ ὅσης δύναιτο γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἔθνων τῆς στρατηγίας καταλάβοι.

καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα μή ποτε Βροῦτος ἢ Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοῖεν: τοσῆδε αὐτῶν φροντίς ἦν ἅμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σφαγεῦσι διὰ τοῦσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανον:

[6] While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatus, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command. Seeing that the republic was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also. They reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by. They sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Cæsar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city prætors unfinished, and that they should incur the suspicion of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as prætors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honor corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. Being in this state of mind, and the Senate holding the same opinion as themselves, the latter gave them charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world until the time should arrive for them to take command of their provinces. This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have fled. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their account.

[7] ἐξελθόντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἐπὶ δυναστείας ὦν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤδη μοναρχικῆς ἀρχὴν ἔθνους καὶ στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ περιέβλεπε: καὶ Συρίας μὲν ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα, οὐκ ἡγνόμεν δὲ ὦν δι' ὑπονοίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσόμενος, εἴ τι αἰτοίῃ: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον

ἐπῆλειπεν εἰς ἐναντίωσιν ἡ βουλὴ, διάφορον αἰεὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οὖν τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, νέον τε καὶ φιλότιμον εἰδώς, ἔπεισεν αἰτεῖν Συρίαν ἀντὶ Κασσίου καὶ τὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους κατειλεγμένον στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὅτι γὰρ ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσθεὶς αὐτίκα προυτίθει τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἔφη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετράφθαι, Κάσσιον δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἀξιοθέντα αὐτόν τι τῶν Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλεῖν τὰ κληρουχήματα τοῖς λαβοῦσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν: καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αἰδεῖσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἀξιούμενος, Δολοβέλλας ὦν, πρὸ Κασσίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ Ἀσπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσημείας, ἐλπίσαντές τι καὶ Ἀντώνιον συμπράξειν, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῶν σημείων ἱερέα καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ: ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὔσης ὁ Ἀσπρήνας ἔφη διοσημείαν ἀπαίσιον γεγενέσθαι, ἔθους ὄντος ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τοῦτο πέμπεσθαι, πάννυχος χαλεπόμενος τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν περὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.

[7] After Brutus and Cassius had left the city, Antony, being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as the former had always been at variance with the latter. Antony, knowing that this young Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it, but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Cæsar. He replied that Cæsar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody, and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Cæsar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also that it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella, were not chosen for Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to falsify the signs in the sky during the comitia, expecting that Antony, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would coöperate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavorable, as it was not his business to attend to this, THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS Vatican Museum (Duruy)

Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella.

[8] καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτω Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Δολοβέλλα καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθυαίους καὶ στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατειλεγμένης, ὅση τε περὶ Μακεδονίαν προεληλύθει, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τότε πρῶτον ἐγνωστο συμπράσσωσιν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. γεγεννημένων δὲ τῶνδε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤτει Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι αἰδέσονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθεῖσαν Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἀντειπεῖν περὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ταῦτα γυμνῆς στρατοῦ γενομένης. καὶ ἔδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν θαύματι ἔχοντες, ὅπως τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατὸν προμεθῆκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἡγάπων δὲ ὅμως Δολοβέλλαν ἔχειν τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον. ἐν καιρῷ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀντήτουν ἕτερα ἔθνη, καὶ ἐδόθη Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη, ὥς δ' ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, τάδε μὲν ἀμφοτέρω Κασσίῳ, Βιθυνία δὲ Βρούτῳ.

[8] Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Cæsar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was coöperating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an army. They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius. They assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus. Such was the state of affairs at Rome.

CHAPTER II

The Young Octavius in Apollonia — He comes to Italy — Cæsar's Soldiers receive him gladly — He moves toward Rome — He resolves to avenge Cæsar — He visits Antony and reads him a Lecture — Antony's Reply

[9] τὰ μὲν δὴ γινόμενα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοιαύδε ἦν: Ὀκτάουιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατρίδος ἵππαρχος μὲν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγέννητο πρὸς ἓν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφέρων ἐτήσιον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι, μειράκιον δὲ ἔτι ὢν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐψόμενος αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἰπέων ἴλαι παραλλὰξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιούσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος θαμινὰ ἐπεφοίτων. γνῶσίς τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὖνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι δεξιουμένῳ πάντας. ἕκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρημένος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πρὸς τῶν φιλάτων καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδενὸς ἀπαγγελθέντος πω δέος αὐτὸν ἐπέιχε καὶ ἄγνοια, εἴτε κοινὸν εἴη τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἔργον εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἴδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοῖς πλείοσι δεδῶκοιεν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε εἶεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνήδοιτο.

[9] Octavius, the son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister, had been appointed master of Cæsar's horse for one year, for Cæsar at times made this a yearly office, passing it around among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Cæsar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Cæsar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Cæsar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening that Cæsar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to him, and were then the most powerful ones under him. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether they had already been punished by the people, or would be, or whether the people were pleased with what had been done.

[10] ἐφ' οἷς οἱ φίλοι ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπετίθεντο ταῦτα, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατὸν καταφυγεῖν καί, ὅτε μάθοι μὴ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιθαρρήσαντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα φυλάξειν ὑπεδέχοντο: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἔγραφον μήτε

ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε θαρρεῖν πω μεμνημένον, οἷα Καῖσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τῶν φιλάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ιδιωτικώτερα ὥς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀκινδυνότερα αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. οἷς Ὀκτάουιος ἐνδοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔτι ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ γενομένων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ δεξιωσάμενος διέπλει τὸν Ἰόνιον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ὅπως γάρ τινα τοῦ ἐκεῖθι στρατοῦ πεῖραν εἰληφὼς πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο, ἀλλ' ἐς ἑτέραν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, ἐκτὸς οὕσαν ὁδοῦ, ἣ ὄνομα Λουπία. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνηυλίσατο διατρίβων.

[10] Thereupon his Roman friends advised him to take refuge with the army in Macedonia to insure his personal safety, and that when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction he should take courage and avenge Cæsar of his enemies; and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Cæsar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavius yielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Cæsar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Adriatic, not to Brundisium (for as he had made no test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiæ. There he took lodgings and remained for a while.

[11] ὥς δέ οἱ τὰ τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἦλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἡξίουσαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, υἱὸν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρῆνουν ἅμα τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν θέσιν ἀπέπασθαι: ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἦει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενος, μή τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἷα Καίσαρος υἱὸν δεξιούμενος ἀπήντα, θαρρήσας ἔθυε καὶ εὐθύς ὠνομάζετο Καῖσαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμένων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πατρῶον ὅλως ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ Ὀκταοίου παιδὸς Ὀκταοίου Καῖσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καίσαρος υἱός, καὶ διετέλεσεν οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθύς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθρουν καὶ πανταχόθεν ὥς ἐς Καίσαρος υἱὸν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕτεροι στρατιῶται σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευὰς ἢ χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτερα χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον.

[11] When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Cæsar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Cæsar, as

he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Cæsar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundisium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Cæsar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of Cæsar; for it is customary among the Romans for the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Cæsar the son of Cæsar, instead of Octavius the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Cæsar's son, some from friendship to Cæsar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them other soldiers, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundisium.

[12] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ πάντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ θαρρῶν ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν ἀξιολόγῳ πλήθει, αὐξομένῳ μᾶλλον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας οἷα χειμάρρῳ, φανεραῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλῇς ὧν ἀμείνων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα ὑφορώμενος, ἀρτιγνώστων οἱ τῶν συνόντων σχεδὸν ὄντων ἀπάντων. τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ πάντῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν ὁμαλὰ· οἱ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διηρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικιῶν ἐπὶ χάριτι τοῦ μεираκίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα τηλικούτῳ μύσει καὶ σφᾶς ἔλεγον, εἴ τις ἡγοίτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων πού Ῥώμης σταδίων, ἀγγέλλεται Κάσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ἀφηρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἕτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων κάθοδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἕς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ γινόμενα.

[12] Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Cæsar, and by the good-will of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some of the towns were not altogether favorable to him, but Cæsar's veterans, who had been distributed in colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Cæsar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavius praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about 400

stades from Rome, he received news that Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompey had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in accordance with Cæsar's memoranda, and that many other things were happening.

[13] ὥς δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὖτις καὶ Φίλιππος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι κηδεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὴν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλοτριώσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μὴ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι φόνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου τότε δυναστεύοντος ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὔτε ἀφικομένου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἐλθόντα οὔτε προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ: ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράυνεν, αὐτὸς ἀπαντήσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἰπὼν οἷα νεώτερος ἐς πρεσβύτερον καὶ ιδιώτης ἐς ὕπατον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν θεραπεύσειν τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἔφη γενέσθαι μηδενὸς πω τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους διώκοντος: ἀλλ' ὁπότε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικουρήσιν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ἐννόμῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς δικαίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἴσως. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ὑπερίδοι, ἔς τε τὸν Καίσαρα ἀμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀδικήσιν εἰς τὴν διανομήν.

Ἀπερρήγνυ τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κινδυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἶη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θνήσκειν, εἰ προκριθεὶς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀντάξιος αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο φιλοκινδυνωτάτου γεγονότος. τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὑπόγυά οἱ τότε ὄντα μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν μητέρα ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἔλεγεν: “αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἐταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμύνειν.”

καὶ τότε εἰπὼν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἔφη κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ πάντων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα: αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα οὐχ ἐταῖρον, ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορα, οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῳ πεσόντα, ἀλλ' ἀθεμίστως ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ κατωκοπέντα.

[13] When he arrived at the city his mother and Philippus and the others who were interested in him were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Cæsar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Cæsar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavius quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as one enforcing the law, the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and perhaps Antony himself would help. If he (Octavius) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Cæsar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will. As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that he ought not only to incur danger, but even to die,

after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Cæsar, if he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then turning to his mother, he repeated the words of Achilles to Thetis, which were then fresh in his mind:—”“Then quickly let me die since fate denied That I should aid my friend against the foes That slew him.”“

Iliad, xviii. 98, Bryant’s translation.

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown; and he invoked Cæsar not as a friend, but a father; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

[14] ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐς ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὑπαχθεῖσα, ἡσπάζετο ὡς μόνον ἄξιον Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέσπερχεν ἐς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα σὺν τῇ τύχῃ. παρῆναι γε μὴν ἔτι τέχνῃ καὶ ἀνεξικακία μᾶλλον ἢ φανερᾷ θρασυτήτῃ πῶ χρησθαι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ πράξειν ὑποσχόμενος οὕτως, αὐτίκα τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ἐς ἔω συγκαλῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ πλήθους. ἔνθα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου, στρατηγοῦντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπαντιάσας ἔφη δέχεσθαι τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος; ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς ἐπὶ μάρτυσι γίνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ῥῆμα, εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆν ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχώρει. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐς κήποις, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους, διατριβῆς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείονος γενομένης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως ἐτίθετο, εἰσκληθέντος δὲ ποτε ἦσαν προσαγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πύσματα εἰκότα.

ὥς δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περὶ ὧν ἦσαν ἐν χρειᾷ, ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν:

[14] Thereupon his mother’s anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as the only one worthy of Cæsar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favor of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavius approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city prætor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Cæsar; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the prætors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavius went from the forum straightway to Antony. The latter was in the gardens that Cæsar had given to him, that had formerly been Pompey’s. As Octavius was kept waiting at the vestibule for some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Antony’s displeasure. When he was admitted there were greetings and mutual questionings proper to the occasion.

When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavius said: —

[15] ἐγὼ δέ, πάτερ Ἀντώνιε ἑπατέρα γὰρ εἶναι σέ μοι δικαιοῦσιν αἱ τε Καίσαρος ἐς σέ εὐεργεσίαι καὶ ἡ σὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάρις, τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν ὀφλήσω, τὰ δ' ἐπιμέφομαι, καὶ λελέξεταί μετὰ παρρησίας, ἐς ἣν ἡ λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένῳ μὲν οὐ παρῆς, τῶν φονέων σε περισπασάντων περὶ θύρας, ἐπεὶ περιέσφες ἂν αὐτὸν ἢ συνεκινδύνευες ὅμοια παθεῖν: ὧν εἰ θάτερον ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι, καλῶς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆς. ψηφισομένων δέ τινων αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐπὶ τυράννῳ γέρα ἀντεῖπας ἐγκρατῶς: καὶ τοῦδ' ἐμοὶ χάριν οἶδα λαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγνωσ συνανελεῖν σε βεβουλευμένους, οὐχ, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἡγούμεθα, τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ', ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, τῆς τυραννίδος διάδοχον. ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυραννοκτόνοι, εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν: διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνέφυγον ὥς ἐς ἱερὸν ἀμαρτόντες ἰκέται ἢ ὥς ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ τὸ ἀνεῦθυνον τοῦ φόνου, ἢ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου εἰ τινες ἐφθάρτο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σέ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὄραν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλομένῳ σοι ἡ ἀρχὴ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρομένῳ τηλικούτῳ ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὁμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκεῖα αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

ἀλλ' ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς διεφθαρμένους σε βιάσασθαι. ὅτε μέντοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον ἐπιτάφιον εἰπόντος ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καίσαρος μνήμῃ γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισάμενοι χάριν τῶν γειτόνων ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἤξουν ἐπὶ ὅπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπραξας καὶ ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τῶν ὀπλων ἢ δίκην γε τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἔδει κατὰ αὐτοφώρων, καὶ φίλος ὢν Καίσαρι καὶ ὕπατος καὶ Ἀντώνιος;

[15] “Father Antony (for the benefits that Cæsar conferred upon you and your gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Cæsar was killed you were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also; not, as I think, because you were likely to avenge Cæsar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. At the same time they made it clear that they were not tyrant-killers, but murderers, by taking refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and impunity for their crime unless some portion of the Senate and people had

been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would be for the interest of the majority, and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security. Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Cæsar's will had been read, and you had delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, in lively remembrance of Cæsar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbors, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not coöperate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in the act of murder — you, Cæsar's friend; you, the consul; you, Antony?

[16] ἀλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν ὑπερεῖδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐνίους διαδραμεῖν, ἃς ἀθεμίστως ἔχουσι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὖ ποιοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι, σὺ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων περιεσπάσατε ἐς ἑαυτούς. καὶ τοῦδ' εἰ σοὶ χάριν ἦδεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ φυγάδας ἡξιώσατε ἡγεμονίαις αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ δορυφορεῖσθαι: Δέκμον τε τὴν ἐγγὺς Κελτικὴν ὑπερορᾶτε ἔχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως αὐθέντην τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε τὴν βουλὴν ἐρεῖ τις ἐγνωκέναι. σὺ δ' ἐπεψήφισες καὶ προυκάθησο τῆς βουλῆς, ὃ μάλιστα πάντων ἥρμοζε διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντεῖπειν: τὸ γὰρ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἦν ἐκείνοις χαριζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐθις ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ὑβρίζοντων Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀκυροῦντων.

ἐπὶ τάδε με δὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζον ἴσως ἐμοὶ τῆς τε ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ αἰδοῦς. εἴρηται δ' ὅμως ὥς ἐς ἀκριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ' ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἡξιωμένον καὶ τάχα ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εἰ ἦδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντὶ Ἡρακλείδου γενέσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ... ἐνδοιάσαι, πολὺν τῆς διαδοχῆς λόγον ποιούμενον.

[16] "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can always defend themselves against me, and had you not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father's slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate — you who ought most of all to

have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favor, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Cæsar and annul your own opinion. Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, to the firmest friend of Cæsar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honor and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Æneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of designating you as his successor.

[17] ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, πρὸς θεῶν τε φιλίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μὲν τι καὶ τῶν γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις ἴδυνασαι γάρ, εἰ θέλεις: εἰ δὲ μή, τά γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας ἀμυνομένῳ μοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικῶν φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργεῖν: εἰ δέ σε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις ἢ τῆς βουλῆς αἰδῶς ἔχει, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφοὶ τούτων: οἶσθα δ', ὅπως ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ οἶκοι, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν διανομὴν, ἣν ὁ πατήρ ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐπεῖξεως ἐς αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνων ἀχάριστος εἶναι δοκοίην μηδ' ὅσοι καταλεχθέντες εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῇ πόλει, δι' ἐμὲ τρίβοιντο. ὅσα δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ πρὸς σὲ μετενήνεκται ὥς ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον ἔχειν ἀξιώ σε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλης ἄλλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανομὴν ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὃ συνθηροῖκε μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνος, οὗς ἐπενδοί, ἀρκέσει δ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μὲν θαρρήσαιοί σοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἂν ἴσως ἢ διὰ σοῦ δανεισαίμην ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἂν διδοῖς: διαπεπράσεται δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία.

[17] "For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Cæsar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will hereafter aid and cooperate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father's faithful friends. If you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us. So much for that. You know about my private affairs and the expense I must incur for the legacy which my father directed to be given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city and waste their time on my account. Of Cæsar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Cæsar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the

public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once.”

[18] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλῆς καὶ παρ’ ἡλικίαν φανείσης· χαλεπόμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῇ ἀπαιτήσει, αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ὦδε ἡμείψατο:

εἰ μὲν ὁ Καῖσάρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπε, εἰκὸς σὲ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς αἰτεῖν καμὲ ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενὶ πῶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδοσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ’ ἄλλων ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, ὃ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες φασὶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον, οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ’ ἀποκρίσεως δεῖ πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ σὲ κουφίζω, μὴ χάριν ὀφείλιν ἡμῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσσετο γὰρ οὐ σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἐς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σὲ ἔργου. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἔνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου περιεῖδον ἐγὼ τιμὰς ψηφιζόμενας τοῖς φονεῦσιν ὥς τυραννοκτόνοις, τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγίγνετο, ὃ μῆτε δόξης μῆτε τιμῆς τινος ἢ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιώσεως ἔτι μετῆν. οὐ διαθήκας εἶχεν ἄν, οὐ παῖδα, οὐκ οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ ιδιώτου: ἄταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράννων ὑπερορίζουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δημεύουσι τὴν περιουσίαν.

[18] While Octavius was speaking in this fashion Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and, accordingly, he replied in the severe terms following: “Young man, if Cæsar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer leading but reigning), then there is no need of my answering you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not as a favor to you, but to the people, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Cæsar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honors to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides, Cæsar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom neither glory, nor any kind of honor, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the

bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory stigmatized, and their property confiscated.

[19] ὦν ἐγὼ δεδιὼς ἕκαστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμεν Καίσαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφῆς, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρὸς τε ἄνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καί, ὡς ἔμαθες, ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνομωμοσμένους πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύειν καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοις ἠρούμην ἐκὼν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄταφον καὶ ἄτιμον γιγνόμενον περιδεῖν Καίσαρα, ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμώτατον ἐκ πάντων ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖσδε κινδύνους καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὦν σε δικαιότερον ἦν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐκλειφθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἢ ἐς ἀντίδοσιν τῶνδε, ὧν ἔχρηζον, ἢ κατ' ἄλλας χρείας ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ὄντα.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρῆσθαι: ἐνσημαίνει δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας με ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος ἀρκεῖν.

[19] “Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Cæsar, for his immortal honor, and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Cæsar to remain unburied and dishonored — the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honors were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Cæsar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It was more becoming in you to testify your gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me for concessions made to soothe the Senate, or in compensation for what I demanded of it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons — you a younger man addressing an older one. But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Cæsar’s will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidæ is enough to content one.

[20] περὶ δὲ τῶν σῶν χρειῶν, ἐθέλοντα μὲν σε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ἡγούμεν ἂν εἰρωνεῖαν λέγειν, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολελεῖσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα, τῶν προσόδων, ἐξ οὗ παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ταμείου συμφερομένων καὶ εὐρεθησομένων αὐτίκα ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος περιουσίᾳ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν ψηφισώμεθα. ἄδικον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦτο ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔσται, τεθνεῶτά τε ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντα

ἄδικον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ζῶν ἡτεῖτο τοὺς λογισμούς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί σοι καθ' ἓνα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἀδήριτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώση. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρὸς με χρημάτων οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐστίν, ὅσον εἰκάζεις, οὔτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ' ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ δυνάμει, πλὴν Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν νειμαμένων μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς τυράννου, δι' ἐμὲ δὲ μετατεθέντων ἐς χάριν τῶν ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐνηφισμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων οἴσεις ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῇς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέμπουσιν, ἂν συμφρονῶσι, τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας· ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὢν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητον ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσῃ κῦμα κινούμενον· ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν. ὧ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκόπους ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριψε.

[20] “As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I should think you must be joking, unless we might believe that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father. After he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Cæsar’s assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. This will not be unjust to Cæsar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the accounts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought around by me to support the decrees in favor of Cæsar, and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder, will distribute it among those who are disaffected toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are in harmony with you, will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are forever exalting their favorites, and casting them down again.”

CHAPTER III

Disagreement between Antony and Octavius — Litigation over Cæsar's Estate — Growing Popularity of Octavius — Dolabella proceeds to Syria — Antony schemes to get Command of the Army in Macedonia — Dolabella puts Trebonius to Death

[21] τούτων τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσχεράνας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ὕβριν εἰρημένοις ἀπεχώρει, τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλῶν θαμινὰ ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς πρᾶσιν αὐτίκα προυτίθει πᾶσαν, ὅση κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῦ, προτρέπων ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς σπουδῆς· φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρας γενομένης καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ζήτησιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ψηφισαμένης, οἱ πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν ἐπὶ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι τῆς πατρῴας ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας οὐνεκα καὶ τῆς νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ δημοκοπίας καὶ περιουσίας, ἥ δὴ πάνυ αὐτῷ πολλὴ προσελθοῦσα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ιδιώτου μέτρῳ καθέξειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλιστα, μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πλούσιον, ἑταιρισάμενος ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρότερος ἄψαιτο τῆς Καίσαρος δυναστείας. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφῆδοντο, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πλούτου τῇ ζητήσῃ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησομένου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσομένου: τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὐρήσειν παρὰ Καίσαρι.

[21] Feeling outraged by the many insulting things said by Antony, Octavius went away, invoking his father repeatedly by name, and offered for sale all the property which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time exhorting the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most of them grew apprehensive of the young Cæsar' on account of the favor in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians, and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Cæsar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder Cæsar. Others were delighted with the present state of affairs, believing that the two men would come in conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavius, and that the treasury would be filled thereby because much of the public property would be found in Cæsar's estate.

[22] πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπῆγον περὶ χωρίων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε ἕκαστοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφῆς

εἶναι τῶν δημευθέντων ἢ φυγόντων ἢ ἀναιρεθέντων. ἦγόν τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἡττάτο, τὰ τε ὠνήματα τῷ πατρὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιοῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα πάντα. ὕβρεις τε πολλαὶ παρὰ τὰς δίκας ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προύκοπτεν ἐς ἄπειρον, ἔστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον ὅτιοι γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἶχον μέμνασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἄδικα πασχόντων παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς. ὥντό τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκλύειν δεῖν μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι πέπρακται.

ὁ δὲ ὠμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρασσόμενα ἴσως ἐναντίον ἔχειν τι τοῖς συνεψηφισμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ' ἔφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν ἐναντίως γεγράφθαι. μόνῃς γὰρ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπειγούσης, τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀνατρέπειν τῶν προδικημένων,' οὐ τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀπλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις, ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἶναι δὲ δικαιοτέρον τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένους μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀντιπράττειν ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἰδίων ἢ προγονικῶν κτήσεων κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίσκου τοσόνδε πλοῦτον ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ' ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἀλλ' ἐς θρασύτητα τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένου. σφῶν μέντοι φείσεσθαι τὸ μέρος νειμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνέμοντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιτο, οὐ σφῶν ἔνεκα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἐμελλον γὰρ αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάντα χαριεῖσθαι.

[22] In the meantime many persons brought lawsuits against Octavius for the recovery of landed property, some making one claim and some another, differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death by the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates, Octavius was worsted through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases had been made by his father, and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Cæsar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Cæsar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavius, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done in derogation of Cæsar, and to ratify all that had been done by him. Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the understanding at the time. While hastily passing a mere

decree of amnesty, it had been registered that whatever had been previously determined on should stand unrepealed, not for its own sake, not because it was satisfactory in all respects, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favor of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Peditus and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavius. This was the answer made by Antony to Peditus and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavius, for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward.

[23] θέας δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρούτου στρατηγῶντος ἐπιδώσειν Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὰλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευὴ τε ἦν ἐς αὐτὴν δαψιλῆς καὶ ἐλπίς ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικλασθέντα καλέσειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς πράσεως ἐγίνετο, αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς φυλάρχοις ἀνεδίδου νέμειν τοῖς φθάνουσι λαβεῖν· καὶ ἐς τὰ πωλητήρια περιῶν ἀποκηρύσσειν ἔλεγεν ὅσου δύναιντο πάντα τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ὀλιγίστου, διὰ τε δίκας ἀμφίβολα ἢ ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδὴν. ἅπερ αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὐνοίαν ἤγειρεν καὶ ἐς ἔλεον, ὥς ἀναξίῳ τοιάδε πάσχειν. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν ὅση τε παρὰ Ὀκταοῦιου τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ἐτέρωθεν ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριον καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας, προύθηκεν ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν πιπράσκεσθαι, ὥς τῆς Καίσαρος περιουσίας οὐδ' ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκούσης διὰ τὰς ἐπηρείας, ὁ δῆμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λογιζόμενος εἶναι ἐκπαθῶς αὐτὸν ἡλέει καὶ ἐπὶ ἡνουν ὧδε πάσχοντα καὶ ὧδε φιλοτιμούμενον δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ὕβριν ὑπεροψόμενοι.

[23] The games were now approaching, which Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give in behalf of Brutus, the praetor, as he attended also to the other duties of the praetorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavius, on the other hand, intrigued against this scheme, distributing the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers. He went around to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the

auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own zeal for the people, all of which brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When, in addition to what he had received as Cæsar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Pedius and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Cæsar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Cæsar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the wrong that Antony was doing him.

[24] Διέδειξαν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Βρούτου θέας, πολυτελεστάτας δὴ γενομένας: ἐμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγωγεῖτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι.

Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἐπεὶ σφῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, ἔγνωσαν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ὥς πρὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν ἐψηφισμένας, χωρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶνδε φανερῶν γενομένων ἠπείγετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς χρηματιούμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἠγούμενος ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ δεήσειν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατιάν, ἀρετῇ τε οὖσαν ἀρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην, — ἔξ γὰρ ἦν τέλη 'καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἢ γυμνητῶν συνεξεύγνυτο, ἵππος τε πολλή καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐντελής' δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλα, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἐπιτετραμμένῳ, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθυαίους ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι — πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπενόει μετενεγκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἀγχοῦ, ὥς τὸν Ἰόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶναι.

[24] They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the spectators were thus wrought up to a feeling of pity for them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until the demand for their recall ceased. When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavius had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in

Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been intrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Cæsar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

[25] ἄφνω δὴ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τὸν θάνατον τὸν Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν βουλὴν ἤτει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέταις ἐπιθήσων δίκην: ἔς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθυαίων Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθυαίων ἡρεμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τὴν φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκευομένους ἔπεμψεν: ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων ἐψηφίσατο μὴ ἐξεῖναι πω κατὰ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν περὶ δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐπιψηφίζειν μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶνδὲ τινος ὑπεριδόντα νηποίνει πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀναιρεῖσθαι. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐλὼν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττουσι συνθέμενος ἐν τέλος δώσειν, ἡρέθη τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεως εἶναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ἃ ἐβούλετο, Γάιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπείξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ διεπέμπετο: οἱ δὲ ἐπισκέπται τῆς φήμης ἐπανελθόντες Γέτας ἔλεγον οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, προσέθεσαν δέ, εἴτε ἀληθὲς εἴτε ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες, ὅτι δέος ἦν, μὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ποι μετελθούσης οἱ Γέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδράμοιεν.

[25] Presently a rumor was noised about that the Getæ, learning of Cæsar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Cæsar to be used against the Getæ before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumor, and sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him. Having deceived the Senate chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia. Having obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumor came back and reported that they had seen no Getæ in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn.

[26] ὧδε μὲν εἶχε τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβόνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὔτε Περγάμῳ οὔτε Σμύρνῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνῃν ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προυτίθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος, ὁ Τρεβόνιος αὐτὸν ἔφη δέξεσθαι Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπιόντι τοὺς ἐφεσμομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεμπεν, οἱ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπιόντα τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὀρῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑπονοοῦντες, ὀλίγους σφῶν ὑπολιπόντες ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐνεδρεύσας τε καὶ περιλαβὼν ἔκτεινε καὶ ἦλθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς Σμύρναν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφύλακτον εὐρὼν εἴλε διὰ κλιμάκων.

Τρεβόνιος δὲ τοῖς συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐναζόμενον ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἐκέλευεν: ἔγχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκὼν. καὶ τις τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ἐπισκώπτων ἡμείψατο: 'ἴθι σύ, δεῦρο τὴν κεφαλὴν καταλιπών: ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄγειν προστέτακται.' καὶ τότε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Δολοβέλλας μὲν αὐτὴν προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα ὁ Τρεβόνιος ἐχρημάτιζε, προτεθῆναι: ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ἄλλος ὄμιλος αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τοῦ φόνου Καίσαρος ὁ Τρεβόνιος μετεσχέκει καὶ κτεινομένου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ περὶ θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου περιεσπάκει, εἰς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐτοῦ ποικίλως ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἷα σφαῖραν ἐν λιθοστρώτῳ πόλει διαβάλλοντες ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ γέλῳτι συνέχεάν τε καὶ συνέτριψαν. καὶ πρῶτος ὧδε τῶν φονέων δίκην τήνδε ἐδεδώκει.

[26] While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, who was governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, to occupy a market-place outside the walls. When the latter attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and, having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, leaving a few of their number to follow him. Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it by escalade. Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to follow them. One of the centurions answered him facetiously, "Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself." With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the prætor's chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Cæsar by detaining Antony in conversation at

the door of the senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who was visited with such punishment.

CHAPTER IV

Antony brings the Macedonian Army to Italy — Growing Rivalry between Antony and Octavius — The Military Tribunes intervene between them — Antony obtains Cisalpine Gaul from the People with Octavius' Help

[27] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἡξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴν, ἣς ἡγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβίνος, εἰδὼς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὁρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὡς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἦσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρηματὰ ἀγεῖρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο: οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντωνίου εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαῖον τὸν Ἴόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

[27] Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Cæsar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money lest he should be overpowered by Antony, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law, in the same manner that Cæsar had obtained it at a former time and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundisium; and the latter proceeded to do as he was directed.

[28] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσῃν, ὡς προσετέτακτο: θεαὶ δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσῃν: καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θεάς τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσειον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θεὰς ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν

Ἀντώνιον ἤγεν ὥς ὑπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, ‘ἀνάφερε,’ εἶπεν, ‘ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾗ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω.’ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεῶν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίνετο, ὥς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

αὐτὸς τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευεν οὗ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καῖσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου: ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσις αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἕξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα: ‘Καῖσαρι μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτῃ σοῦ μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγεννημένῳ: ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν: ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἂν διαμένη, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἐὰν ἐάσης δοθῆναι.’

[28] This was the time for the games that the ædile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavius made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and crown, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Cæsar to be honored in this way at games given at his expense, Octavius brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavius was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony was angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavius himself, which had been instituted by his father in honor of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. It was evident that universal hatred of Antony had already grown out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Cæsar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one. Octavius himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them not to despise him, the victim of so many and so great outrages, nor willingly desert him, but to defend Cæsar, their commander and benefactor, dishonored by Antony; to defend him for their own sakes, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Cæsar unless the decrees passed in his honor should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere

throughout the city, and especially from the high places that he came to, saying, “ O Antony, do not be angry with Cæsar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. Heap indignities on me to your heart’s content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father’s glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me.”

[29] ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὥρμητο: καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουσαν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι’ ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ’ ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγινώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἥδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὁμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ πάντῃ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἕνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένου τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικούδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας: ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρῆζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἕνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κακεῖνος ἀπέχεται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

[29] Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in severer threats against Octavius, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony’s guard, who had served under the elder Cæsar, and who were then in the highest favor with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Cæsar and had obtained his present good fortune at Cæsar’s hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavius himself, with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he had been compelled to change his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honor for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention if Octavius, also, would curb his presumption.

[30] ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὃ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς

προυγγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὁρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλευόμενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν ὄῃμον ἐσφέρει, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιτέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἤξιουν· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερώς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἢ μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχίτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγῆσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοινισάμενοι τὴν φυλῆτιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθυῖαν. καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσεν ὅμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐφεσιῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδέϊτο δὲ μάλιστα μὲν, ἵνα μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀνδροφόνος ὢν τοῦ πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου συνηλλαγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατασιωπῶντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἤδη τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐπέρα.

[30] The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavius together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to have the tribunes of the people veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of intrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Cæsar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees — throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate desired that the votes should be taken by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum with a rope during the night, demanded that the votes be taken by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon. Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless coöperated with him for the sake of Octavius, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of a province so convenient, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason brought his army across the Adriatic.

CHAPTER V

Antony again opposes Octavius — The Tribunes intervene again — Antony replies to them

[31] τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέπρασσεν Φλαμίνιῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δῆμαρχον ἀποφῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντώνιος τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκειμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδὼν, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης, προύγραφεν ὡς ὕπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρῆσασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὕβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικῆσειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἕς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τινὰς ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

[31] One of the tribunes of the people having died Octavius favored the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and, accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavius, either to curry favor with the Senate, or to appease its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavius should not solicit votes contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use every means in his power against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavius, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavius, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and

file.

[32] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν: οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον:

ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεταί γινόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθαι μὲν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονεὰς αὐτοῦ γινώσκομεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὀρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἵχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικατάτῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεΐῳ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἔς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειψούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἢ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῇται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μὲν, ὅπερ ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονεὰς τιμωρομένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμῳ γενόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας.

[32] While Octavius was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Cæsar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favors them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Cæsar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Cæsar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such. Our enemies are starting up afresh. They have boldly seized Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Cæsar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Cæsar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, and for your own interest even more than ours. Help Octavius as much as you can, or at all events as much as may be needful, to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide

security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you.”

[33] τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ᾤδε ἡμείψατο:

ὄση μὲν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδὴ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἵστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες: ὄση δ' αὖ κακῆϊνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο καμὲ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοία τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεῖα τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὡς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλ' ἓνα ἀνελεῖν ὡς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειεν ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις, ὡς οἶται Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονία; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.

[33] To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: “What friendship and zeal I had for Cæsar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favors he showed me, what honors he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Cæsar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then, will believe that I have no care for Cæsar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Cæsar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

[34] Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἐμὲ φίλᾳ τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς: οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἐώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ἥ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελούσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπολέσθαι πᾶσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. ὥδε δὴ με ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορήσαι, σκοποῦντες εὐρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν: ὅπερ, ἀντιτάζας

ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καῖσαρ εἶναι δόξῃ τύραννος. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένων, ὅτε μὴ Καῖσαρ εἴη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἷξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἔν' ὅσων ἔχρηζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλικά; μῆτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπληεῖφθαι τὴν ἐμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μῆτε τὴν περιουσίαν δεδημεῦσθαι μῆτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν οὗτος γαυριᾷ, διαλελῦσθαι μῆτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τό τε σῶμα τεθάρφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ τὰς πάλαι δεδομένας ἀθανάτους διαμένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι σωτηρία καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

[34] “ When Cæsar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not the particulars of the conspiracy nor against whom it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with their gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Cæsar were declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it would not have been surprising if I had been at a loss what to do, you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Cæsar’s party could be safe only in case Cæsar were not declared a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged in the same fear (lest, if Cæsar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight, for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What did I want and how important was it? That Cæsar’s name should not be blotted out was the dearest wish of all to me, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honors previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honor instead of ignominy.

[35] ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν βουλήν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκῶ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἢ βουλή χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἥν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς

ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τ' ὧνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεὶ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας· οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρηζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὡς ἐν ἀμερίμῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλουν, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀσήμῳ δημοκοπία, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνὺς ἡμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνηρημένον, κατακαλῶν δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἡρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἤψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπουμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἱ μεστὰι μεγάλων στρατῶν ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δὴ με δέος ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσοῦσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὑποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλευσαι τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

[35] “ Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain to actually spare the murderers for the sake of Cæsar’s immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to gain time. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers were freed from anxiety, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Cæsar’s body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed by the knives. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain and invoking him as a god. These acts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire in spite of the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How much the Senate was thwarted and grieved by this was presently shown when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (as I had no military force of my own anywhere), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed

men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me. He had pretended to be in the conspiracy against Cæsar and he had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

[36] ὧδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα μετενεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὖθις ἀλοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς με μεταθοῖτο. καὶ οὐδ' ὥς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς αἰσχρὸν ἦ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοὶ περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μὲντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὥς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιάν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῖσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οἷων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη: ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφηρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἐτέρων: οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

[36] “ While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favored his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, as the war against the Parthians fell to the lot of the one governing Syria. But they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the quid pro quo that was given to them — Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws.

[37] γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρου. φήμη δὲ

κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην: ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσαν μοι τὸν στρατὸν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὥς οἶεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλεοσὶ τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐργασασμένῳ μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βρούτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὁδε χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ: ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνόμενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἥδη καθορώσης καὶ ἵστε οἷα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἥδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὥς χρῆσόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρῆσόμεθα, ὥς ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

[37] “After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumor gained currency that the Getæ were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones [as Octavius thinks], but with the more numerous and powerful ones who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, who governed a conveniently placed province with a large army, whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, have deprived of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, when it has lost its army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundisium so that I might use it in emergencies. And, with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

[38] οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἐς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῇ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς: ὧν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἥδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἂ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι.

ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατράσι καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεὶ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμυνοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μὲν, ὧ' συστρατιῶται, ἔτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ συννοῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος.

[38] “Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When these facts became known the multitude showed their zeal against our enemies. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they have written to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country’s gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valor, with which Cæsar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers of body and of mind. While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light — excepting only Octavius, who behaves ungratefully toward us.”

CHAPTER VI

Octavius accused of attempting to assassinate Antony — He denies the Accusation — Octavius obtains Soldiers in Calatia and Casilinum — The Tribune Canutius sides with Octavius against Antony — Octavius declares his Readiness to fight Antony — Caesar's Veterans refuse to fight against Antony

[39] τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἔχθρας ἀκριβοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποικέναι. ἡξίου δὲ καὶ ὥς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλασπον αὐθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὥς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλὴν μεταφέρει ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὃ τε λόγος ἐκδραμῶν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἡγειρε πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ἥδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν: ἀποθανόντος γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολμήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὧδε μὲν εἶκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι: τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὀρώντες, οἷα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ὕβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι.

ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξέτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὔσαν: ἐπὶ τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δραμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἄρὰς ἡρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προυκαλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, 'ἐν τοῖς φίλοις,' ἔφη, 'δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι,' καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὐθις ὥμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἡγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιὼν τε τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὥκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καὶ τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γινόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινόειν εἰς ἀφορμὴν φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

[39] These words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity toward the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavius; and as both yielded they formed a new alliance in the Capitol. Not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of

his body-guard had been tampered with by Octavius, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavius in his camp and thought they were actually plotting against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavius that Antony, even though he were unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony) was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavius suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul. Octavius ran with mad fury to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony that had conspired against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the doorkeepers who restrained him from having a dispute with Antony. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to increase his body-guard. or to alienate the veterans from Octavius.

[40] ὥς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἂν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξῆι διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦι, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῃ Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἐκατέρωθεν: ἐπιδούς δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἤγεν ἐς μυρίου ἀνδρας, οὔτε ὠπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ᾧσται τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἐτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὥς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρι ἡσμένιζον: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ

διαλλαγὰς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

[40] Presently news was brought to Octavius by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundisium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Cæsar, and that they would assist him (Octavius) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundisium. As Octavius feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been colonized in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavius was advancing with another one some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavius against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavius was to wreak vengeance on the murderers in return therefor.

[41] ὧδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἐχθρας Ἀντωνίου σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τον Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσήγε τον Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσήλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκουρῶν παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεῶν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ὑπεμίνησκε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἴη συνειλεγμένος· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέρτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔτοιμος.

[41] In this time of consternation Canutius, a tribune of the people and enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavius, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Canutius addressed the people, saying that Octavius was advancing with real hostility to Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavius as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavius, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Canutius addressed the

people first, speaking against Antony. Octavius also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

[42] ὧδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφίχθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος ὑπάτου: καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελεῖν ἤτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὡς ὀπλιούμενοι: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι: οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθεῖς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθιδόνα, ἐπὶ τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἐτέραις δωρεαῖς καὶ δαψυλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι 'διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξήεσαν, ἀνεμυμήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ᾧ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἥλπιζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε ὄχλος ἀνώματος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὀπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τὴν τε Ῥάβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεύων ἐτέροισ ἐφ' ἐτέροις: καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἐπεμπε.

[42] After he had thus spoken and the assembly had been dissolved, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavius or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others spoke out the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavius was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all of the assembled multitude, gave them new presents, and said that he would reward them still more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, from 10,000 he influenced 1000 only to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavius, his compliance with their wishes, and the

favors they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, like the fickle multitude, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavius had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighboring parts, enlisting new forces continually and sending them all to Arretium.

CHAPTER VII

*Mutiny among Antony's Troops — He punishes them — Octavius excites
Dissension in Antony's Army — Two of Antony's Legions desert to Octavius —
Antony departs to Cisalpine Gaul — Octavius offers his Services to the Senate
and they are accepted — Military Manœuvres of Octavius' Legions*

[43] Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφῆκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα: ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρῶτον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχευε, ἀλλ' ὠνειδίazen ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιαύδε χάριτος: ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς, ὧδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιτεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθοράν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικὴν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκάστῳ δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς μικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπών: 'μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι.' αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις 'ἀνάγραφτος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος' διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἔκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὧδε καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.

[43] In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundisium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Cæsar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavius) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. But he would find them out, he said. He would lead the army to the province voted to him, the fair Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the fomenters of the sedition (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking to strike terror into the rest by means of the few. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

[44] ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπετόμην, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὀμότητος ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψυλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε μεγάλοις ἐζήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἐχαλέπηνεν ὥς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλεπῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος, αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὀμὸν οὔτε μικρολόγον Ἀντώνιον. 'ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω, κεκορεσμένος,' ἔφη, 'καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι: τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν 'οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης', ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεάν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τὰδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδὲν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσσησθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξίαρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἴθ' ἑτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τᾶλλα ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνου.

[44] In view of these facts the men whom Octavius had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Cæsar and urging them to share the service of the younger one and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavius was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. Let us lay aside ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but rather the salutation of our first meeting than a full reward, but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army. Whether moved by penitence or by fear they took what was given them. Antony, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes. The remainder he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

[45] αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ᾧδενεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρμήσων. ἐσῆι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἰλὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους: συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιῶν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐφ' ἑτερα αὐτοῦς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἄλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπεῖσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίᾳς δραχμᾶς ἐκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξῆι, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιοῦσι: καὶ γὰρ ἦδη σαφὴς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

[45] Antony chose from the whole number a prætorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavius, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavius. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian and espoused the side of Octavius. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the apparatus customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

[46] δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἢ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον: οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὀρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας ἵπολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἥν' συνῶμνιον ἐκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείπειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον

ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρὶς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μεταπέμπτα ἥδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφικτὸ, ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἓν, οἱ καὶ γηρῶντες ὁμῶς ἐδόκουν νεοσυλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδός τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

[46] While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honor. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavius' public meeting. With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There were also some discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

[47] Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἓν δὲ νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐντελῇ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὀπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἄλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφῆδετο μὲν αὖθις Καίσαρι, ὥς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ προύπεμπον Ἀντώνιον: ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὁμῶς αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὅ τι χρή ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἰ νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου: στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πῶ ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

[47] Octavius had two legions equally efficient, which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies and two of discharged veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to

know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavius nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.

[48] τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεάς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἡξίουσαν αὐτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπήνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνέτιθετο: καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπεῖχεν, ὥς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμένης ταῦτα καθ' αὐτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢν αἰσθωνται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄκνον.

διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορία, ‘μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν: ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὲ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὥς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ' ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβοιμι.’ τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεῖτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἡσθεῖς οὖν τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἐτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπέδιδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεῖα γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλεῖα δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

[48] The soldiers of Octavius furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of proprætor, carrying on war and leading themselves, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honor, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they wanted to go before the Senate en masse he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; “and would do this all the more,” he said, “if they know of your zeal and my hesitation.” They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; “and that will be the case,” he continued, “until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them.

Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you.” After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavius was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavius bind these mercenaries to himself. Such was the course of events in Italy.

CHAPTER VIII

Antony orders Decimus Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul — Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there — Cicero urges that Antony be declared a Public Enemy — The Tribune Salvius interposes in Favor of Antony — Debate in the Senate — Cicero's Speech — Piso speaks in Defence of Antony — The Senate orders Antony to desist from the Siege of Mutina — Antony's Reply — The Senate votes him a Public Enemy — Macedonia voted to Brutus and Syria to Cassius

[49] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φοιδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἱ πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλὴν Ἀτωνίῳ μᾶλλον. Ἀτωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὀρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὀρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θάσπον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δέισας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἐξ τινος αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλοῦσης αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ: καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἐχῶρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπίοντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζυγία τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθηκε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἢ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιά δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατευτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, ἃ καὶ πρότερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρευε τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

[49] In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own good. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest he (Antony) should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing lest none of them should be opened to him, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, welcomed by all as he passed along, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina. Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a

long siege, and he awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina, and laid siege to Decimus.

(Y.R. 711)

[50] καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νομηνίαν ὕπατοι γενόμενοι Ἴρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνήγον ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὅπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾷκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα: ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει φανερώς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὅπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεκρημένου καὶ τᾶλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχήν. Λεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκείαν γνῶμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἠξίουσαν, ὡς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἅμα δ' ἔφω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο: ἐνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων ἐπιβαρούντων ἐπήφιστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατότερος.

[50] In Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been (B.C. 43) performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Cæsar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interests in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest

had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day; for among the magistrates the one who has the veto power always prevails.

[51] οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ κατέσχε δεισασα, μὴ μεταπίσειε τὸν δῆμον ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδῶκει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνησίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἄγνοῶν ἠρείτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμῶς προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιαῦδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον, ὥς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο ὁμῶς Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσῃ Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὥς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα· Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεον ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ῥιπτούμενοί τε πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δεισας δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.

[51] The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and sallied out among the plebeians to excite them against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should change the people around by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously needed the help of Octavius against him. Although Octavius knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling

Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavius to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he had promised to give them if they should be victorious. After passing these decrees they adjourned, thinking that Antony would in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and believing, also, that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows: —

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ἃ μὲν ἔδει γινῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθρὲς ἔγνωμεν: οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν, τούτοις ἐψηφίζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ τὸν μόνον ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρή συνετώτερον ἢ φιλία τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἀμαθία. ὧν τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτεροι πάντες ἐνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλουίῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῶ: ἀμαθῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς, οἱ τοσοῖδε τὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διὰ τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ' ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλεον δικαιότερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρήζει τὰς αἰτίας μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχείος, ὥς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καῖσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾶκας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἔπραξε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὧν ἐπενόει Καῖσαρ: Καῖσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὥς εὐκαιρὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὀρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν.

[52] “What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honors on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than in himself, in the prætors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who have condemned Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. At Cæsar’s death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers with his own secret motives he asked from us, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundisium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundisium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Cæsar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Cæsar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, just as Cæsar found it when he made himself our master.

[53] τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσόμενος, ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνῇ, διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ’ ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης· ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὥς εὖ πράξαισι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, ᾧ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ’ ἐξίναί κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφίζομεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου πεσόντος ἢ τε χώρα τοσὴδε οὔσα καὶ ὁμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερος.

[53] “In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should

order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh when they had not been regularly condemned but chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-doing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you sent letters directing him to hold the province. Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy as soon as the latter becomes more powerful than we are.”

[54] ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἢ τε ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων:

ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὃ βουλὴ, δικαιοὶ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι: καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρῆλθον ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῇ βραχυτάταις ἀποκρισεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτήν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὀρισμένη δίκη ζημιούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τότε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμειᾶ, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

[54] Scarcely had Cicero finished speaking when his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: “ Our law, Conscrip Fathers, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against

him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Cæsar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Cæsar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud. So much for the charge in reference to money.

[55] καὶ τὰδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων: τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὃ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάσαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὄπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται: οὗς ἔδει μεταπεῖθιν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὃ τι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνοις οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τότε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάσαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὣν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ ἐπιμνησίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

[55] "We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony. The people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Cæsar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is bearing arms against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting in accordance with law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to intrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to intrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the

people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader.

[56] ἀλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὢν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδεὶς πῶ τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχεν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι· οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐθύνει τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενῆς οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὀρισμένων ἐπιτιμίῳ τοῖς φονεῦσι τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικούς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὁμῶς ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρὸς ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μὴ ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ ἔχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, αἰεὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὥκνησεν οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ' ἕκαστον ὧδε.

[56] “But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony’s army was — which legions you had voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavius. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony’s administration since Cæsar’s death, come, let me examine his acts one by one.

[57] τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν,

ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπηνέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἢ νηποινεῖ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνήσκειν; ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μηνσίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις: οὗ τίνα καιρὸν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;

ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία: οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ στρατὸν εἶχεν ἑτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἐτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἢ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφύλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὀρᾶτε:

[57] “Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial — he who is now in danger of being condemned unheard? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, O Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public moneys? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompey, the son of your Pompey, and payment for his father’s confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded? And because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate. Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by any one who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months the only months that he remained in the city after Cæsar’s death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had? But it is said that he was not in a condition to do otherwise. How? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed for Syria? Did he not have an armed force in readiness in the city, one that you

gave him ? Did he not patrol the city by night ? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Cæsar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people ? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? None of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them. Ye behold then, O Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony.

[58] ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὥς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισμυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθύς, ὥς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἰρούμενον, καταλιπόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξίοντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμνυμεν οὐχ ὀρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐγίνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μεῖράκιον υἱόν; οἳ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

[58] “ Since, in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavius had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without authority is not considered an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavius’ 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate weeping and fearful, not on account of what Antony has done, but on account of the overwhelming power of his enemies.

[59] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δεῖγμα τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς: παραΐνεσιν δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι μήτε ἐς τὸν

δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἔχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσοῦσης ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύναμιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησάμενους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαι τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεῦειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλῃτε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; ἐὰν Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐῷμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφιζοίμεθα ἂν, ὃ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

[59] “These facts furnish you an example of Antony’s defence and of Cicero’s fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city to ward off danger before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavius to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favor of no man.

[60] καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις: τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι’ οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἀνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἱκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑναγχος διὰ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπονδὰς ἀρίστας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιον ἡναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὧν τοὺς μὲν εὖ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμεῖσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι.

[60] “ I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to

come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages, who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Cæsar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in fact. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Cæsar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to be more than ever careful in view of the public dangers."

[61] ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογοῖτο καὶ ὠνειδίζεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἷτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν: οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγαίς: διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὧδε: Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν μεθίναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ρουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρα ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολάς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσσησδε ὑποῦσης, ἀλλ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κοιμισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

[61] Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavius in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavius and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith, relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero

write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself. The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon them more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

[62] οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδωσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἐξ τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν εἴλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. 'τῶν τε ἐψηφισμένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείναςιν οὐ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἣ καὶ γὰρ συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἀνδρας αἰδεσίμους: Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἦδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία: κἂν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχός εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνησίαν.'

[62] The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Cæsar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Cæsar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Cæsar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Cæsar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favors a man who took the province of Gaul after Cæsar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two respectable men. He holds Antony and Dolabella as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor monarch! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

[63] τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς ἐντολάς

ὁδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι: ‘ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω μόνον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρῆται ποτὲ τοῦ μύσου, ἐμπιπταμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα.’ τὰδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπε τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ: Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκον Βρούτον ἄρχειν, μέχρι κατασταίῃ τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἰδίον τε εἶχεν ἤδη στρατόν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσειλήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γινόμενα εὔρεν: οἷς ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλα: τοὺς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω, πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐς ὃ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βρούτος.

[63] After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he would make the following answer: “The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit punishment for the murder upon him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero’s support of Decimus, may at last be purged of the shocking crime.” These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply. The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be reestablished. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Cæsar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things.

CHAPTER IX

Octavius alarmed by the Action of the Senate — Octavius, Hirtius, and Pansa march to the Relief of Decimus — Activity of Cicero in Rome — Battle between Antony and the Consul Pansa — Pansa wounded and his Men retire to their Camp — Hirtius comes to the Rescue and defeats Antony

[64] ὧδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν: Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεισθαι, ᾧ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου: τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἓνα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καῖσαρος καθαιρούντων. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μεираκίον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρουμένων: ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον: τά τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν: καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν βουλήν ἀποχρῆσθαι οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

[64] Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavius learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea — all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling down of that of Cæsar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of proprætor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a proprietor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted

under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

[65] ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένη ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη:

καὶ τάδε μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε: καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως.

ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξενάγει, Ἴρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἐμερίζετο καί, ὥς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτει τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων: παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, Ἴρτιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχίαι δ' ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἱππέας ἔχοντος Ἀντωνίου: τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

[65] Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honors of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings." In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavius, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavius yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius and Octavius advanced toward Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

[66] καὶ τὰδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἤγεν ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἐτοιμῶς ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαῖω Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλος ὢν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώριμος δύο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσεν τέλη καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἠπειγέτο. τότε μὲν δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἅπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἰρτίου ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρήλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλῆιον αὐτῷ προσέπεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ κωλύσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐλωδέστερον ὄν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὔσης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

[66] Such was the course of events around Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the artificers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Cæsar and was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Cæsar's colonies, where he was well known, and raised two legions for Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course toward Antony, but being intercepted by Octavius and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen. When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavius and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavius' prætorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through a defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

[67] Καρσουλίου δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα

μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν ἐς τὴν χειροποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρευουσάν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐκατέρωθεν ὃν περισκεπτομένων, ὃ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἄσπις ἤδη πού καὶ κράνος ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἄρειοι περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιτο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὥς μὴ συνταράξειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἐκάτερον ἔλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτουν τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἐλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν διόδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένων, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὥς εἴη τῆς ἐκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἡλιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὕσιν δι' ἐνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνους τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

[67] Carsuleius and Pansa passed through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the bushes, then a gleaming of shields and helmets, and Antony's prætorian cohort suddenly showed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The prætorians of Octavius confronted the prætorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the prætorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundisium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

[68] οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν διωργισμένοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἡλάλαξαν ὥς οὐκ ἐκπλήζοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσωμένος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὥς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς

ἐτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὡς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξέφερετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

[68] Thus urged on rather by their own animosity and ambition than by their generals they assailed each other, considering this their own affair. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging in marshes and ditches, they stood together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience had made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

[69] πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπαντα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσουλῳ μάλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχροῦς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὁμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἑκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῶ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βωνωνίαν ἐξέφερετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἴτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφρευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρεῖα γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἴταλοι μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἄρειοι οὐκ ἐσηλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὥρων ὁμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

[69] All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavius perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the

abdomen by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterward they turned and took refuge in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quæstor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies dashed into it confusedly although they were Italians, the same as the Martians, so much more than race does training contribute to bravery. The Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from the attack as a bad job, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

[70] Ἴρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἵετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἦδη τε ἦν ὥψια δεῖλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπᾶνῆσαν: καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἴρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγμένος ὁλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθειῇ. οἱ δὲ συνετάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο: οἷα δὲ ἀκμήτων ἡσδῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλθόν, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἦδη μελαιομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὅπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνου. ἱππέες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνέτιθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὧδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἴρτιον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ἠύλισατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακώτως: ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἢ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἐκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἢ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

[70] When Hirtius near Mutina heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valor; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the greater part of them were slain in this encounter by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men. Some were unhurt but were overcome by fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on

horse-back in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, scattered by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavius' prætorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.

CHAPTER X

Octavius and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina — Death of Hirtius — Antony flees to the Alps — Decimus seeks an Interview with Octavius — A Thanksgiving at Rome for the Victory over Antony — Death of the Consul Pansa

[71] τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεξεύγνυνον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλη μάχη μηδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδῶῃ Δέκμος αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἤδη λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἴρτιῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγесθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κάκεινων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη: οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἴρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχευεν, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξέωσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι.

[71] The next day they all withdrew to the camps at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavius decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony followed their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. As the enemy fought him with their cavalry only, moving the rest of their army in whatever way they chose, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies rejoiced at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavius won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavius rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night under arms.

[72] καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρα τῇδε συμπεσὼν πληγῇ συνεβουλευέτο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξίοντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὁμοίον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἰρτιον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδῶσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἤδη θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, ‘ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων,’ ἔφη, ‘γιγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερόψεται με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξανασταῖμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως οἱ συμμαχήσουσι.’ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνὴρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὠδεύεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων.

[72] When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; that he (Antony) was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must soon succumb. Such was the advise of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, now misled by a god, was fearful lest Octavius should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him (Antony), as Octavius had the greater force of laborers, “in which case,” said he, “our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with us.” So he spoke, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.

[73] Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ ὑπᾶτων ἐκποδῶν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τάς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίῳ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἡξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις· πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἐβλαπεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ’ ἐτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῖς ἠκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσιν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου “οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρειμι περισώσω, ἀλλ’ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμήσω, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγήναι ποτε θέμις· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὅσιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει· σφῆξέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἅστει δοκεῖ”, πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔσθι τε πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευέ τε Καίσαρι

χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς ἄλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι χωρεῖν: αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ ἥδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν ἐκ προστάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν ἐς Βωνωνίαν τραπεῖς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ πάντων. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

[73] When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavius, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavius in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavius would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavius, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and led him into the conspiracy against Cæsar with the others. Octavius answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms sometime, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavius by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavius to cross the river without consular authority, into the government belonging to another, and not to follow Antony further, because he (Decimus) would suffice for the pursuit of the latter. Octavius knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

[74] καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ βουλῇ μόνον: θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος ἥδη γὰρ ἀπεγινώσκετο, στρατηγὸν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἴστρος αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίον τε αἰθῆς τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσι τὰς ἐκάστῳ προϋπεσχημένας παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ὡς ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα ὅλως: οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς Ἀντωνίου καθηρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

[74] In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the

Senate alone that of Octavius. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days, — a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavius in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to fight Antony when he should draw near them. Such was the course of events at Rome.

[75] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθνήσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστήσατο καὶ εἶπεν:

ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὥς ἐμαυτῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δεῖσαντες δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμώτατον κάκεινον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφορομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὥς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπήϊου: τότε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

[75] In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he summoned Octavius to his side, and said: "I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he seemed to be the one most ambitious to fill the rôle of Cæsar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honors. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honors than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when

one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Cæsar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

[76] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἴρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστεῖλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία: ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενουῦμεν, ὥς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρότερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεώτος κάμει τοῦ χρεῶν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκης χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὥς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τὰ τε σαρτῶ συμφέροντα γινώσκης καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι: τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθορον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὃ ταμίας παραλήγεται Τορκουάτος.

ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμία τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασεν ἡ βουλὴ, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἴρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

[76] "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Cæsar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Cæsar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quæstor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he transferred the new levies to the quæstor and expired. The quæstor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavius sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honors to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

CHAPTER XI

Cassius raises an Army — State of Affairs in Syria — Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia — Octavius makes Approaches toward Reconciliation with Antony — He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio - Octavius applies for the Consulship — Asks Cicero to be his Colleague

[77] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καικίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξτος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπῆγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συννομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιῆσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μὲν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ιδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Στάιον Μοῦρκον οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὃ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὃ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

[77] The following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Cæsar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Cæcilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Cæsar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and sometime later, when he called Bassus to him and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and stabbed Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Cæsar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Cæsar sent Statius Marcus

against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Marcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions.

[78] ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τὰ τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτὸν ἕξ, φιλία τε παραδόντων καὶ ὥς ἀνθυπάτω κατηκῶν γενομένων: ἐνήφιστο γάρ, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλληνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος οὐδὲν προπευσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δωδέκα τελῶν ἀθρόως ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφῆδeto.

[78] While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrender, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

[79] Μακεδονίας δὲ πέρι Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὀπλιτῶν: καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἡσώμενος ἐνήδρευεν. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε: τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πείραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς περιελθὼν αὐθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσάσατο. οἱ δέ, ὥς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἥς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφία τε καὶ πραότητι, ἠγάσαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετεβάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν πολλάκις διαφθεῖρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνηρέθη. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν ἕξ ἐγίνετο τέλη: καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

[79] In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one

legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow-citizens, and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honor by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valor of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom he drilled in the Italian discipline.

[80] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν ὕβρει θέμενος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκιον ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἤτει. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμεινεν ἀποθνήσκων. τοὺς τε οὖν ἀλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφίλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα· Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελεῶν ὄντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβάλων ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεινᾶν οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὣν Οὐεντιδίου συνεῖς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι· καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἐξεννοχῆναι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

[80] Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavius, although he considered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honors of a triumph for his exploits. Being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honors beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired a reconciliation with Antony, as Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of those of Antony's army who had been taken prisoners, both officers and soldiers. He enrolled them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony he allowed them to do so, in order to show that he was not moved by implacable hatred against him. When

he was encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he inspired the latter with fear, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity to join himself or to go on safely with his army to Antony, and told him to chide the latter for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Octavius also allowed Decius, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, and had been treated with honor, to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius tried to find out what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that more would be insufficient for fools.

[81] Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἐταιρείας καθ' ἓνα τῶν Καίσαρος ἕκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κἀκεῖνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τότε παθόντι. ἡξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαι τε τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὀπλίτας: οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδ' ὅτε παύσαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ' ἓνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τότε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ: Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγγυντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνηγετήσιν ναυτικῶν περ ἧδη γεγονότων.

[81] After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavius wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest in consequence of the favor extended to the Pompeian faction, each of the Cæsarians should, one by one, share the fate of Antony, although he was suffering the consequences of his own folly and arrogance. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred to unite their strength by settling together on ground that belonged not to them in groups, rather than enjoy their own homesteads singly. These things Octavius wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. The first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would pursue and capture Antony immediately.

[82] οἱ τε Πομπηϊανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀπειληθέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἓνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονία δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὐθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων: Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πᾶν σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διωκῇ, καὶ τόδε σαφῶς εἰδύια ἢ βουλὴ τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυνεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὅ τι τις λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν: ἀπειλαί τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ μετήεσαν ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα: μετῆι δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὥς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσοντα πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων εὐπρεπῇ, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρόφην ἔνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτήσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὕβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὅπλοις: ὥς δ' ἂν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατὴ παιδαγωγόν.

ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἢ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιο ὑπατεύων:

[82] When the Pompeians learned what had happened (and an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party), they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained, and they each offered sacrifices. Decemvirs were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Cæsar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Cæsar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext for annulling a part of the measures it should be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything from Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa. But Octavius also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he (Octavius) would enjoy the title only, by which means he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, for which reason he had previously asked the honor of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and

he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a hostile attitude. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interest of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague as a firm check upon the immaturity of Octavius. The Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the conspirators especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavius, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment."

CHAPTER XII

Antony encamps near Lepidus — They unite their Forces and Ventidius joins Antony — Consternation at Rome — Increasing Coolness between Octavius and the Senate — Octavius sends Soldiers to the Senate to demand the Consulship — He marches toward Rome with his Army

[82] ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα περιεβάλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὥς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἓνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλήν δεδιότος πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύουσας, ὑπισχυομένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἐκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμύγνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λανθάνοντες, εἴτα φανερώς οἷα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερεώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν: τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγμὸν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

[83] For various reasons the election was postponed in accordance with the law. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where the latter was encamped. He neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going back and forth between them constantly, Antony reminding Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, and showing him that after he (Antony) should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Cæsar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one. Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so voluntarily. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going back and forth, and being gratified with the simple manners prevailing in Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, like fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, disregarding the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The so-called Tenth Legion, that had been enlisted by Antony originally, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

[84] ὧν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιάν ἐς πολλὰ

διελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δὴ τινὰς χρείας, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν ἐς φρουράν ταμειῶν πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὀπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνυνον Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἵετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον ἐς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄλυστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἅπασιν τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτῳ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως αὔθις ἐπῆρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃν τε ἐξανέστησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἱππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσγεγέννητο τὰ Οὐεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ ἔχων ὀπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὁμίλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνομάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διώκει.

[84] When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this he warned Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on certain errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some quæstors who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. The latter came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army was now escorting Antony, and they besought Lepidus for peace and compassion to their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them undressed, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he fell on his knees before Antony, being an inexperienced and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony and nothing to cause fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man and most formidable to his enemies. He had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry. Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions. Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed every-thing.

[85] Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θανμαστὴ καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὔθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος, τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἱ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέιχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον:

ἥ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα, καὶ δεδιῶα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὁ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν εἰς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξιόντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιτο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξιτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τοῦσδε Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἡ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ᾧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

[85] When these facts became known at Rome a wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavius and Antony should form an alliance, sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, secretly to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and who favored the senatorial party. Although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Cæsar, and although they suspected everything of his, yet the want of other forces compelled them to take this course. Most awkwardly, too, they reappointed the young Octavius as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

[86] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὥς συνεχῶς ὕβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακτὶς χιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκε τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγοὺς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἐτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσῃ μόνῃ, χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσιν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκῆψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνουν, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσι ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἐτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθὼν, τὰ τε ὕβρισματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἓνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἔς τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ

πολέμους ἑτέρους ἀφ' ἑτέρων, ἵν' ἡ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
στασιάσειαν: ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ
γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν
ἐμβάλοιεν.

[86] Octavius excited the army to anger against the Senate on account of its repeated indignities toward himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavius and said that it would make answer by its own legates. It sent the latter, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavius was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the legates it forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavius as the eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavius, the legates returned leaving the business unfinished. Octavius no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Cæsar, one by one. He admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and sent to one war after another for the purpose of being killed or arrayed in opposition to each other. This was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition in the army.

[87] “Ἰστε δέ,” ἔφη, ‘καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἡττήθη οἶά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἅστει πεποικέναι κατὰ τῶν τινας δωρεὰς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὧν ἐλάβετε παρ’ ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; κἀγὼ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιγίγνηται μοι ἄκαλόν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντά, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνευόντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δὴ με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἔδεχόμην: ἐν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι’ ὑμῶν ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεῖην. τὰ τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελεῖ: ἐγὼ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους.’

[87] “You know,” he said, “the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received

certain gifts from Cæsar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety while the relatives of the murderers dominate the Senate ? I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is beautiful to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from ambition from the time when I declined the prætorship that you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us, and that is that I obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all of my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and after bringing the murderers to punishment I will release you from any more wars."

[88] ὧν λεγομένων ἢ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουνὸς τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὧν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὕστερον, ὃ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἐκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἢ πατρίς. τὰ τε ἔναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Δολοβέλλαν προύφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θάσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλέονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὄντας ᾧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσαν ὡς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντας αὐτὸν ἐξαίρετῷ χειροτονίᾳ, Καίσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφίμουν. ᾧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὅκτῳ τέλει πεζῶν καὶ ἵππων ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ρουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο πάντας διήρει: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ βουλὴ πεπόμεναι, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

[88] At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavius. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden time Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Cæsar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age. While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could

not endure that army officers should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and elevate him to the consulship because he was Cæsar's son. At the same time they extolled the elder Cæsar without stint. When Octavius saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly toward the city, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy, — the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war, — he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate was sending as a present to the soldiers, Octavius feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

CHAPTER XIII

Alarm in the City — Mutual Criminations in the Senate — Vacillating Counsels — The Senate resolves to resist — Octavius arrives at the City Gates — The New Legions go over to him — Cicero departs from the City — Octavius is elected Consul with Pedius as his Colleague — His Adoption by Cæsar ratified by the People

[89] ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἅπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναϊά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων: οὐ γάρ πω σαφοῦς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδόικεσαν. ἡ βουλή δ' ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμιᾷς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέφοντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον ἐπιγράψαντες: οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῇ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἐτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίων: οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συναλλαγήσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἤκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

[89] When the news of Octavius' approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the fields and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since it had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some were blamed because they had wrongfully deprived him of the command of the campaign against Antony, others because they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honor of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten. Still others said that the army had become hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially because of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavius. Thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long taken the lead, was nowhere to be seen.

[90] ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἱ τὰδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν. ὧν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπληγῆθαι, μηδὲ ἑτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτῇ, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὀπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιούσι προτείνειν: προσδοκᾶν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῇ πατρίδι ἐποίσειν: εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαι τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι; καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον: τὰ τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

[90] There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given. Instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavius was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. It felt that it ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as far as possible and oppose the laws to the invaders, for there was some hope that, if the laws were opposed to them, not even they would bear arms against their country. If they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded anything prejudicial to their liberty.

[91] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὐθις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος: ἡ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππῆες χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτερον, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἶδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἴανουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν: ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τὰδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἡ μεταπίσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι: τοὺς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε

μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε φανερῶς οὔτε λάθρα ζητοῦντες εὑρισκον. ἐθορυβοῦντο οὖν αὐθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι: καὶ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὕτω σφίσιν ἐπικλωμένων, ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὰς ὧδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

[91] As the two legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbor on the same day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all of the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind, all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the so-called hill of Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city prætors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbor, together with money, in order to escape by sea in case they should be vanquished. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavius in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves to the last extremity. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. When they sought for the mother and sister of Octavius, and did not discover them either in any open or secret abode, they were again alarmed at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Cæsarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that these women had been carefully concealed by them.

[92] Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβων ἐντυγχανόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται: καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς. ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμένῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει, σὺν φόβῳ μὴ τι πάθοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες: ἔς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένον ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπτόων πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατέλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὐθις ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ προσαγορευόντων: ἔθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπεδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθαπερ ἦν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυλακὴν ἔχων ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἱκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ὑπῆντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προσηγόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θεραπείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἡσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο: καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ ἦρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνοῦτος μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ πίστεων ἔτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπῆρεν, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν

τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

[92] While Octavius was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavius hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him. The common people ran also and admired the good order of the soldiers, which they considered a sign of peace. On the following day Octavius advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savored of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself. The others allied themselves with Octavius. When Cicero learned this he sought an interview with Octavius through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavius for the consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavius answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

[93] νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ: νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξιν αὐτοῖς οὔσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχὺς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποιοῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἥ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιουμένου. ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

[93] The next night a rumor gained currency that two of Octavius' legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, because they had been led against their country by deception. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavius' army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night

they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

[94] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἡμύνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικὴνην ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεὶς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκλῳ ἢ ἐτέρῳθι καὶ ἄλλα συνεχεῖσθαι κελεύσας, ὅποσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγουμένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσιν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξήλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἰρετούς. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ περ ἐβούλετο Κοῖντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δεδώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ὡς ὕπατος ἐσῆι, καὶ ἔθνε, δώδεκά οἱ γυνῶν φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν: κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων: καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαῖῳ δ' ἦν τὰ τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένη, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδέχθη.

[94] Octavius laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the prætors, not even Crassus who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave. He pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and that the amount that had been previously ordered to be paid on the motion of Cicero be distributed; that is, he divided 2500 drachmas per man and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected, together with Quintus Pedius, whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Cæsar, he entered the city as consul. He offered the usual sacrifices, and twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*, — that is, by a popular

vote, — for the parts into which the tribes, or the common people, are divided are called *curiæ*, just as I suppose the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriæ*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Cæsar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavius wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Cæsar's will.

CHAPTER XIV

Indictment and Trial of Cæsar's Murderers — The Senate rescinds its Decrees against Antony and Lepidus — Flight of Decimus Brutus — He is captured and put to Death

[95] νόμῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγνωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καὶ τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνεται. πᾶσι δ' ὀρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαντες ἐάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλην ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτός τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὃδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖςδε ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Καίσαρι: καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεῶς ἐπιβάς σὺδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

[95] He caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Cæsar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of Cæsar bringing accusations against some for actual participation in the crime and against others as having guilty knowledge only. Several were indicted, and among them some who were not in the city when Cæsar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default while Octavius was overlooking the court. None of the judges voted for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but was included with others in the proscription a little later. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city prætor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavius for the command of Africa, and, being thus brought into his presence, attempted to take his life. His colleagues stripped him of his prætorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavius ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

[96] τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρίζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξῆι δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεξεύγνυε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων: Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μῆδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς

πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπῆνουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμου ὑπισχεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπῆνουν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίζειν Καίσαρι.

[96] These things accomplished, Octavius formed plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavius had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. They foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavius against Brutus and Cassius. Nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature were sent to them. Thereupon Octavius wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself take vengeance on Decimus for Cæsar's account and on Plancus for his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavius.

[97] τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀτώνιον, ὥστε ἤδη βαρυνάτης δυνάμεως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἑξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βρούτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὤδευε ταύτῃ, ἄλλην μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τὸν τε Ῥήνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες ἐς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμιλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἰππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνον ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷα τις

Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυλῆας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

[97] Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which the latter passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled. The other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labors. As he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by the higher Alps, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. Since Cæsar had travelled by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one — to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavius. After them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by all the others except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.

[98] ἀλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρετο μὲν οὗτο Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἶη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκῶς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασιν ἀνδρὶ τοσῶδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱπάρχη τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδίδου μετ' ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς καὶ ὅδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη, ἐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

[98] Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camillus, a man to whom he had done many favors. So he told them to bring him to Camillus.

When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him, for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but he sent word to Antony secretly. Antony was some-what touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camillus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Cæsar's præfect of horse and had governed Farther Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consulship the coming year and for the governorship of Hither Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Cæsar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was castrating by way of punishment.

Antony to Hirtius and Octavius

"WHEN I heard of the death of Trebonius I was both glad and sorry. It rejoiced me to know-that a wretch had paid the penalty due to the ashes and bones of the most illustrious of men, and that the vengeance of the gods had overtaken him within the term of the revolving year, and that punishment for the parricidal act is either accomplished or impending. I mourn that Dolabella was voted an enemy as soon as he had put the assassin to death, and that the son of a buffoon should seem dearer to the Roman people than Gaius Cæsar, the father of his country. Most grievous is it that you, Aulus Hirtius, loaded as you are with Cæsar's benefactions, and left by him in a condition that must be a surprise to yourself, and you, O boy, who owe everything to his name, should so conduct yourselves that Dolabella should be condemned by law, and this pest [Decimus Brutus] delivered from siege, and Brutus and Cassius strengthened as much as possible. You look upon the present state of things too much as you have viewed the past. You call Pompey's camp the Senate. You have taken the vanquished Cicero for a leader. You are strengthening Macedonia with armies. You have placed Africa in charge of Varus, who was twice taken prisoner. You have sent Cassius into Syria. You have allowed Casca to hold the tribuneship. You have taken away the revenues of the Luperci assigned to them by Cæsar. You have abolished the colonies of veterans established by law and senatus consultum. You promise to restore to the Massilians what was taken from them by the law of war. Do you forget that under the law of Hirtius no Pompeian who lives can hold office? You have supplied Brutus with the money of Apuleius. You applauded the execution of Pætus and Menedemus, Cæsar's hosts, who had been given the citizenship by him. You took no notice of Theopompus when he was stripped and driven out by Trebonius and fled to Alexandria. You tolerate Servius Galba in your camp girded with the same dagger [with which he stabbed Cæsar]. You have enlisted my soldiers and the veterans under pretence of exterminating those who killed Cæsar, and have hurled them, in ignorance of

what they were doing, against their quæstor, their general, their comrades. In short, what have you not approved of, what have you not done, that Pompey himself would do if he could come to life, or his son if he were at home? Finally, you say that peace is not possible unless I let Brutus go free or supply him with corn. What? Is this the opinion of those veterans who can still choose their own course? Since you have sold yourselves for adulation and poisoned gifts, . . . But you say you are bringing aid to beleaguered soldiers. I will not hinder them from escaping and going where they please if they will let that man perish who has deserved to perish. You write me that mention has been made of peace in the Senate, and of five ambassadors of consular rank. It is hard to believe that those who drove me headlong when I offered the fairest conditions, and was even thinking of abating some part of them, can contemplate any moderate or humane act. It is hardly probable that those who voted Dolabella an enemy for his most righteous deed could spare me, who hold the same sentiments with him. Wherefore you ought rather to reflect whether it is more fitting, and more useful to our party, to avenge the death of Trebonius or that of Cæsar, and whether it is more equitable for us to compete with each other in bringing to life the cause of Pompey that has so often had its throat cut, or to combine, so that we be not a laughing-stock to our enemies, who will be the gainers whichever of us shall fall. Fortune itself has thus far shunned that spectacle, that it might not behold two armies belonging to one body fighting each other, with Cicero for trainer, who is a happy man in so far as he can deceive you with the same compliments with which he boasted that he deceived Cæsar. I am resolved to endure no affront either to myself or to my friends, nor to desert the party that Pompey hated, nor to allow the veterans to be moved from their settlements or be put to the torture one by one; nor shall I come short of the faith I pledged to Dolabella, nor violate my alliance with Lepidus, that most conscientious man, nor betray Plancus, the partner of my counsels. If the immortal gods aid me, as I hope, in my righteous course, I shall be glad to live; but if another fate awaits me I shall enjoy your punishment in advance, for if the Pompeians are so insolent when vanquished, what they will be when victorious you will learn by experience rather than myself. Finally, the sum and substance of my decision is this, I can bear the injuries that my friends have done me if they are willing to forget that they have done them, or if they are ready to join me in avenging Cæsar's death. I do not believe that ambassadors are coming to the theatre of war. When they do come I shall know what they demand." *Cicero, Phil. xiii*

BOOK 4

δύο μὲν δὴ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ: ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἤρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολὺς, ἱππικός τε καὶ ναυτικός καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνοντο αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὐρέσεις καὶ παθήματα ἀάμπαν ἐπαχθῇ, οἷα οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὔροι: Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προεῖρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

CHAPTER I

Reconciliation of Octavius and Antony — The New Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus — Plunder of Italy promised to Soldiers — Fearful Prodigies at Rome

THUS was punishment visited upon two of Cæsar's murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The following events came next in order.

[2] Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἔχθρας συνήεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησίδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖαν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἑκάτερος ὀπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρῦνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦεσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καῖσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἔωθεν ἐς ἐσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν· ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσιν ὑπάτοις· ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλύον ἔτι γίνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικὴν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

[2] Octavius and Antony composed their differences on a small, gradually sloping islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five

legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus himself went before them, searched the island, and shook his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavius in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: That Octavius should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that anew magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul. The latter, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus, while Octavius was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

[3] ὧδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον κρατοῦντας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, Κασσίῳ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα: Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἐτέρων: τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς, ἑπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὥς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἅλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσία καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμησεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γινόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἰπώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο: καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς ὑπατος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

[3] Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. The assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic only was postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavius were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his

legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavius and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with the expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies — cities which excelled in wealth, in the fertility of their territory, and in handsome houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavius, as consul, communicated them to the soldiers, all except the proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

[4] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερά ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδὲς, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν πόλει ζῶον, βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγγατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἴδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἴδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλοι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὀρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ σημεῖα πολλὰ, καὶ λιθῶδεις ἐγίγοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπὼν, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

[4] While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled exactly like wolves — a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum — an animal unused to the city. Cattle used the human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; in consequence of which the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead.

CHAPTER II

Proscription decreed by the Triumvirs — First Massacre — The Triumvirs enter the City — Text of the Proscription

[5] οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἐτέρους, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἐχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἐχθρας ἢ πλούτου διαφέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδομενῶν ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένης ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφοράς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἅμφι τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὶ τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

[5] As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they swapped their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, some on the ground of enmity, others for a grudge merely, or because the victims themselves were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends. Some were proscribed on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were coöperating with them. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. Some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the so-called knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the lieutenants serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-lieutenants.

[6] τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Πρώμην

προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυώδεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἧ, ὡς ἔτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατοὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιτέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν ἐστιάσεσί τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι: ζητούμενων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἀλISCOμένη πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίνεσθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἠγεῖτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἰρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν: καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὑπατος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπὶ ἡλπιζε περιμεινάντας ἕς ἔω τὰ ἀκριβέστερα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίας ἐποιοῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν,

[6] As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets. Search was made for the others in temples and houses. There was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men had been seized and massacred, although nobody had been previously sentenced by proscription, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. In despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of committing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of the triumvirs. Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night.

[7] ἐσήεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἕκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἕς τὰ ἐπικαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καὶνὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἕς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ

Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις, ἦν ἂν τις Ἑλλήνων ἀρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα, οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προυτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. καὶ τις προσετίθετο τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν προανηρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνηρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἦν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντα τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.

[7] The triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, each with a praetorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and the tribune Publius Titius proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would have been called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for consideration of this measure, nor was a future day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who had been previously condemned or killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs in order to adjust the rewards, which to a free person were payable in money and to a slave in both money and freedom. All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

[8] καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή:

Μᾶρκος Λέπιδος, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκταύιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν: εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί, εἴτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὗτ' ἂν Γάιον Καῖσαρα ἀνηρήκεσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέφ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς

προήγαγεν ἀθρόως, οὐτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίοις ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλευμέθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὀρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιланθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἰρούμεθα. μὴ δὴ τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμετρον ἡγείσθω, ἔς τε Γάιον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθαμεν ὀρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὄρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὐρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὧσιν θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισωθέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἥρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἀεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τάς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλῆξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

[8] The proscription was in the following words: “ Marcus Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavius Cæsar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious scoundrels begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Cæsar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honors, and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those, who have conspired against us and from whom Gaius Cæsar suffered, cannot be overcome by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Cæsar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Cæsar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the Romans, this man was slain in a public and sacred place designated as the senate-house, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, some of whom he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms

against the country and against us.

[9] ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα δίκην διδόντας ὤψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἡνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσίν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἐν ἔστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαίῳ. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τοῦσδε ἐν ἐπαίξει τοσσηδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

[9] “Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall see the rest punished presently. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well in hand, appertaining to Spain and Gaul as well as to Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Cæsar’s assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war. We think that there should be no delay in such an emergency, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that (Y.R. 712) they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

[10] κακεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας ἡμῖν συναπώλλυον, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι: ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὐδενὶ χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κακεῖνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχὴ προσεΐπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμνυόμεθα. καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἥσσον ἡμῶν: ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεῖν πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὕβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμῷ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἰρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν: καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἢ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπληριθμημένους καὶ ὠρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωνται.

[10] “What vast numbers of citizens have they doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished

for their riches merely, their estates, or their high position; nor shall we go to the same lengths as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers. It is incumbent on us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we please, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

[11] ἀγαθὴ τύχη τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδὲνα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδῶς φανῇ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαῖς δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράφεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾗ.

ὧδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

[11] “In God’s name then, let no one harbor any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing any excuse or pardon. Those who kill the proscribed and bring us their heads shall receive the following rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master’s right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown (Y.R. 711) the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers.” Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek.

CHAPTER III

The Triumvirs put some of their Own Near Relatives on the List of the Proscribed — Terrible Panic in the City — Domestic Servants as Informers and Assassins — Scenes of Agony and Horror — Some Remarkable Cases

[12] πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οἶδε μὲν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοῖντιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἶδε τῶν ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, μηδὲνα ῥύσεσθαι τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἱ τε πύλαι κατεῖχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξοδοὶ τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὑποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγὰς: τήν τε χώραν ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

[12] Lepidus was the first to begin the work of proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Cæsar. These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinnius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not so much on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbor, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously.

[13] εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνά τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἕκαστός περ συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαῖ τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηον μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις

γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὕπουλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιτος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτομένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεθεῖεν.

[13] Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, and decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown; also undignified flights in strange costumes, of persons hitherto well dressed. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thick-set tiles of their roofs. Some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers. Others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbors feared neighbors who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, prætors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of savior and master. It was most lamentable that even after submitting to this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

[14] ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὥς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψεσιν: οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὕπουλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προυτίθει: ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὖνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναί δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἔς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τινων ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις: ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐκδοτοὶ γεγέννητο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπο τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγώγει: οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθήπесαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

[14] Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation, for in those cases the people had to fear only the

members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, and could rely on their own domestics. But now they were more afraid of them than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain the published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to the household, preferring his own gain to compassion for the home. Those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other. After the proscriptions some immediately became the betrayers of all. Others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became hunting dogs for the murderers for the sake of the rewards. Of the remainder, some plundered the houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

[15] ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπίσχνοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δηλὸς ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεῖς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλὴ: τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντισταθεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ. ἴση δ' ἦν ἐτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδιῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφύζοντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνήσκοντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν: οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς ἀνηρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκείνος ἐπιδειξίς παραδοξολογίας.

[15] Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or dodged,

or tried to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honors of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

[16] καὶ τότε ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐν ἰδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἕτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταφία: ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπιφανέστερα. ὧν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα 'οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῇ καὶ φυγῇ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγόντων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις', ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μάλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξῃ καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσῃ τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν: ὀλίγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἑκάστην ιδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

[16] These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the deity thus smote the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about, after a long period of time, the present well-ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Gaius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially of one of them, who, by means of his character and good fortune, established the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and name to those who now rule after him. I shall now run over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the more worthy to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I

shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in numerous books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

CHAPTER IV

The Tribune Salvius slain at a Banquet — Annalis and Thoranius betrayed by their Sons — Flight and Pursuit of Cicero — He is killed — His Head and Hand suspended from the Rostra — The Egnatii, Ballus and Aruntius — The two Ligarii — Septimius betrayed by his Wife — Other Depraved Women — Statius, Capito, and Vetulinus — Servants and their Masters — Curious Incidents — The Cases of Varus and Largus — Rufus is proscribed for the Sake of his House

[17] Ἡρξάτο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνῆρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὁδε ὁ δημαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκῶς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχῶς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπείξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἰστία ὥς οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος: ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἡρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὥς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηξε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὐθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὥς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ: πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνῆλλασεν ἐς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέῳ παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐρεῖν.

[17] The massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His was, according to the laws, a sacred and inviolable office, endowed with the greatest powers, even that of imprisoning the consuls in certain circumstances. Salvius was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had coöperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on. Some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they

remained after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the side of the tribune's body. The second one slain was the prætor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he fled, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the prætor more easy to his slayers.

[18] Ἀννᾶλιν ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδί μετιόντι ταμείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιομένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἱ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀννᾶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ὃ βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελεὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὠδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος, καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἤρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἱ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνηρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἡξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες 'ἤτησεν,' εἶπον, 'ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα.' καὶ συνεῖς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἕτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἤτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι: ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρώων, μὴ κάκείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἁλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

[18] Annalis, another prætor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quæstorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied him, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the ædileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father. Thoranius, who was not then prætor but had been such, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her

not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened in the son's case that, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, he was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

[19] Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἡρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων 'τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμώτατα πάντων Ἀντωνίου τε ἐξήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες' ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπτάντες ἐκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἐκ τοῦ θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που Κικέρων ὁραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀρμῶντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν: 'ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρὰν λοχαγοί.'

τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὥς ἐλευσομένων πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν,

[19] Cicero, who had held supreme power after Cæsar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all of his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the seasickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), crows flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his bed-covering until his servants, perceiving that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Læna, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Come on, you centurions in the rear, this is the place;" whereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken.

[20] ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθώκως, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέτεμενεν, ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιπλήσων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἣ τοὺς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλίππικους ἐπέγραψεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκροώμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

ὥδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπὶ τε λόγοις αἰδίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὅτε ἦρχε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγωνὸς χρήσιμος, ἀνῆρητο καὶ ἀνῆρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βρούτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδί καταληφθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτῆσιν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ.

[20] Læna, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason CICERO In the Hall of the Philosophers, Capitoline Museum, Rome

of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against the tyranny of Antony and which he had entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Læna, a long distance off, showed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy. The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight. Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in

advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time according to agreement.

[21] Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατήρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέμνηντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιντο, προύπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἶπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἐξαγγείλαντος δέ τις, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειληφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἐπεισεν ὥς νέον περισφύζειν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα θάψει· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθαι λιμῷ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτὴν.

αἶδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων εἰκόνες:

[21] The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by the same blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies were still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did ill luck add to the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death. Such examples were there of good and bad sons.

[22] ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἱπνῶ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνῆρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγὼν, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον, ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλίεων περισχόντων ὥς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκη καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἀλίεων περιεγίγνετο καὶ 'οὐκ ἐμέ,' ἔφη, 'περισφύζετε, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε.' οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖραντες περιέσφωζον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἐτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὐρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἄθλον ἀπέκοψε· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτόμενον

ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἐξήγαγον καί, ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονύψαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, ‘ἐμέ,’ ἔφη, ‘κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου.’ καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραπτον, ‘εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς,’ ἔφη: ‘σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γέγραπαι,’ καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω.

[22] Two brothers of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled. When the latter learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from a bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again. When he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed, “You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed.” Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out. They then cut off his head, just as he was, without washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, “Kill me instead of him.” The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, “Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his.” And so saying, he killed both of them in due order. Let these serve as examples in the case of brothers.

[23] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα: Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς εἶπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένη βοῶσα: ‘ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ’ ὅμοια τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια.’ καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μὴνύοντος, αὐτάγγελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ’ ἑαυτῆς, κάκεινων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων, ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῶ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισφύζουσα ἀπετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν: ὅσαι δὲ ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἡ Σεπτιμῖω μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δὲ τινος Ἀντωνίου φίλου διεφθείρετο: ἐπιγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσετέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας τῶν οἰκοὶ κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο: καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐκείνον ἀνήρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

[23] Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her. So she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. He learned this fact from his wife, and in ignorance of his domestic ills prepared for flight. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

[24] Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἶκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύπτειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἔλθειν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὑποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἤξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆει, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπεῖξων· ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γινόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπληλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἐς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προὔδωκε ζηλοτυπία τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράθω:

[24] Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers. The janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming. When the janitor went out Salassus feared that he had gone to lay a plot

against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing that it was not the janitor but his wife who was bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her. Let these serve as examples of depraved women.

[25] Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὀδοηκοντούτης ὦν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἓνα ἀνήρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἰς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐτεουλίνος δὲ χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμένοι πάνυ ἐδυσχέραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐτεουλίνος ἀνήρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὥς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἴτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὥς εἶδε πορθευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.

[25] Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who had mastered that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in

several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

[26] Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἥρπασε παρὰ τοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανίων δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν ‘ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὦ δέσποτα,’ εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότηι: ‘παραμύθιον ἔχεις.’ Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέρους χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι. Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβῶν τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ’ αἰεὶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ’ ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἄσαι πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἐκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγγατο ἐν μέσῳ.

[26] Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favorite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he found that his master had been killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, “Wait a moment, my master,” whereupon he fell suddenly upon the centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, “Now you have consolation.” Lucius placed his gold in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the seashore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear himself bravely under similar circumstances. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his diet, he came forth

and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscrip̄t voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

[27] Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Καισένιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφαί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἶη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας ‘σὺ κάκεϊνος’ εἶπε καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῶν καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα προσγεγράφαί, οὐπω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ἰκέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερώς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομιζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταξε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σῆνθες ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοούντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑποκρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ ὁμοτέχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

[27] Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not endure the anguish of the tempest, he leaped overboard. Sisinius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him. Æmilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Æmilius, replied, “You and he,” and killed them both. Cilo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names were on the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road. Icilius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius when Octavius presided over the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did

not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers fell into a dispute with Icilius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

[28] Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσῃ ληστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περιθεόντων, ἣ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηγε τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστής καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἡνείχετο. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, 'ἀπαγορεύω,' φησὶν, 'ὑμῖν, ὧς Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν με γεγενημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι: εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνὶ μοι διαφυγεῖν, ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν.' ἀπιστούντων δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπονοοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ Λάργον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον διώκοντες: οἰκτείραντες δ', ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἀλοίῃ, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνὰ τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὑφ' ἐτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καὶ 'ὑμεῖς,' ἔφη, 'με κτεínaτε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε.'

ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων φιланθρωπίας,

[28] Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to a marsh at Minturnæ, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnæ were mounting guard over this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death and resigned himself to his fate, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnæ," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and — what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers — also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighborhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians. Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men." Thus he recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him.

[29] Ροῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν περικαλλῇ, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ δωροῦμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι. ἑπαυλὶν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλῇ καὶ σύσκιον, ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεραπῶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδου τὸν τοῦ δεσπότης χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηγε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότης, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεραπῶν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλευθερὸς αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εἶποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὁ δῆμος ἡγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

[29] Rufus possessed a handsome house near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him. A slave revealed the hiding-place of Aterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He had the impudence to bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for doing more than was needful. Such were the evils that befell the men.

CHAPTER V

Children Proscribed for their Wealth — Sales of Confiscated Property — Taxes imposed on Women — The Daughter of Hortensius makes a Public Speech — The Triumvirs relax the Impost — Outrages committed by Soldiers

[30] περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίνετο, ἦψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συνανηρέθη, τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι: Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ἦει μὲν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἄφνω δὲ ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει: οὐ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἀξιώσας ἔτι ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἐτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος ἔφυγεν: ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ληστεύειν τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθισμένον. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἀνηρέθη.

[30] The calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with the attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the virile toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples. His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his brilliant escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a robber and committed to a workhouse. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high road with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed.

[31] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἰβηρσιν ἐθρίαμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον: ‘ἀγαθὴ τύχη προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν: ὅς δ’ ἂν μὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἔσται.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερά ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς: τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνοῦντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν, ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

[31] While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "In God's name, let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were gutted, but there were not many buyers of their lands. Some were ashamed to add to the burdens of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be quite safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be extra-hazardous to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations, were short 20,000,000 of drachmas.

[32] καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἱ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον: καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἐκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυσσάμεναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου: Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡσάμεναι, δισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὅρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης:

ὁ μὲν ἤρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναῖξιν τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν: ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἤρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡδίκησθε: εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεύλομεν οἰκίαν ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι;

[32] The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their

property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the female relatives of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavius and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, they spoke as follows, according to previous arrangement: “As is befitting women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to your female relatives. Having suffered unseemly treatment on the part of Fulvia, we have been compelled by her to visit the forum. You have deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you. If you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. If we women have not voted you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honors, — why do you visit upon us the same punishment as upon the guilty, whose offences we have not shared?

[33] τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισηνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλοῦντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἐκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκίδων, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβιώτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἶκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγοροῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἡ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χεῖρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμὲν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ’ ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος: ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

[33] “Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honors, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? ‘Because this is a time of war,’ do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers once for all rose superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the

Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. Who now causes you alarm for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other. We did not contribute to Cæsar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are reëstablishing the commonwealth.”

[34] τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὁρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχάζοντων θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν: ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἐξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἱ τε ὑπηρεταὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὕστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἄστων ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνῇ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

[34] When Hortensia had thus spoken the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and not furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

[35] ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἐπεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χεῖρονα ἐποίουν. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἡτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι: οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔτερα ἔδρων, κτινύντες τε τοὺς οὐ

προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστροφὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἔδεισεν ἄψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἱ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

[35] Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs. Even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of rich men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them.

CHAPTER VI

Examples of the Proscribed who escaped — The Brother of Lepidus and the Uncle of Antony allowed to escape — Messala and Bibulus — Acilius and Lentulus — Escape of Apuleius and Rheginus — How Oppius was saved by his Son — The Metelli, Father and Son — Marcus and Restio saved by Slaves — Faithful Freedmen — Daring Exploit of Pomponius — Strange Battle between Two Fugitives — How Varro the Historian was saved — How Virginius the Orator escaped to Sicily — Strange Adventures of Marcus Lollius — Balbinus and Lepidus — The Son of Cicero escapes and is restored to Favor

[36] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν: ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίνετο ἐς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀζίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοὶ τε ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἐς μηδὲν ἀποκάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιοῦμενον: ὁ δὲ πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύμως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε ἔδειξε, κήρυκάς τε περιπέμπων, οἱ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισφύζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἰροῦσι: λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημειᾶ τε ἀνίσχουσαι τοῖς ἄλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισφύζουσαι. αὐτὸς τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθῆτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο: τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἐχρήτο. σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων ὕστερον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τούδε ἀγαθὴν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρώᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἥσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν: ἕτεροι δὲ ἐτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγέροντο. φιλανδρίαί τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὥφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὖνοιαὶ καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότης. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

[36] Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honor are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that hope should not be abandoned in adverse circumstances. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable zeal in

behalf of the unfortunate at this crisis, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessities. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves for their masters, quite beyond expectation. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

[37] Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βροῦτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἡ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἐξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένη τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· 'ἐμαυτὴν, ᾧ αὐτοκράτορ, μὲν σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξιν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνης· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπιτεκμήριται.' ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμπάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα 'οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισφάζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν. ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο, παρεσκεύασεν ὁμῶς Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

[37] Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of the triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of the triumvir. When, later, they attempted to do violence to him, she dashed into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister,

saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now. Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

[38] Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βρούτῳ ἐφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δεισάντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως: ‘ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας.’ ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θράκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἰρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούση τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὖθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος, καὶ περὶ Ἄκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλα καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθημενσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

[38] Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: “Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Cæsar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed.” He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavius, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavius sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them. Bibulus was received into favor at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavius and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

[39] Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθῶν, οἰκέτου δ’ αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὀπλίταις, τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόνων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὥς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἃ

ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας: οἱ γὰρ ὀπλῖται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν ἑαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σφῶιτο καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσιν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἦδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο: μεθ' ὧν ὥδευεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἷα θεράπεινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα, εὔρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἷα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμευνίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικός.

[39] Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and conducted him to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed prætor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the prætor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a prætor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

[40] Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἠπέλιπεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσειν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίनाς ὁδεύοντι φανερώς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν. Ῥηγῖνον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν, ἐς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδομίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἀνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἔδωκεν: αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἡγεῖτο φορεῖν φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὀπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνωμένου, δεῖσας ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὥς ὁδῷ χρώμενος ἤξιον τὸν ὀπλίτην φεῖδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν 'ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ ἄπιθι χαίρων,' εἶπεν, 'αὐτοκράτορ: τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε.' Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σῶφρων μὲν οὖσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.

[40] The wife of Apuleius threatened that, if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him in a sewer by night. The soldiers were not willing to follow him there in the daytime, on account of the foul odor. The next night she fixed him up as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as he passed along admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius obtained his safety by yielding herself to Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

[41] Γέταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὅππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονόησαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἷόν που καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον: δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἱ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν: 'τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεῖς προγραφέντα ἔκρυσέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε.'

[41] The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting the trick and nobody troubling him. In like manner they say that Æneas was respected even

by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the ædileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office [for public games], the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him and saved him."

[42] Μετέλλω δὲ ἦσθιν υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἔάλω καὶ ἡγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγῇ καὶ ὅδε περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνονται τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἦγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως καὶ δύης καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μεταμορφώσεως. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἠσπάζετο σὺν οἰμῳγῇ· ἐπισχὼν δὲ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη· 'οὗτος μὲν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος· καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μὲν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὐρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δὴ σε τὸν πατέρα σφῶζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἢ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακαθεῖν.' οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σφῶζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθιῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

[42] There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavius and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavius looked over the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavius, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavius spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

[43] Μάρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μάρκος ἐξῆι τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἴρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δηῶν, ὀλίγα πρῶτον, εἴτα καὶ μείζω, μέχρι

χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ’ ὅσων εἴχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἶπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάνθηρος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθὼν, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ Ῥεστίωνι ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δὲ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὀπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωροῦντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἶπετο συνεῖς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, ‘Ῥεστίωνα,’ ἔφη, ‘ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα.’ οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπείγοντο μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

[43] The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius. When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave, who had been brought up by himself and had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighborhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him for a highwayman, but he said, “I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars.” The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city to no purpose. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.

[44] Ἀππίον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτα ἐνέδυσσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης ἀνακλιθεὶς ἐκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος, παρεστῶτος ὥς οἰκέτου. Μενηγίου δὲ τὴν

οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὀπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνεργούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὡς Μενήνιος ἐκὼν ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐνίνιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐνίνιου, Φιλῆμων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔκρυπεν ἐν λάρνακι, ἃς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακὴν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον δεσπότητος φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπότην προγραφέντα ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἀλόμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, φορεῖν φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷά τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθείς ἦει. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος, ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεῖς ἐαλῶκει, εἶδε λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεῖς συνεκρύφθη μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθῆτος, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μετὰξυ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραφάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

[44] Appion was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recess thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father. Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the slaves to the city. One of the slaves broke his leg and walked leaning upon the other with his hand. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with one of the slaves in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him and shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the

proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

[45] Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσιν ἔφερε φανερῶς.

καὶ οἶδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσφύζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπέρετας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθεῖη πρὸς ἑτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἀπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδᾶς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριῖρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

[45] Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavius and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative. The following named persons were saved as I shall now relate. Pomponius arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

[46] Ἀπουλήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἑτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυον καὶ τοὺς ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκατέρῳ γενομένης σημειᾶ τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφὶ τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἐκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπήῳ συγκατῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδωκεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε: τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλὰς καὶ ἑτέροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

[46] Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons. For the remainder of their course they took different roads. They released prisoners and collected fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they arrived at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedmen put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

[47] ἕτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἶκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατοικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἡγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἰσιδος ἔχων ἤτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδου τὰς ποδῆρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διήλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον. Σίτιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσαν, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίτιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίτιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὁδε τῆς ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἴσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηγε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

[47] Another proscrip was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this

fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome itself, which he taught until the return of peace. Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of ædile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head, and thus celebrating the mysteries of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honor of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

[48] Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἡδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλονται καὶ φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε κἀκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελούσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὐνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶη δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, 'ἐνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον,' ἔφη, 'ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο.' καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἷδε πεισθέντες κατήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράπωντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιπούσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορέ τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυνεν ὡς ὀρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὧ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθεὶς τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἦται χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δέ, οἷόν τι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντηπεῖλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δέσας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

[48] Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honorable reward and a larger one by going with him to the sea-shore, “where,” said he, “my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money.” They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared. A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would tell how the captain was helping a proscrip to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.

[49] Μάρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγγράπτο μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τὸδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδόλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότης ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἶπετο καὶ ὧς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντῶντων τις φύλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μάρκον ὡς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βαρβούλῃ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι’ Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μάρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος αὐτὸν ὡς ἄγνων ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν: ἤρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἅστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ.

[49] Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were a proscript he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was. The latter obtained from Octavius, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavius, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him, pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavius and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted. Like good fortune attended them in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year.

[50] Βαλβίνω δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ιδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλευσέως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδί συνεγνώκεναι: Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὖσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἦται παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἶπεν: ‘ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδί συγγνῶναι λέγοντες: σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δέ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῃ ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῃ.’ ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

[50] Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavius and reduced to private life,

presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Mæcenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for lèse-majesté against Octavius and also the young man's mother as knowing to the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Mæcenas sent the son to Octavius at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavius. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favor of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavius, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune and released his wife from bail altogether.

[51] Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ μετὰ Βροῦτον ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἡξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὅδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προῦθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλὴ. Ἄππιος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλευόντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἄππιον, ὥς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίης Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βροῦτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπὶ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προῦθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἷς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν:

[51] Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honored with a military command. Afterward Octavius, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed augur, and not long afterward consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavius this same Cicero, as consul,

announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quæstor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavius. Once when Octavius came to visit him Publius showed him some images of Brutus, and Octavius praised him for doing so. Such were some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted.

CHAPTER VII

The War in the Provinces — Cornificius and Sextius in Africa — The Adventures of Publius Sittius — A Battle at Utica — End of the War in Africa

[52] γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο: καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τε Λιβύην Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξστιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀζίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Παταρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

[52] While these transactions were taking place at Rome all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among these wars was the one in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, the one in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and the one against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture by siege. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated ones of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

[53] Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὅσῃν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο: ἦν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὕστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην: εἴη δ' ἂν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ἦται Κορνιφικίον ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὥς Λιβύης ἀπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λήξιν ἔφη γινώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς: ἐκ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφικίου περιῶν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος. ἐδήου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

[53] That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Cæsar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa as the appointee of Octavius, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavius in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves,

and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash around and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Lælius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

[54] καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοιαύδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστάς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. αἰεὶ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο νικῶντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαῖω τε Καίσαρι δῶκοντι τοὺς Πομπητιανοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν δῶνυμον, ἀνεῖλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασσανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασσανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλεῖ, δεδώρητο· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιέειλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπητίου, Γαίου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ Λιβύων τινὰς αἰεὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπητίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον ἀφήρητο τὴν. χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηρήκει δόλῳ. εὖνους δὲ ὢν τοῖς Πομπητιανοῖς διὰ τὰδε, κατεγίνωσκεν αἰεὶ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχούσης ἀμελικτῶς καὶ Σεξστίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὖνοιαν οἶδε πατρώαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

[54] Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Cæsar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Cæsar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Cæsar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio then fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain. He returned to Africa after Cæsar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men,

whom he received back in a state of good training. He expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favor of Octavius. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Cæsar.

[55] θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῆι τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἶπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τότε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦι καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων πέμψαντος ἕς τινα κατάσκεψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἵππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαίλιῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦι μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἵππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πῶ δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτῶμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξῆι τῷ πλεονὶ στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Λαίλιῳ: καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὀπισθεν γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.

[55] Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Lælius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Lælius with his cavalry to make a reconnoissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Lælius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with a larger force to assist Lælius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

[56] ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφικίου παρέδου λαθῶν. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἀλικομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινη τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδὼς πῶ περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου: μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἰππεὲς ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ γινόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν: καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ

Κορνικίῳ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὅπη δύναιτο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σεξστίος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῇ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἀπάσαις.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξστίου καὶ Κορνικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι:

[56] Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Lælius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Lælius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians. He brought the cities into allegiance to Octavius and granted pardon to all. This was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted.

CHAPTER VIII

Brutus and Cassius — How Cassius raised an Army in Syria — He gains Four Legions from Egypt — Cassius marches against Dolabella — He captures Laodicea — Dolabella killed — Brutus informs Cassius that Octavius and Antony are crossing the Adriatic — Cassius captures Tarsus

[57] τὰ δ' ἄμφι Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαβόντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνήρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐζήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθύς δὲ ἐξήεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνητο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἦρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πῶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἅστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξήεσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἢ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραίνουσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκεῖνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἡγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

[57] Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Cæsar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Cæsar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Cæsar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius and Brutus were still city prætors. Cassius had been chosen by Cæsar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still prætors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone, the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

[58] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβόνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα

καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεῦσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι κελεύει Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δωδέκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γεγυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὗ τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλελοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοοῦμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καϊκίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενῆς, Σέξτος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτῶμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπιμεφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπήκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἢ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖσθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταῦτα συνηνάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτερον, συνεγύμναζον ἄμφω καὶ Στάιον Μοῦρκον, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα, γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελεῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες ἕξ τέλεσιν ἥδη.

[58] While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Cæsar long before. One of these Cæsar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Cæcilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the sight of which the army resented, and Julius was stabbed. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Cæsar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Cæsar sent Statius

Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

[59] Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῇ καταλαβὼν τὸν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα παρελάμβανεν ἐκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατὰ τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπακούοντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλληγόνος, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων: καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπετυσμένον, ἄφνω περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατὸν, δείσαντα τέσσαρσι τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δωδέκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἵπποτοξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμειῶν ἐμφρονέστερος ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

[59] Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate, which they obeyed in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, and who had been left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quæstor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

[60] Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρὰ τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας: ὥς δέ οἱ τάδε ἔτοιμα ἦν: ἐπῆει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκειῶς ἔχουσάν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπὶ τε χερρονήσου συμφκισμένην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὄρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τὸν τε ἰσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἕς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

[60] Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, having put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When this was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

[61] Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἵλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλίδαν, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθὼν, ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλις δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν προῦφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπέιχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλα δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχοῦσας.

[61] Being refused by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, without consulting Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really cooperating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Cæsar. This was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

[62] ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δις τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ

ἐξῆς ναυμαχία ἡσάτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αἰρομένου τοῦ χόματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τὸν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεῖσων αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας προὔτεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίῳ σῶστρον ἴδιον· ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαοδικέων δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

[62] When Cassius was again ready with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to corrupt Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force and, while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his own body-guard and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also, and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

[63] μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὥρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλύσαι τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης τὴν βασιλίδαν καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολλὸν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὥς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περὼντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἔστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἥ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους ἀπέλυε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προὔπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

[63] After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavius and Antony with a

strong fleet, he purposed to prevent its sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favorable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavius and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighboring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

[64] Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα: ἀμφοτέροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἑκάτερον, ὥς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς ἐχρῶντο ἑκάτεροι: Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὧς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα: καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκες τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὧνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτούς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιών ὥκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

[64] The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honors upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

CHAPTER IX

Cassius summons Rhodes to surrender — The Rhodians resolve to fight — They send Archelaus as an Ambassador to Cassius — Speech of Archelaus — Reply of Cassius — Sea-fight between Cassius and the Rhodians — The Rhodians retreat — Cassius lays Siege to the City — Rhodes captured and put under Contribution — Ten Years' Tribute exacted from Asia

[65] Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθησαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν: τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολέμοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὁκτώ: Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολέμιων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὥς τριψηθομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὐνους τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσι γίνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρουν Βρούτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὥς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

[65] When Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favor of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to subvert the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavius and Antony and who had fleets, lest they should fall upon the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

[66] Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χειρας ἵεναι, ὁ δὲ λεῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἔπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἱ τὸν Κάσσιον ἡξίουσαν μῆτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μῆτε συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥοδίοις εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους: εἰ δὲ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελεύουσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων

ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὄπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπενηγοχένοι Ῥοδίους Κασσίω, Δολοβέλλα συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίω δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἀλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἅστει τυράννους, οἱ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἣν μὴ θάσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἡμέψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἶλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέα,

[66] The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character. They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they sent messengers to Myndus nevertheless to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance. When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him; whereupon they elected Alexander as prytanis, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet.

[67] ἔπεμπον δ' ὁμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον· καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὥς γνωρίμου.

μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσης Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνὴρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνὴρ· μὴδὲ αἰσχύνῃς ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγόναμεν, μὴδὲ

ἐκλάθη καλῆς ἱστορίας ἥς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς τάδε κάμνειν: ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑτέρων καὶ κατ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στήλαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω:

[67] Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, “O friend of the Greeks, do not subvert a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not attack Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome — at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending — at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honor. So much, O Roman, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you.

[68] πρὸς σέ δέ, ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδῶς τις ἔστιν ἐξαίρετος ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παιδείυσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἐστίαν, ἣν ὤκησας, καὶ τοῦμὸν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μηδ' αὐτῇ σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζεται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης θάτερον, ἢ Ῥοδίου ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἢ Κάσσιον ἡσασθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδ' σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἑναγχος διὰ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἱ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους: ὥς οὐδέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις.

[68] “As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, restored to health when sick, where you had your hearthstone, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who have hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different hopes, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either that the Rhodians

perish utterly, or Cassius be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Cæsar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, which is valid even among enemies, not to mention friends and wards. Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies.”

[69] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυεν αὐτῇ, ὥς ἐρυθριᾶσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὁμῶς εἰπεῖν:

εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας Ῥοδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἡδίκεις: εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἡδικούμην δὲ δὴ πού σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς προτιμώντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαιρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθερούντων, ὧ Ῥόδιοι φιλελεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος ἐτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὖνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφὴς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστι δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας: φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πῶ δυνάμενης. ἢ δ' ὑμῖν ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφοὶ τὴν ἔω πάντα ἀμύνειν ἐμοί τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

[69] When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my guardians and instructors. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavoring to liberate their country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favor while pretending to abstain from

our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who have been sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these very evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

[70] σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι συνεπράξατε, ὦν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικεκόμισθέ που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ: οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν ἐθελοντάς ὑπερμαχεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα, τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα: λέγουσι δ' ὅμως αἱ συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ὡς φησι τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἰκετείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἶδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δὴ που τὸ συγκείμενον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίους βοηθεῖν, κὰν καθ' ἓνα χρήζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὧ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα: ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε.

τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυεν,

[70] “Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped an abundant reward) you remind us of, but when in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you have very short memories. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, to be willing to begin now to fight for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties, — treaties made with you by Gaius Cæsar, the founder of the present monarchy, — yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war, — Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate’s decree says, all the

countries beyond the Adriatic are required to obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you till you obey our orders in everything.” With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away.

[71] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλῳ· καὶ τί που καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχεῖν. εἰρεσίᾳ δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τὴν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ἠλίσσαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως· Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεον τε τοὺς πολεμίους ὀξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ρύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ’ αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἢ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοι, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ’ ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὐτονοί, μέχρι Ῥόδια μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

[71] Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that by sailing against Mithridates at Myndus they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and skill on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater strength. Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front

and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they were confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part having suffered injury.

[72] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὄρους καθεώρα· ὥς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ὥς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη πάντα τε ὅπλων ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσσην τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπίζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγμένους, οἱ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμοῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὥς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκίμῳ, παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν εὐδηλον ἀλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσὶν ἢ λιμῷ· καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

[72] Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from the summit of a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius, who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and

opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

[73] γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου. εἵκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖζαι πυλίδας ἐλέφ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθεῖα τροφῶν.

ὥδε μὲν ἐαλῶκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ προουκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι παρεστήσατο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἀρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσαιτο τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ: ἐτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εὖρεθεῖσι φυγὴν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλῆσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν: καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν: διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προσθεσίαν ἐτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλεονα τῶν προτέρων.

[73] While they were doing so Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seemed the fact, that those of the citizens who were favorable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine. Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by force. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and punished with death those who were led before him. The others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it, together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.

[74] αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαῖδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο: ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι

τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον: τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἰρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἠρεῖτο διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετὰ τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, ... περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσῃν ἔφθασε.

[74] Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet and very extensive apparatus to Octavius and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Cæsar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighborhood of Tænarum and to collect what booty they could from that country.

CHAPTER X

Brutus in Macedonia — He marches against Xanthus — Desperate Defence of the Place — Capture of Xanthus — The Xanthians destroy the City and Themselves — Capture of Patara — Murcus sails to Brundisium to blockade Antony

[75] τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι ἄνωθεν, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουλήϊου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσῃν Ἀπουλήϊος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνεῖλετο, παρήλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὁκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἱππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἥσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίνεταί. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνὴ τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδί ἔτι ὄντι μειρακίῳ, ἤκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυροὺς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὗρε παράδοξον χρυσοῦ τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει:

[75] We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Bœotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of three legions of soldiers which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Cæsar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he trained them in the Roman discipline. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies,

being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he (Brutus) should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver. This he stamped and converted into money.

(Y.R. 712)

[76] ὥς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ Ροδίους προεξαίρειν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξανθίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος μῆδ' ἐς ὕλην ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὔσης πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος αὐτὴν ἔχου βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι κωλύοντων τῶν πολέμιων ἢ πολλοῖς μῆσι μόλις ἔσσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

[76] When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might (B.C. 42) not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward coverings for his workmen, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering as in contests for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labor. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days.

[77] καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων εἰς τὰ τεῖχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἰεὶ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσιν αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγεσαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι: καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα. ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὐθις ἐς τὰς πύλας: καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολλὸς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις

[77] The Xanthians were now subjected to close siege. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders, although fatigued by being always pitted against fresh soldiers, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them — in consequence of which there was around the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

[78] οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὐθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἄθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἑτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπᾶσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτοῦς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πείραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπερησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὥς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὀξέα καλωδίῳ περιτιθέντες ἐσφενδόων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγεῖν τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμων.

[78] Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they burned all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without the hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow

streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under a heavy volley of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge in the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every means [to effect an entrance], Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls to serve in place of ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

[79] Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέφωσαν, ἣ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένους ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἐτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργοῦντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὗσι Ῥωμαῖοις ἐπιθεόντων, δέισαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὁρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἄθροοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντός οὗσιν.

[79] The Cenandians, who were neighbors of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of a precipice. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to chop down the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others outside chopped in conjunction with them, and coöperated to the same end. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

[80] ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἐκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βρούτος νομίσας ἀρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων· ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὤκτειρεν ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα

φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προεννης μένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαζαν. Βροῦτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἴλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γύναια ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο ἐλευθερίας οὐνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος, ὧδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἢ πόλις ἀνειληθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσσησδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.

[80] When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men. Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city, shut up by Harpagus, then became the tomb of the Xanthians; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

[81] Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατήει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακοῦειν ἢ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσήγοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραινούντες ἀμείνονα βουλευσάσθαι. Ξανθίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων πῶ τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακοῦειν, ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγνουν. ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἡ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν, οἷσις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισφύζουσα τὸν υἱὸν εἶπετο, βοῶσα αὐτῇ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερρωτῶμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν

δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθήκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

[81] Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands, and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold, and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for superserviceable zeal in accusing his superiors.

[82] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιτεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκη Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῆει. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανῆει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσιν τε ὑπὸ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενε, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναύαγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἄρρωστία μόλις αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἴη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὀρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις: ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ σχεδίων, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὀλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ

Μούρκου. κακοπαθὼν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξτῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

[82] At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbor and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet, together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus, where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had returned home with difficulty and in ill health, he sailed for Brundisium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbor, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports and was favored by a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavius, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

CHAPTER XI

Doings of Sextus Pompeius in Spain — He sails to Sicily — Sea-fight between Pompeius and Salvidienus — Salvidienus put to Flight — Octavius and Antony cross the Adriatic — Their Advance Guard march to Philippi and occupy the Passes of the Mountains of Thrace — Brutus and Cassius move toward Philippi

[83] ὧδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήιον. νεώτερος ὢν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παίδων ὑπερώφη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὥς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἡλᾶτο περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἶη Πομπήιος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ ληστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χεὶρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπήιος ὢν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἡλῶντο, ὥς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφηρημένος τὰ πατρῶα, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται. ὧδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἤδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι. ὢν ὁ Γάιος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὢν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἠνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἥρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

[83] With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Cæsar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Cæsar. When Cæsar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

[84] καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνᾳ διάδοχον Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν

Πομπήϊω. ὃν τινὰ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὃ τε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῆρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήϊον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἤρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὥς ἀνῆλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἴρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος ἔπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπήϊω Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

[84] Then Cæsar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on the same kind of warfare, Cæsar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but, taking what ships he found in the harbors, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

[85] ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήϊος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἤδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἦγον ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμέναι. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἶδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον: ἀποδιδράσκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων ὥς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήϊον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα καὶ περιφίλητον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐπῆρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήϊον ὥς εὐχερὲς ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμβολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀπαντᾷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὔσαι καὶ ναυτικωτέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτήτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προὔχον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ὥς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίνετο καὶ διεσπᾶτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, οἱ μὲν ἦσσαν ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἐστῶτες βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κόπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ, συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήϊος. νῆες δὲ ἐκατέρων ἴσαι διεφθάρησαν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε καὶ πεποννημένας ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς

ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

[85] In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before, and those who had fled from Rome, both freemen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavius learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, as though it were an easy task, while he passed through Italy himself with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllæum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, labored heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current, the ships of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, being unable to maintain their position firmly, or to work their oars, or manage their rudders, by reason of their inexperience, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet.

[86] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἰππωνεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλῦσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων ἔδεδίει γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα, καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιδόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὁκάδας ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαις κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖτις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἰστίοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμόνων βεβλάσθαι

νομίζων, ὑπέμενεν ὁμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεούσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλέπων, ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δὴ, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἐτέρου καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δασιλεῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἐδόκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσὶ τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἠνώχλουν,

[86] When Octavius arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundisium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavius, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundisium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavius, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundisium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favorable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavius and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus was sent by Brutus and Cassius to coöperate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for, as the triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy. And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 long ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy.

[87] Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανὸς οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτὼ τελεῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θράκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ἥ μόνη διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ῥάσκος ἦσθην ἀδελφῶ Θρακίῳ βασιλίσκῳ, μᾶς ἄρχοντε χώρας, οἱ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνεμάχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, τρισχιλίους ἱππέας ἔχων ἐκάτερος, πυνθανομένοις

δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπιτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπὴν.

[87] Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavius and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpileans and the Sapæans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Ænus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapæans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but that there was a roundabout road which was difficult and three times as long.

[88] οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κάλυψιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορία ἐς Θράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας, αἱ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίου χειρρονήσου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὀπλιτῶν ἑννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἑννέα, ἑντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο πού τ' ἐλή μάλιστα ἀναπληρούμενα, ὥς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἱππεὲς δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἰβηρὲς τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἱπποτοξοταὶ Ἀραβὲς τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἶποντο βασιλεῖς καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζόν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἱππέας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίου.

[88] Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not so much to close the passage to them as to transfer themselves from Macedonia to Thrace for want of provisions, marched toward Ænus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and Cardia, which clasp the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas. Here they reviewed their army, Coast of Thrace, showing the Field of Philippi

which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full, so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, 3000 Thracian and Illyrian, and 2000 Parthian and

Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse.

CHAPTER XII

Brutus and Cassius arrive at the Gulf of Melas — Speech of Cassius to the Republican Army — After which they move against the Enemy

[89] τοσῆδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῆδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι χρεῖων. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγγεγμένων τισὶν ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαῖῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μὴ τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὐθις ἔδοξε τοῦτου χάριν καὶ δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἤδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείσῃ: καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπίς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγοῦσιν. αὐτὰ τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε: τίκτουσι γὰρ εὐνοίαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσοῦτοις ὄντος οἱ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποιοῦν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος ἔπροϋχε γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλαξεν ὧδε:

[89] Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had served under Gaius Cæsar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Cæsar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful they had ever beheld. To both the generals this was an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows: —

[90]

ὁ μὲν ἄγων πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει: συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη

πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὁρᾷτε τοσούσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἢ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἐτοιμῶς, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

[90] “A common peril, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery — the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity — you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men, our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honorable and righteous cause for war.

[91] ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἥρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὄντες, ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι' ἐχθραν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κὰν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν: ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἥρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτέρων. ᾧ τινι ὄρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιδεῖν ἕνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσιμος, τὰ τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

[91] “We raised Cæsar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his

friends (for we were honored before others by him), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that his will should take the place of the laws, his rule should supplant that of the people, and his supremacy that of the Senate in everything.

[92] ὦν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἠσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐωρᾶτε. νῦν δὲ ῥαδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλεῖητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφίζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἦδε τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ᾧ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε: καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δύοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλὰ, ὅσα ἴστε;

[92] “Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves. You, of the common people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything. But in time of peace you resume the mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honors upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honored have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know?”

[93] ἄλλ' οὐκ, ἀφ' οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἀρχὴν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὑπατον, οὐ δῆμαρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἶχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἷς ὑμῖν χάριν ὤφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὁ δὲ οἰκτιστον ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ὑμῶν ὑβριζομένοις, ἦν τινα αἰδίων ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἶδετε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς ὕβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπῆναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεῦσαι. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἠνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς: ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

[93] “From the time when Cæsar’s domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either prætor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody’s deeds, nor, if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whom you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the order of one man, because in your behalf they saw fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies, which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

[94] ἔδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι: ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοῦς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὥς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἢ ὥς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρατε ἱερᾷ καὶ ράβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; ὃ λόγῳ καὶ

Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρῶων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κάκεῖνος ἀρχὴν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὢν. τί δὴ πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπραχθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογῆσαι; ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσι καὶ ἐροῦσι καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

[94] “It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder; nor was it our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country. Accordingly the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Cæsar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy), because he was the only son of Pompey the Great, who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition in a private way to the tyranny in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father’s property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

[95] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὥς ἔχουσιν, ἴστε. προγράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῇ, τῶν νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐώντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνα καὶ ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται: καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὠρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασις τίς ἐστὶ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὑπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ

ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θεῖους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἀλῶναι: καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀνηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πῶ πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὧν δορὶ ἐλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιῶτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἐν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

[95] “What their present situation is you know. They have been proscribed without trial, and their property confiscated. Without being condemned, they have been put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, prætors, tribunes, ædiles, and knights have been exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over, — sudden seizures of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such conditions has the city now been plunged. At the head of all these villains are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and tutors first of all. It is said that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this, — Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an outrage committed upon one woman under the influence of the amatory passion, and then, for that one act, they resolved to be ruled by kings no longer?

[96] καὶ τάδε, ᾧ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγουσι, καὶ φασὶ μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο. ὧν καὶ οἶδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὧν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν: ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ᾧ

τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ' ὥς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἰργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἔτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

[96] “While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Cæsar when they proscribe men who were not in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preferences for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he was the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part have those women had in the conspiracy against Cæsar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part have those plebeians had, whose property is worth 100,000 drachmas each, upon whom new taxes and contributions have been imposed, which they have been ordered to pay under penalty of being informed against and fined? And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favor us because we do what is just.

[97] ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἶδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικούς καταπεφευγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὢν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν: οὐδὲ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μὲν, ὅτι ἡξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνηρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖνου περιποιούμενους ἀρχὴν ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἰρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἑκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἡδῇ, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ιδιωτεύοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἶδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπίς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

[97] “Besides the favor of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they coöperate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the

rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Cæsar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides have not taken up arms for the same reason, — the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

[98] μηδέ τω, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ νῦν ἔτι ἵτω: οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου γε ἦμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασιν τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντα ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κάκεινῃν ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα: καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ' ἂν δέξαιντο ἔτι διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὃ συστρατιῶται, μετὰ τε πίστεως ὑγιούς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.

[98] “Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Cæsar’s soldiers. We were not his soldiers then, but our country’s. The pay and the rewards given were not Cæsar’s, but the republic’s. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose its own destiny. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome.”

[99] ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων ‘ἴωμεν’ καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἦσθεις ὁ Κάσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις ἔλεγε:

θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπότης, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβονται: τὰ δ' ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες: ἱππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου

μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμιοι, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νότου Πομπήϊον τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἴονίῳ καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δαψιλεῖ καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ διαπλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρευούσης πολεμίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὀπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. χρήματά γε μὴν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσχημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὠνουμένου χωρία ἐπίφθονα: οὐδ' ἐτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυμένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῇ, ὥς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλά ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.

[99] They all cried out, “Let us go forward!” and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: “May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is cooperating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft, besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are cleared of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere from Italy, exhausted as it is by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

[100] τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὀρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας βραχείας: καὶ τάδε χρή κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοντο ἢ Λευκανίας ἢ Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα Πομπήϊός τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης ἐκ τε νήσων καὶ ἡπείρων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὄντος ὀπισθεν ἐχθροῦ: ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, παρ' ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἔτοιμα: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσκει παρά

τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἥδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικάς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον.

[100] “Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and this must be carried to them overland with severe labor. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, and it is brought to us daily by sea without labor from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favor of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform — to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion.”

[101] ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπῆνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηιρίθουν καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας ἀεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλουν, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ' ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἥ, ὥς ἐτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον: καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτυσαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἴνον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Αἴνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὄρους παράλια.

[101] Having thus spoken and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay

they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days around the gulf of Melas the army came to Ænus and thence to Doriscus and other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

CHAPTER XIII

Tillius Cimber flanks the Enemy with his Fleet — Brutus and Cassius impeded by the Mountains — Severe Labors in the Thracian Forests — They arrive at Philippi — They encamp on the Hills

[102] τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους ὀπλιτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινῶν τὴν ἄκτὴν περιπλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἥ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὐγεῶς οὔσα, τῶν Θρακῶν οὔτε θαλάσσης χρωμένων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἐτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσσης χρωμένων, ἦνθι ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠραίων ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁράσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἄκτὴν αὐθις ἔρημον οὔσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὥς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὥς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὥς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον.

[102] As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapæan pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpileans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

[103] ἐκφανεῖσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία τε

ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἤς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἡνυσμένα, ὁπρὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἐφῆ περιόδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων ὄρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυκνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρπησσὸν ποταμὸν ἤξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὡς ἀπειλῆσθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὐνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

[103] When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapæans strongly. Again Brutus and Cassius could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapæan mountain) of three days' march, which had been impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If they would carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hebrus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy.

[104] προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανήλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἀνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῶ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἠγούμενοι δὲ ἐτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβῶον καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ ἔβαλλον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονήσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὁ ποταμὸς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἑωρᾶτο τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβάνόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήει. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἴεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς· τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γινόμενον

ιδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἣν οὐδὲ θηρίον
ῥετο ὁδεύσειν διὰ τοιαύδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νορβανόν: οἱ δὲ
νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες ἄμφω διὰ
στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνοουμένην ἀγαγών, ὁ δ' οὐκ
ἀγνοήσας.

[104] They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labor and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic, fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves had been led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him. While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnoissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapæans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received an ovation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by an unknown path, the other because he had discovered the movement.

[105] οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐς Φιλίππους παρήλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνεληλύθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἥ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου: κρῆναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλάι. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυνὲς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίον ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμνου, τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτω δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον: πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑὸν τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδῖον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος,

τριακοσίων που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὐφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρῃ φασὶν ἀνθιζομένη γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος τὸ ἄρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἄξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἄνωθεν ὀρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἄναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζόμενοις.

[105] Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapæans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Cora was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

[106] Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἕτερος λόφος οὐ μακράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἔστι τὰ Ἄσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκέτι προήεσαν: Ἀντώνιον τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἔλη καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἀτριβῇ καὶ ἀνόδευτα: τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὡς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὀπισθεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ ταμειῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμειῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὔσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνορμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

[106] There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades

from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavius having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the precipitous hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant. Their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and they proceeded to fortify their camps.

CHAPTER XIV

Antony arrives at Amphipolis — Advances boldly to Philippi — The Forces on either Side — Brutus and Cassius hope to starve their Enemies — Antony seeks to force an Engagement — He attacks the Fortifications of Cassius — Brutus routs the Army of Octavius and captures his Camp — Antony puts the Army of Cassius to Flight — Captures and plunders his Camp

[107] οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὥδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ' ἐπέξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὥς δὲ αὐτὴν εὗρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφοῖν τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἦσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἡγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους; καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχουσιν: τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὥδε πρᾶξαι, κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἷα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίστε τοῦ ποταμοῦ: παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοῦς ὕδατος εὗρισκε. τό γὰρ μὴν τόλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρουρία τε ἡγεῖρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδῃ οὕσαν ὀρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει: τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

[107] Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his apparatus there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marshes; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350

stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever the work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

[108] οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκτο, οὐπω μὲν ἔρρωμένος ἐς μάχην, φορεῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσαν ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήεσαν δέ: οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἑκατέρους ἐννεακαίδεκα ὀπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναζον ἑκατέρωθεν: ἵππεις δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκατέρων Θρακίοις ἦσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἑκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἄπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθέλοντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὄν δαυιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον: οὔτε γὰρ τι δι' ἐμπορῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμὲλλον ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

[108] In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavius had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each side, but those of Brutus and Cassius

lacked something of being full, while those of Octavius and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

[109] ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναιτο βάσιμον τὸ ἔλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθόν, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσωσιν οὖν αὐθις ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἔλει δίοδον στενὴν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτει, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφήρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκὼς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ. δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπὴν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἔλος ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγεννημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

[109] Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and Cassius protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the same, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day cutting a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway and flanking it with stone so that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing around his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by

night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions inside and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and laying a solid foundation for his rampart, thus intercepting the passage sage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them.

[110] ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὥς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὀρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἦγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὥς ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρασέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους ἀθρώως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ ἔργου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον, ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

[110] When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the fortification of Cassius which lay between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged of their own volition, without any order from their officers, took them in flank, and killed as many as they could reach. The battle once begun they charged upon the army of Octavius, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavius had in common, and captured it. Octavius himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

[111] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὀρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερρωγυῖαν ἦσθη μὲν ὥς ἀναγκάσας ἅπανι γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει, ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταραξείην, ὥς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὀρμῆς, ἐχρεῖτο δρόμῳ καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούση καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὥς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένη. ῥήξας δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ

διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ τε ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸν τε χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσήλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανεβαίνον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἐγένετο ὁξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζομένοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἐλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὀρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπανήεσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους, ἐκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μαχομένου.

[111] When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck a body of Cassius' troops, which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the dēbris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall.

[112] τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον: ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατός ἦσθ'ατο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἐκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον: Βροῦτός τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατοπεδον ἠρήκει, Ἀντωνίος τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἐκατέρων ποικίλος: ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήεσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις: καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἦσθ'ανοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ρίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὧδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

[112] As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already worsted, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000 and on the side of Octavius double that number.

CHAPTER XV

Cassius commits Suicide — Brutus weeps over his Body — Naval Engagement in the Adriatic — The Antonian Fleet destroyed

[113] Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξέωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι. διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο: 'νικῶης, λέγε αὐτῷ, παντελῇ νίκην,' ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφεὶς, 'τί βραδύνεις;' ἔφη, 'τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;' Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην, ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγὴν, διεκρήσατο. καὶ τισιν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν οἶονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἱππέων Βρούτου, νομίσαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον: τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαζάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο φάναι: 'περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν,' καὶ ἐς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσί τινες οὕτω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.

Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι συμπεσούσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε:

[113] When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had any camp to go to, he ascended the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. He could not see accurately on account of the dust, nor could he see everything, but upon discovering that his own camp was captured he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to draw his sword and kill him. While Pindarus delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason

some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders. Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which also the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too slow.

[114] Βροῦτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐ τις οὔτις ἐτι τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντῖδων καὶ ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἱ Βροῦτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα τέλος ὁδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις, ἔνθα λαθραῖως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδακρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτος τε καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἡλασσωθῆναι, συνεῖς τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος, 'ὀπλισώμεθα,' ἔφη, 'καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθυποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν.' ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπιτωθᾶσας ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις: 'οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὡς κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν.'

[114] Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, ah, whither?" He delivered the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered no defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jeeringly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired, but they dared not put us to the test."

[115] ἦι δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιόνδε πάθος ἄλλο ἐγένετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ἦγεν ὀπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἀρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἱπέων τε ἵλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος ἐπιλεγμένον: καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὀλκάδες ἰστίῳ μὲν αἱ πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἤλθοντο, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρήγνυν: οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαι σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευόντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς ἀρμοζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε

τοξέυματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλκουν ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐθίς τε ἐγίνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.

[115] On the same day that witnessed the battle of Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavius, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a prætorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable corps d'élite of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. The wind suddenly failing, the rest floated about in a dead calm on the sea, having been delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. The latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valor. They hastily lashed their ships together with ropes and spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account count of the fire, and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

[116] ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρός ἐαυτοὺς ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλομενοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νῆές τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰστίων ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἳ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ ἰστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσσωμένον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἐαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρα πέμπτη, δόξας ἀπολωλέναι.

τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐπεγίνετο, εἴτε ναυάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

[116] Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, giving and receiving blows. Vessels half burned floated

a long time, containing men perishing by fire, by hunger, and by thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them were nourished for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundisium on his ship five days later. Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a shipwreck or a naval engagement. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

CHAPTER XVI

Brutus addresses his Army — Speech of Antony to his Soldiers — He offers Battle to the Enemy — Scarcity in the Camp of the Triumvirs — Brutus declines to Fight — His Soldiers become Restive — His Officers urge him to fight — He yields to them unwillingly — Octavius and Antony encourage their Forces — Prodigies before the Battle — Second Battle of Philippi — The Republican Army routed

[117] ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε:

οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὃν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἴλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὥς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλείονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὴν ἐπικτήσιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περὶ τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἤδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνης ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μούρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώकाσιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

[117] Brutus assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. When it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished. Most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners — concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute

want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?

[118] ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπειγομένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἡγεῖσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἰρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντιμηχανησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μὴδ' ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μὴδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγεῖσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένετε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαιζονταί τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὡς διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἣς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῇ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσει τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.

ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη· δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

[118] “When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardor before the proper time. Let no one think that delay implies want of generalship more than haste, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if we wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday’s work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday’s engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion.” After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder.

[119] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχομένον ἐκόντα τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε:

τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ὧ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μερίζονται, ὡς διώξαντές τινας ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον: ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὔριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν. ὁ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς

ἥσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνακοῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτό γε στρατὸν ἤγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθρὴν ἥσαν· ἐφ' ἧ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερός τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορῶν ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχονται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἠναγκάσατε, αἰσχροὺς ἡγοούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὀκνοῦντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἤλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ' ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.

[119] Octavius and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage that, like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. They built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid. Now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, on which account also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their rocky fastnesses instead of their arms, be valliant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be unequal to the capture of their fortifications. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

[120] τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ὀρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι· τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτήσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρπαγῆς μηδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἐστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἀντελήφμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως ἰκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς

Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἤρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὥς ἐκ πατρίδος
ίοντες τὰ μὲν δαυιλέστερα οἶκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε.
εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαυιλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πάντα ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ τῆς
ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ὁμῶς ζημίας ὑμῖν
ἔνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας,
λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ.

[120] "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. You, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valor. Nor will you be troubled, after a little, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for our wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while we, coming from our own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. And as compensation for your losses we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

[121] τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε: καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε
τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασεν αἰεὶ, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος
τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖν μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς
ὁδοὺς τῆς κοιμίδης τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ
Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερὲς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν
ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων: ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὁμῶς ἐφρούρει, μὴ
καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου κατέλαβον
οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ
διφθέρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὥς δὲ κατέσχον, ἄλλα τέλη δέκα
μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε σταδίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ὥς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης
καὶ ἢ παρ' αὐτὴν ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἢ ὅν τινα τρόπον ἄλλον
ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ
Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηνᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρούρια ἀντικαθιστάς τοῖς
ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

[121] Having spoken thus, he led out his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by

which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy because, by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest it should be forced unexpectedly. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavius occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

[122] τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπὶς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων· τῆς τε ἑναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἐκατέρους ἦδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ ἐμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν, παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρὸψ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ βουλομένῃ συμπλέκεσθαι.

[122] The task of Octavius and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and fear fell upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad rush to bring him to an engagement against his will.

[123] τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἴόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ ἥρετο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντός ἀνέχεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, καὶ

ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναίς ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θάσσον ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτον ἐπικη καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῷ καὶ ἀρχικῷ περὶ πάντα γεγεννημένῳ: ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐκ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἤξιουν διὰ πραῦτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένου: 'τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακάνοντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλόντες;' Βρούτος ἐκὼν ἡμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότας, ἐλπίς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

[123] Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else, rather than come to an engagement with men who were famishing, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all — not like Cassius, who was austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately — we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

[124] ἐνοχλούντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἢν

δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βροῦτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὔσι καὶ περιαλήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξεῖαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἷξεν ἐπ' οἰκίῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς: 'εἴοικαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι.' καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἶα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονὼς ἀγανακτήσειε τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο: ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

[124] His officers kept teasing and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem to be carrying on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Cæsar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had apprehended from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

[125] ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμει πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ πρoύχειν τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερὴς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὧν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνους μᾶλλον ἢ ἀξιεπαίνους εὐβουλίας. ἃ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμνησεν, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου: 'ὕμεῖς ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὕμεῖς με ἐτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε: μὴ δὲ ψεῦσησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νότου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ: μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσιν ὁμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ.'

ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμου:

[125] So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle

before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and unbounded confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a well-deserved shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favored delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good counsel; because also Brutus, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a severe countenance and reminded them in a few words of what the opportunity offered. “You want to fight,” he said; “you force me to battle when I am able to conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy’s position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine.” With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence.

[126] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὠρεγον, ἐφ’ οὓς παραγένοιτο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἶδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὥς εὐκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. ‘εὐρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους: ἔχομεν οὓς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δὴ τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν κατασχύνῃ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται: μηδὲ λιμὸν, ὀλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἔλγεται μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμιον τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἃ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπονοία. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπέιξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὥς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ ἀπάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ’ ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι’ ἐνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ’ ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἣν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἴτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὐθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διαδιδράσκοιεν, οἱ δι’ ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολέμιον, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι.’

[126] Octavius and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, and urging them in the most serious manner to do their duty, and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be the greatest incitement to bravery. “Soldiers,” they said, “we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy which they will yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing

that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honorable death. If we conquer we gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessity urging us on, and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness — the only warriors who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight.”

[127] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ’ οὗς παραγένοιτο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδῶς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ γενόμενα. ἥρουντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τί παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμυγχανοῦ κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

ὥδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἐκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἠϋξέτο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου: οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἡ παραυτικά ὀργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ ὁμαλῶς ἐκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

[127] In this way Octavius and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe. Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his nearest neighbor, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and it did decide it.

[128] ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν: καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βρούτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ λίθων ἢ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι

ἐκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένον. φόνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολὺς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὀρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὁρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονήσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαν ὅου γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοὶ γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοι, τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχανήμα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος· ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο, ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωροῦντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως ἄνωθ' ἐν γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐφύγον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυγάκτου.

[128] The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, at which time two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory; on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the rear ranks. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardor, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front. Finally, the soldiers of Octavius, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavius himself (for the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were putting in motion a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks began to dissolve and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavius, then especially mindful of the order they had received,

seized the gates of the enemy's fortification, but at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

[129] γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ στρατηγοὶ διηροῦντο, Καῖσαρ μὲν αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστώσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερῷον πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δέισας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὐθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς μάχης, αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἱ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρακίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς Βροῦτος ὢν ἤξιον πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· 'Βροῦτος μὲν οὐχ ἐάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἀλώσεται ποτε πρὸς κακίας ἀρετῇ· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ ἀπατήσας ὧδέ σοι πάρειμι.' καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἱππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους παρηγόρει καί, 'οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν,' εἶπεν, 'ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἧς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος.' καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μὲν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρήτο ὡς πιστῷ.

[129] The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavius to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everywhere, and everywhere attacking, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously, surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavius; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how

he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness, "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by vice. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horse-men were ashamed of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think — as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

CHAPTER XVII

Brutus escapes to the Mountains — His Officers decline to fight again — Brutus commits Suicide — Character of Brutus and Cassius — Their Crime against Cæsar — The Spectre in Brutus' Tent — Death of Young Cato — Death of Portia — Magnitude of the Victory — Its Lasting Results

[130] ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὥς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν: ““Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ’ ὅς αἴτιος κακῶν,”“

ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιον φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις κινδύνοις μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρετῆς γένοιτο Ὀκταουίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνοπλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον, Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν παραδούς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[130] Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—”“Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,”“

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that, when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavius. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

[131] Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁρῶν τὰς ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάζατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὥσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὀρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ: αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ

ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγὴν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν: ‘οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὥδε καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων,’ ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἑπειρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλευέσθαι παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, ‘οὐκ ἀπορήσεις,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὦ Βρούτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται.’ καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρρισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀποστραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

[131] On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having less than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, misled by a god, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, “I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men,” and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato was still willing to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, “Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached.” With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

[132] ὥδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βρούτος ἐθνησκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτῳ τε καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδριτίῳ, χωρὶς ἄγους ἑνός, ὃ γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὅντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίοις ἐποίησατο φίλῳ, ἐκ δὲ φίλοις ἦγεν ὡς νῖόν. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτω τε εἶχεν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχῆσαντε ἐλεεινῶ δουλοῖν τε τούτοις ἕνεκα πᾶσιν ἀμνηστῖαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντοις αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαίου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρεῖσσον εὐρήσειν ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόησεν. ἀλλ’ ἡ περὶ τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖς προήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς: οὕτως ἅπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμῷ. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρῳ Πομπηίου, πλησιάζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος αἰτίαν, πορρωτέρῳ τε ὅντε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτῳ.

[132] So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime. Although they belonged to the

party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Cæsar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into misfortune. On account of those two it granted amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregarding of Gaius Cæsar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination, — so much were those two held in honor by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were preferred to [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not implacable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable.

[133] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὅλοιν ἑτοῖν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἅπειρα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατῴρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου: καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιωτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ οὓσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μείζον ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων ὅδε Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐγενένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἶδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἔσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ: οὐ γάρ τις αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπόντες: ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεὶ. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἅμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα: ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

[133] When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many

peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans; but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Cæsar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Cæsar and followed them more faithfully against Cæsar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Cæsar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished, while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundisium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but generally hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labors Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything because he was by nature a seeker after knowledge.

[134] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντίθετον ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὁ γε οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγίγνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμιστῶς καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην μὲν οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσῃσε καὶ προεσήμηνε πολλάκις. Κασσίῳ τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος ἀνεστραμμένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσειον ἀνάθημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἠφίει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχεῖς ἔσμοί. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῇ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῇσαι· “ἄλλὰ με μοῖρ’ ὅλοῃ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.”

μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινόμενου τοῦ φωτὸς ὅσιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· ‘ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις.’ καὶ ὀφθῆναι φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.

ἐξιώντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ ὑπήντησε· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ

τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμνηρίστῳ νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτήτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τότε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἄμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βροῦτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

[134] Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Cæsar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without an equal, who was most useful above all other men to Rome and its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his licitor presented his garland wrong side up. A gilded statue of Victory dedicated to Cassius fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:—"A cruel fate O'ertakes me, aided by Latona's son."

Iliad, xvi. 849. Bryant's translation.

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi." And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle. When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due to divine interposition, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Cæsar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

[135] καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φοινικίδι εὐθύς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βροῦτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον

ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν: καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδωκαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου: ὧν ἦν Λεύκιος τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὁδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἶθ' ὑποχωρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὐβλητος ἢ ἀμφοτέρα εἴη. Λαβεῶν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις: τοῦ δὲ πιστοτάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφομένῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε.

καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο,

[135] Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in his best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavius and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in garrisons surrendered. The garrisons themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavius and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of Cassius himself, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb.

[136] Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θράξ ἐπανάγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πολλοὺς, καὶ γέρας ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σφάζεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν: ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἶδε οἱ Θράκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφορίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισφάζῃ τὸν ἡσώμενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπεῖτε ἀμφοῖν ὥδε

ἀποθανόντων ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἀρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθρώκων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ' ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλα τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὃ τι βουλευσονται περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ πάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδωσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαυιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πολλή.

[136] Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they took sides in the contest in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Portia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some coals of fire that they were carrying, and swallowed them. Of the members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavius, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

[137] οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαν τηλικούτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων, ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ ὁρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσσηδέ τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολῖται τε ὄντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συστρατιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ἐπανισουμένης ἐκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

[137] Thus did Octavius and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races.

Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons evenly matched. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof of this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain among the victors appeared to be not less [than among the vanquished].

[138] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῇ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῇ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῇ μεταβαλόντες. ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο Ῥωμαίοις· ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρὶς γε τῆς μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως, ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑπὸ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσσηδε παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα αὕτη, ὥς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, ἀπήντα.

[138] Thus the army of Antony and Octavius confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger of famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. That result came about which Antony and Octavius had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavius not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that transpired after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Death of Cicero

“Just before the arrival of the triumvirs Marcus Cicero left the city, considering it certain that he had no more chance of being saved from the vengeance of Antony than Brutus and Cassius had of escaping that of Octavius, — which was the fact. He fled first to his Tusculan villa and thence proceeded by cross-roads to that of Formiæ in order to take ship at Caieta.

There, after advancing several times seaward, he was driven back by adverse winds, and again he found himself unable to endure the tossing of the ship on the gloomy rolling waves, and he began at length to grow weary both of flight and of life. So he returned to his upper villa, which was a little more than a mile from the shore, saying, 'I will die in my fatherland that I have so often saved.' It is well established that his slaves were ready to fight for him bravely and faithfully, but that he ordered them to put down the litter and endure with patience whatever an adverse fate should compel. As he leaned out of the litter and offered his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did this satisfy the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands, also, for the offence of having written something against Antony. Thus the head was brought to Antony and placed by his order between the two hands on the rostra, where, often as consul, often as a consular, and, that very year against Antony, he had been heard with admiration of his eloquence, the like of which no other human voice ever uttered. The people, raising their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered parts. He lived sixty-three years, so that in the absence of violence his death could not have been considered premature. His genius served him well both in his works and in the rewards thereof. He enjoyed the favors of fortune for a long time, yet in the intervals of his protracted career of prosperity he suffered some severe blows, exile, the ruin of the party he had espoused, the death of his daughter, and his end so sad and bitter, none of which calamities did he bear as became a man except his death, which to one who weighs the matter impartially must seem the less undeserved, since he suffered nothing more cruel at the hands of his victorious enemy than he would himself have inflicted if fortune had put the same power in his hands. Yet if we weigh his virtues and his faults he must be pronounced a great, energetic, and ever memorable man, to fitly sound whose praises another Cicero would be needed." (Livy, cxx.) This judgment of the gravest of Roman historians is the one which the better part of mankind have ratified in all succeeding ages.

The glowing words of Velleius also deserve a place here; and these likewise have found their echo in all later generations, viz.: "You have gained nothing, Mark Antony (for the indignation bursting from my mind and breast compels me to exceed the intended character of this work); you have gained nothing, I say, by paying the price for closing that celestial voice and cutting off that most noble head, and instigating, by a cruel reward, the death of a man who had once been so great a consul and the saviour of the republic. You deprived Marcus Cicero of a life of anxiety and a feeble old age, of an existence worse under your chieftainship than death under your triumvirate. But the fame and glory of his deeds and words you have not taken from him in the least, but rather augmented. He lives and will live in the memory of all ages. So long as this body of the natural universe, whether created by chance or by providence, or however constituted, which he almost alone of the Romans penetrated with his intellect, embraced with his genius, and illuminated with

his eloquence, shall endure, it will bear the praise of Cicero as coeval with it. All posterity will admire what he wrote against you and execrate what you did against him, and sooner shall the human race perish from the earth than his fame decay.” (Velleius, ii. 66.)

Valerius Maximus, under the heading of “Ingratitude among the Romans,” says: “Cicero, at the instance of M. Cælius, with no less zeal than eloquence, defended C. Popilius Læna, a man of Picenum, and, though he had a doubtful case, returned him in safety to his home. This Popilius, of his own accord, although he had never afterward been harmed by Cicero by word or deed, asked Antony to send him to pursue and kill that illustrious proscrip̄t. When he had obtained this detestable commission he hastened with joy and gladness to Caieta and ordered that man who, not to mention his very great dignity, had certainly been Læna’s preserver, and was entitled to veneration for the zealous and distinguished service rendered in his private capacity, to lay bare his throat. Then, with absolute coolness, he cut off the head of Roman eloquence and the most renowned right hand of peace. Loaded with these, as with the honorable spoils of war, he returned gayly to the city. As he bore the infamous burden it never occurred to him that he was carrying the very head that once had pleaded eloquently for his own. Words are powerless to stigmatize this monster, since no other Cicero exists to deplore in fitting terms the misfortune that befell that one.” (Val. Max., v. 3. 4.)

The following is Plutarch’s account of Cicero’s death. “While these events were in progress Cicero was at his country place near Tusculum, and his brother was with him. When they heard of the proscription they decided to go down to Astura, Cicero’s place on the sea-coast, and sail thence to Macedonia to join Brutus, for it was already rumored that he had mastered those parts. They were conveyed, sorrow-stricken, in litters, and often stopped on the road, bringing their litters near together, and condoled with each other. Quintus was particularly disturbed as he remembered his needy condition. So he said that, as he had brought nothing from home, and as Cicero’s provision was also very scanty, it would be best for the latter to continue his flight, while Quintus should return home and provide himself with necessaries. After this was decided upon they embraced each other, wept, and went different ways. Quintus, not many days later, was betrayed by his servants to the pursuers, and was killed, together with his son. Cicero was conveyed to Astura, where he found a ship ready, in which he embarked and sailed as far as Circæum with a favorable wind. The pilots wished to proceed from that place immediately, but Cicero, either fearing the sea, or not having lost all faith in Octavius, went ashore and travelled 100 stades by land toward Rome. Again he became anxious, changed his mind, and went back to the sea-shore at Astura. There he passed the night in great trouble and perplexity. He even contemplated going secretly to the house of Octavius and killing himself on his hearthstone, in order to bring divine vengeance upon him, but the fear of

torture changed his purpose. Then, falling a prey to other perplexed and varying counsels, he allowed his servants to convey him by sea to Caieta, where he had a country place, an agreeable retreat in the summer season when the north winds blow fresh. There was a small temple on the sea-shore at this place, out of which crows flew in large numbers and with loud noise, to Cicero's ship as it neared the land, and, alighting on either side of the yard-arm, some of them croaked and others pecked at the ends of the ropes. This seemed to all to be an ill omen. Nevertheless, Cicero disembarked and proceeded to his villa, where he went to bed to take a little rest. The crows alighted at the window, where they clamored tumultuously, and one of them flew down upon the bed where Cicero was covered up, and, little by little, drew the covering from his face with its beak. When the servants saw this they reproached themselves for remaining idle spectators of their master's fate, and not rescuing him in his undeserved distress, while the brute creation was lending him aid. So, partly by entreaty, partly by force, they put him in the litter and carried him toward the sea-shore.

"In the meantime the murderers were coming, under the command of the centurion Herennius and the military tribune Popilius, whom Cicero had once defended when he was prosecuted for killing his own father. Finding the doors closed, they broke them open, but they did not find Cicero, and those who were within said that they did not know where he was. It is said that a young man named Philologus, who had been educated by Cicero in the liberal arts and sciences, a freedman of his brother Quintus, told the tribune that they were carrying the litter through the bushy shaded walks toward the sea. The tribune took a few men and ran around to the exit of these paths. Herennius kept his course along the path, and when Cicero saw him he ordered the servants to put down the litter. Then, leaning his chin on his left hand as was his custom, he looked straight at the murderers. His haggard appearance and his unshaven face, wasted with anxiety, caused most of them to hide their own heads while Herennius murdered him. He was killed while holding his neck out of the litter, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. By Antony's command his head was cut off and also the hands with which he wrote the Philippics, for he styled his orations against Antony the Philippics, and they are so called to this day." (Life of Cicero, 47-48). It thus appears from Plutarch's account, as well as from Livy's, that, if Cicero had really desired to escape, he had abundant opportunity. It was perhaps the intention of Octavius and Lepidus that he should do so.

Dion Cassius gives a very brief account of Cicero's death, but adds some particulars about the indignities offered to his remains, viz.: "When the head of Cicero was brought to the triumvirs (for he was captured and killed while fleeing), Antony heaped many bitter reproaches on it, and then ordered that it be put in a more conspicuous place than the others on the rostra, so that in the place where Cicero had been heard speaking against himself it might be seen,

together with the right hand, as that also had been cut off. Before it was removed Fulvia took the head in her hands, and, after abusing it with bitter words and spitting on it, placed it on her knees, opened the mouth, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with pins that she used in dressing her hair, all the time heaping disgusting epithets upon it.” (Dion, xlvii. 8.)

BOOK 5

μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. ὅθεν ἂν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν οὗσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπηϊός τε Σέξστος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὢν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιήλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.

CHAPTER I

The Scattered Republican forces — How they were reassembled — Octavius and Antony after the Battle — Antony in Asia — Makes a Public Speech at Ephesus — Levies Ten Years' Taxes — Distress of the Inhabitants — Antony makes a tour of The Eastern Provinces — Meets Cleopatra in Cilicia and becomes her Slave — The Murder of Arsinoe — Unsuccessful Attack on Palmyra — Antony goes to Egypt to join Cleopatra

AFTER the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavius returned to Italy. Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt — a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The later wars were sporadic. But, finally, Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, and Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavius. These events came about in the following manner.

[2] Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπὶ κλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὁμοιον ἐν Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιτο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὐρών ἔτεθνήκει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος, ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὗσαν ὀπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἐχώρει. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἐτέρας ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου. ἐς δὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινὰ ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιοχρεῶς ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἐτέρας δυνάμεως, ἣ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνοβάρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλῃς δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ συνῆψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τιν' αἶρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

τοιαύδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο,

[2] Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus, he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had a numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus, who had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves. Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus.

[3] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους ἔθνόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπήνουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων ὥδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἶλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὖθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου: τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἑλλέως ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦντος αὐτόνομον ἀφίεναι γνώμῃ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὃ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι: καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδὴς ἢ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσις ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ ἱππέες μύριοις καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἕξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε: καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

[3] After the battle of Philippi Octavius and Antony offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavius went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He was chosen for this purpose on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Ægean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. It was decided, at the instance of Octavius, to make Cisalpine Gaul free, as the elder Cæsar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius. It was decided that if Octavius should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time, except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in prætorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavius had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus. Then Octavius proceeded (Y.R. 713) toward the Adriatic.

(B.C. 41)

[4] ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότος ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοῖντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικεῖα Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατὰ τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε:

ὕμᾱς ἡμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἤμεν Ἀττάλου: οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνῆκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ' ὕβρεις ἔπαυσεν: ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλὰ, σφαγεῦσί τε οὗσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

[4] When Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and

Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: “Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators among us made these taxes necessary. When they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who made these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Cæsar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages; for he even turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honorable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

[5] τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὥς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ', ὥς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὥς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δὲ ἐστὶν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἄνευθεν οἱ ἱππῆες καὶ ἕτερος ὄμιλος ἐτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσω· ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσω τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλιν καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἅπαντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθῃ, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἴομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν, ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει· ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνεῖσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπέιποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἁμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζεται.

[5] “Now that a just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier penalty. We need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the

service. The sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavius has gone to Italy to provide them with land and cities — to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we must count upon getting money from you, not all that you have (we could not think of that), but a part, a very small part, which, when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. What you contributed to our enemies in two years (for you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is by no means equal to your deserts.”

[6] ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἔπεν, ἐς ὅκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένης ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐλέου, δόντες δ’ ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

[6] Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had delivered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years’ taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively.

[7] περιόντι δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λευκίος τε ὁ Κασσίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἰκέται προσήεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντα, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφιεῖς καὶ Ξάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίοις δὲ διδοὺς Ἄνδρον τε καὶ Τήνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας

ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίους δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τῆνον Αἴγιναν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἰκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιταριῶν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφοράς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυράννους.

[7] While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar. To these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus. He gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them harshly. He made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to see him he gave Ægina in exchange for Tenos, and also Icos, Cea, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, Ituræa, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities, — in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisinna, awarding the kingdom to Sisinna on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who appeared to him to be a beautiful woman. In Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

[8] καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἷ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα ἐμέμψει, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθεῖη ὑπὸ τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἥσσης τυχόνφορ, Κασσίῳ τε δις ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἧς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεῖς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἐαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὔσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἱπαρχῶν εἶπετο.

[8] Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labors in avenging Cæsar. Instead of apologizing she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had been enamoured of her long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

[9] εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἡμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὼν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἰκέτιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυγῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνέειλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς, συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίῳ, Τυρίων ὄντα ἰκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἰκέτην, ὃν τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφανοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδι ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἰκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἱππέας περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασαμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

[9] Straightway Antony's interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death. Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted Cassius and was

now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant who, when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Cæsar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Aradians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called Megabyzus, and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusations against its inhabitants, that, being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia and dispose of them in the Roman territory. In fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen, but the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they were expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned around and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

[10] καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίου τὸν μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται: Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον ἔπεμψεν ἐτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολέμησαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσσον τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαίου Καίσαρος ἄρα τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων εἶχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθυαίων: ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὗς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἁμαρτῶν, οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστήσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσσοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

[10] It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed prætor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus,

Bibulus. At the time of Cæsar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants got possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and coöperated with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

[11] ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ιδιώτου σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἴθ' ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὥς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέθειτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετραγώνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαιτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρα, ἣ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

[11] She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion. He laid aside the cares and duties of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the phœcasium. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in Alexandria was wholly devoted. Such was the state of affairs with Antony.

CHAPTER II

Octavius returns to Rome — Consternation among the Italians — Confiscation and Division of the Land — Beginning of Trouble with Lucius Antonius — Outrages committed by the Soldiers — Octavius powerless to prevent them — The Killing of Nonius — Insubordination and Desertion, and the Causes thereof

[12] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν τοιάδε: Καίσαρι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανίοντι ἢ τε νόσος αὐθις ἤκμαζεν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαῖσας δ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δὲ Καληνόν τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέστελλον Σεξτίῳ Λιβύης καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἀμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμοντι δυσεργές ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ἤτουν, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμένοι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἠξίουσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ἤτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἐστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθησαν καὶ ἐπεδάκρυον, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μὴδ' αὐθις ἀνακῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρῳκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἐτοίμων, ἐς ὃ τι χρῆζοιεν.

[12] As Octavius was journeying to Rome he became dangerously ill at Brundisium, and a rumor gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavius the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavius transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. The soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valor. The cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; but there was no money. They came to

Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established so that democracy should never again lift its head, — colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

[13] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὥς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἦρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλεονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεια συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

[13] Octavius explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbors in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease when Octavius rebuked them and made them numerous other presents. They were contemptuous in the knowledge that their rulers needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the control of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them with good-will, necessarily. Octavius made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him. The greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

[14] ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὁ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καῖσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέρειτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἡξίουσαν Καῖσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καῖσαρι διδοῦσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὥς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παῖδια τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευσαν μὴ περιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἡκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καῖσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόμενος ἐς τὰ συγχείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνούστεροι τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλεον ἁδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαι τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἁδικούμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ἁδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἁδικοῦσι γίνεσθαι.

[14] Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavius, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favor of the soldiers. As this could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavius should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavius exclusively. They made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in envious terms, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its maximum, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavius' illness. Although Octavius was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favor to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favorable to the soldiers than Octavius was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from other communities, neighbors of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavius, saying that the colonization was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while

the former was against inoffensive persons.

[15] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἠγνώνει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ: οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμὸν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἥδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῆζειν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας στρατοῦ: διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. ἐν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἔδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας: καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπῆλθον, οὐχ ὁρώμενον ἠγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύδεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦν ὥς τὰ κοινὰ προδιδόντα: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

[15] Octavius knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it. There was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies. Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army. The soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavius had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavius as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.

[16] κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμῃσιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος ἠγανάκτου. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὥς κόλακα,

πλέονος δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἕς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξεϊρύσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρήνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἕς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστῆναι μανιώδει φορᾷ. ὁ δ' ἐπῆει μὲν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος τὸ μανιώδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν, ὥς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμεφετο καὶ ἕς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρήνει καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς βαρύτητος μετενόει καὶ ἡδεῖτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἕς τὸν Νώνιον ἁμαρτόντας ἡξίου ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδῶτι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιοθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμεουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

[16] Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavius delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavius' illness, not his disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant. Then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavius was about to pass along. The friends of Octavius advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded. They repented and were ashamed of their importunity. They condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honored with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

[17] καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἶδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας: αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὥς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρεῖα τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατεούμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκῃ νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολέμους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν

στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλευν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκεία χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξιοῦτο: καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἱ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινήν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο: ἢ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὥς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν ὥς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὥς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

[17] Let these two instances serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favor and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a similar cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behavior, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions.

CHAPTER III

Famine in Rome — Lucius Antonius espouses the Cause of the Citizens against the Triumvirs — An Arbitration between Lucius and Octavius — The Trouble breaks out afresh — Preparations for War between Lucius and Octavius — Another Arbitration proposed — The Negotiations fruitless — Growing Power of Sextus Pompeius — Situation of Affairs in Africa — Beginning of Hostilities — Octavius seeks Peace — Ineffectual Embassy to Lucius

[18] οὕτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπῖεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὁ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλῶπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεῶς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὥς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρῆζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ ληστευομένῃ πόλει.

[18] Now famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Many robberies were committed by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and which were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

[19] Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένη, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐγίνετο καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τοὺς τε γεωργοὺς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφηροῦντο, ἰκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχεῖτο, κάκείνων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβίᾳ ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὡς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρα, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικὸς τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικήσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἐφομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὥς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλεόν ἔχοι. ἱπέων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἡίονα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν

τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατεύοντες τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίῳ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

[19] Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavius. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to, the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. Antony's soldiers, and Octavius also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavius was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavius' cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavius to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavius replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

[20] ὧν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυμένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τὰ τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἔτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέμεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῶχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς

[20] When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavius at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share; that neither Antony nor Octavius should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavius in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavius into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, and Salvidienus crossed the Alps unhindered.

[21] οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων, ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφρούρητος ὢν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἥδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι: τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προυτίθει. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἐκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἱ διδάξιν ἐμελλον περὶ ἐκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὖρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὅτι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμφετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

[21] As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Præneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavius, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he (Lucius) was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lucius, saying now that she had fears for her children on account of Lepidus. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavius. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and

Octavius reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to accept the arbitration of themselves, or of the officers, whatever the decision might be.

[22] αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγεῖρ ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπικαῖρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπαίας προκαταλαμβάνειν: τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχισάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωτοῦσης ὥδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπαίαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διωκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἃ ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἡξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὠρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἑκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑώρα πολεμῆσειοντας αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι.

[22] Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavius was, by his favors, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy; that in fraud of Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favor with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his reasons for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavius could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what was done by the other. When Octavius saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, he made similar preparations on his own side.

[23] δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ᾠκισμένα, Καίσαρι τε ὄντα πατρῶα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἱ ἔμελλον ἑκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δηλοῖ τε ἦσαν, ὃ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὥριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραϊνεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μὴ τίς ποθεν ὀρῶτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες οἶδε ἐτέροις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκοπίοις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δεῖσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψεν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένον, οὐκέτι ἐπέιθετο.

[23] Two legions of the army which had been colonized at Ancona and which had served under the elder Cæsar and under Antony, hearing of their respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavius replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavius to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Præneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavius, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision some of them were killed. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

[24] οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἑξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἑνδεκα ἕτερα, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἑξ δὲ ἕτερα Σαλουιδιηνός ἦγεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν

χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψιλεῖς.

[24] Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavius and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations full of bitterness against each other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus. These were all in Italy. Octavius had four legions at Capua and some prætorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain. Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. War was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavius except Sardinia, for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks — from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus, and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

[25] Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα: καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὥρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ' ὧν στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὥς δικαιότερα αἰρούμενον. γεγένητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῆ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφῆκε αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ναῦς ὀγσοήκοντα: καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

[25] The affairs of Octavius were in disorder outside of Italy also. Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonizing of the soldiers, and the dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, and who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and a full complement of men. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large sum of money, and eighty ships. He also sent after the other army from Cephalenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was afflicted with famine and civil strife, and was

looking for him, he might have mastered it. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed of that also.

[26] ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἡσσω ἐγένετο: ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὑπαρχὸς Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγὼν τινὰς τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἐτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἐκατέρων καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεκρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὐθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἐκατέρας ἐκράτει: Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλέα Λεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρρίνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀηνόβαρβός τε ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἴλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τεῖχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμευεν.

[26] In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavius. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavius' procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundisium, captured some of the triremes of Octavius, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

[27] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τοὺς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον: πεῖραι τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύτεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ εὐνοία τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχομένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια: τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τεῖχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν. ἐχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν

στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

[27] Octavius sent a legion of soldiers to Brundisium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavius and Lucius sent recruiting officers through-out Italy, who had skirmishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambushades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonies. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavius, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonized soldiers joined Octavius. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

[28] καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε: ‘καταγινώσκομαι μὲν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοῦς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσσονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρὴ χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ὁκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου: ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναι μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου.’

[28] Though these events were taking place, Octavius, nevertheless, convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: “I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand. I am strong in all respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will be announced to us not from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in

addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I protest that I have done Antony no wrong. Nor have I suffered any wrong from him. I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice. I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius.”

[29] ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραϊνεστὸν ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέφικτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆει, φύλακα τῆς Ῥώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυνον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.

[29] So spake Octavius. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Præneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavius was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundisium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away without transacting their business. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavius, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavius set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the optimates then showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.

CHAPTER IV

War begun — Lucius declares his Intention to restore the Republic — Lucius seeks to intercept Salvidienus — Is prevented by Agrippa — Lucius is besieged in Perusia — He there awaits Reënforcements — His Reënforcements cut off — Lucius makes a Sally, and is driven back — Lucius' Lieutenants fail to assist him — Famine in Perusia — No Food allowed to Slaves — Lucius attempts to break out — Lucius defeated after desperate Fighting — He begins to entertain Thoughts of Surrender

[30] καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει: ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας: ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔσπετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεῶν, ἡμέρας δὲ τὴν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἱ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἵππεσσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἶπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσασθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πατριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

[30] The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and started to revolt. Both Octavius and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reënforcement to Lucius, Octavius fell upon his rear guard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavius did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavius. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavius and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, and establishing the government of their fathers in place of a tyranny.

[31] καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπὼν, ἡδομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἡθροίζεν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίης, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξαπάτης ἦσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο: ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλουιδιηνῶ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἶποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῶ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἶδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῶ μὴ κυκλωθεῖη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ περισπᾶσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἷ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίνετο ἅπαντα: ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ἦει, ἐνοχλοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

[31] All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavius, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, a quæstor of Antony, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavius to the prejudice of their common sway; whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavius. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavius with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavius, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that Lucius would turn from Salvidienus against himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

[32] ἐκφανεῖσθαι δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἐς Περνσίαν παρήλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώσαντο: καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ

ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους, ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιούσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὥκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὐτ' ἐς μάχην ἦι τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὔσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλεόν, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπε, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὄχυρᾳ πόλει χεϊμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοῦς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

[32] When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him. So he turned aside to Perugia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavius advanced against him and against Perugia and enclosed them with three armies, and Octavius summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they did not altogether approve of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, for so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the AGRIPPA Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

aid of the besieged, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perugia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

[33] καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ σταδίους περιῶν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροιτο. ἀντεπονεῖτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἐτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέζαν ὄχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτίιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἤπειγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπε ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδεῦον διέφθειρεν: Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὅμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοῦς

ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ οὔτε τῷ συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὥς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψους καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν ἴσθι χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἕξ τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἐξώθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντίζειν μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.

[33] Octavius, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of circumvallation around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, so that nothing could be introduced into the place. Lucius built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavius' legions, which was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's preference), in order to raise the blockade, Octavius and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated, — Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavius stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavius had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

[34] ὥς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρασκευασμένης. ὣν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νομηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λευκίος τὴν ἐορτὴν ὥς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας

αὐτῶν ὥς διεκπαίσιον αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἑτέραν· πολλή γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπεύrais ἐπιδραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνέωσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερώς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεῦνῃ σίτου, ὅσα εὔροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

[34] When the work of Octavius was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations before-hand. Knowing this fact Octavius kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavius himself with some prætorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

(Y.R. 714)

[35] οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντῶντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδιανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός· ἔνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὥς μαχοῦμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ' ἔτι παραδοκεῖν τὰ γινόμενα· καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἤδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἴκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρός διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνκοτομάχησεν αὐθις ἐκ πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἕω περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτείχισμα· καὶ οὐ δυναθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὐθις ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπεῖπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασσε αὐτοὺς μὴδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἡλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἴ τινα εὔροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατῴρυσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.

[35] Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing

of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower the forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavius and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia were rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight, around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they (B.C. 40) could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

[36] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ ὀπλίται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὐθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς διακόποντες αὐτὰ πάντως. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, ‘οὐκ ἄξιός,’ ἔφη, ‘πρώην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἡγωνισάμεθα,’ καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἡγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἀπάντων καὶ, ἵνα μὴ τις ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς κελεύοντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἤγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδηρόν τε τειχομάχον εἶχον τολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἶδη πάντα διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγγχωστήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐς τὰ τεῖχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοσιν ἐπιρριπτέισθαι. προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ’ ὁρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπῆγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους· ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τὰδε ἐγίνετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά· ἐπειδὴ δέ τινας ... ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

[36] As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardor, saying, "In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now

we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death.” All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be thrown to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.

[37] Ἐκταθεισῶν δέ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσιν μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶποντο ἕτεροι: καὶ τάχα ἂν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μή, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρεῖων ἀκμηῆτες ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοή σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ’ ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους ἀνηρημένων ἐσकुλευμένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ διαναπαύομενοι. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἔλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἠσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκη, ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὐθις ἀρπάσαντες ὅτι γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τεῖχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες: οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ’ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἰμώζοντας ἀπῆγεν ἄκοντας.

[37] The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something important in their desperation had not the fact become known to Octavius that they had not many such machines, and had not the best of his reserves been brought to the assistance of the tired men. These fresh troops flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their voices had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them,

they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavius joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they could not. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant.

[38] τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις ἐπιτολήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἄλλαχού κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἶθε γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέω τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δέ τινων Καῖσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὁρμὴ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίνετο, δέος ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθεῖν.

[38] This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavius stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavius for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavius was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

CHAPTER V

Lucius addresses his Soldiers on the Subject of Surrender — Sends Envoys to Octavius — Makes a Personal Visit to Octavius — What Lucius said to him — Lucius surrenders unconditionally — Reply of Octavius — The Soldiers of the Two Armies embrace each other — Octavius pardons Lucius and all except a Few Leaders — Perugia destroyed by Fire

[39] γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε: ‘γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, τυρραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ’, ἐφ’ ἧ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἷς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διώκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἡξίουν τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δὲ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέω τῶν γεωργῶν: καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἡγνόησα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἱ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγωγῆσε γὰρ τινὰς ἢ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὄχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ’ εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ’ αὐτῶν. ὑμῖν δ’ ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελειμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος: καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει: οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι’ ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρῆσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὓσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ.’

[39] Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him encouragement, Lucius called his army together and spoke as follows: “It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of

victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavius falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavius in order to make war against us as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would make my fame glorious after my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger.”

[40] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνῶμωζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμη μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένου. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμνησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἐνὸς ἐκατέροις ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ, τούτοις ὅμοια, ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὥς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδία δὲ ἓνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβόν, Φοῦρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

[40] After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavius, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavius, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were colonized

veterans, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

[41] οἶδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδίᾳ γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσιν γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδοροῦν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἡξίουσιν ἢ σπονδὰς αὐθις αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἰδίῳ τινι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπὶ μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμπειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ἦει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἑωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἦδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἐκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ἦει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεῖς ἀντεμιμεῖτο ἐς δεῖγμα καὶ ὁδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης· ὥς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἦδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώματος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιαύδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπὸ τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυντο.

[41] These personal enemies of Octavius, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of the country. Lucius in pity commended them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavius his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and distinguished by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavius understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavius anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

[42] ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη:

εἰ μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἦσσαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίονα ἔτι τὴν παράδοσιν: καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐκολον παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτη διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι μετὰ τοιαύσδε προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε ἡσσησθαι. καὶ τάδε λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὃ τι θέλοις ἑδὲ γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἰέμην, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἴτιον ἐπιγνούς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ νομίσης δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκαιρον γάρ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἥς οὐκ ἔνι μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

[42] When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I were a foreigner waging war against you, Octavius, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. Since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, in a matter appertaining to our common country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise.

[43] ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς αἰ τείποις: καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὥς ἀναγκάϊαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἡξίου, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἐκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ὥμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε

ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἕλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλὰ με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας: ἀνεπίσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δὴ σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα: νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἶ τῆς πατρίδος, κάμει ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ᾧ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μὲν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

[43] “I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you, but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years’ term was running out, I demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the customs of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone; not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother’s legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice in the war you were waging. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it.

[44] λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὃ τι θέλοις, ὑποδεικνὺς δέ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα: περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις’ με λέγοντα, συμβουλευσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν

καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίῳ πράγματι, κωλύσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρεΐαις ἐθελήσοντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσέλπιστον σῶζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὑποπτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοῦς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν.

[44] “While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you heretofore and what I still think. So much for myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army, if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rules there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I would not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favor for myself in an underhand way.”

[45] τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν:

ἄσπονδον μὲν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὄρων, ὃ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν σεαυτοῦ βουλευόιο καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομίζεις σοὶ συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέ με βλάβειν ἐλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπονδὰς γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἡδικομένου καὶ νενικηκότος: ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῇ μὲν πᾶσαν ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὢν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν: ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὃ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας.

ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατόν τησδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνητον εἰπόντα, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἥθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς ὁψεως ἐκατέρων.

[45] After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavius said: “When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my intrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me.” These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language. They then separated, and Octavius eulogized and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavius for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the speakers.

[46] καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος· οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλάρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἑκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθνη, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἑσκευα σμένον δ’ ὥς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καῖσαρα πόρρωθεν ὥς αὐτοκράτορα ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν, οἱ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνη, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προουκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασιν θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἰστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληρούχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν, διεγνωκῶς ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε ποιήσιν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἷα προδιδασκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ὥς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκράτεις τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἠσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοᾶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέροις τοῦ πάθους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεῦτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ’ εὗκριτον.

[46] Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavius. They took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavius himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night. The next morning Octavius offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavius as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavius had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavius had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavius in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

[47] ὄθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοήν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. ‘ὕμεις μὲν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, οὕτως αἰεὶ μοι προσενήνεχθε ὥς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι: ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεύσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν σφωζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι, τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιοθέντες ἢ τί μείζον παρ’ ἐτέρου προσδοκῶντες ἐναντία ὄπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἧς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν. καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι.’ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, ‘συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν.’ ὑπισχνουμένων δ’ ἐκατέρων βοαὶ τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα: καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἔνθα περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἅπωθεν, ἕως ὃ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

[47] For this reason Octavius did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: “You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion. I intended to ask the old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you, what they have suffered at

our hands, or what favor they have asked in vain, or what greater favors they expected from anybody else, that they have taken up arms against me, against you, against them-selves. All the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will ask them these questions.” They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. “I grant what you wish,” he said. “They are dismissed without punishment for their wrongdoing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you.” They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavius, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither.

[48] καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατήεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν ᾧ πάντες οἰκτρᾷ καὶ ὀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξήεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι συνέγνω. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνῆρέθησαν, χωρὶς Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαίου Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερῶς καὶ πάντας φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

[48] Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavius summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavius placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavius, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honor and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded those Perusians to come forward who had stretched out their hands to him from the walls, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them. The councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Æmilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Cæsar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

[49] τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δὲ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκῶς

καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου μόνου. τότε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐχούση καὶ ἀξιόσεως: ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηγῶν πάλοι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοί: τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἥφαιστον σφίσις ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπασιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως ἀνηρέθησαν: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, Καννούτιος τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάβιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἕτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

[49] Octavius intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames. A strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavius made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were chiefly the personal enemies of Octavius, namely, Canutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the siege of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.

CHAPTER VI

The Armies of Asinius, Plancus, and Ventidius — Octavius gains Possession of the Army of Calenus — Antony's Wife and Mother join him at Athens — Octavius begins to suspect Antony — He holds a Conversation on the Subject with Lucius — Antony sets Sail for Italy — Meets Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic — Antony arrives at Brundisium and lays Siege to it — Octavius marches thither — Antony sends to Macedonia to bring his Army — The Soldiers of the Two Armies fraternize — Death of Fulvia

[50] καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτίσιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Λεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤεσαν, ἕτερος ἑτέρας ὁδοῦς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μοῦρκον ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλοῦντων τὰ περὶ μάλιστα: ὧν δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερίᾳ. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἱππέων οἱ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβᾶσα ἀνήγετο: καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἴλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον: καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὥς αὐτίκα ἤξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

[50] Now Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined LIVIA AS PRIESTESS OF AUGUSTUS From Pompeii, in the Museum at Naples

troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundisium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavius followed them, offering terms of peace, and harassing those who refused, especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia fled with her children to Dicæarchia, and thence to Brundisium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundisium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his

army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

[51] ἄλλω δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ Ἄλπεις, οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἥδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς ἀμφοτέρω πρόφασιν εὐρών, ἦει καὶ παρελάμβανε τὸν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὖσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχεί.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἔνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλκε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν:

[51] Octavius was planning to get possession of another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died. Octavius, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight. Octavius, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome.

[52] ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὤδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἦσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν· Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήϊος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπήϊου, καὶ Σατουρνῖνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῆζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἤξιον αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν Πομπήϊον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ γινώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίῃ Καίσαρι, χρῆσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένοι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡμολογημένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσσεσθαι καὶ Πομπηίον Καίσαρι συναλλάξαι.

[52] As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundisium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance between them against Octavius. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavius he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavius should adhere to their agreements he would endeavor to reconcile him with Pompeius. Such was his answer.

[53] ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιῶν ἦσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς κατὰγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν: ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγесαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδ' ὥς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευσεν: οὕτως ἢ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγῶγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Αἰνοβάβρου κατὰ πλῆθος ὀπιλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν ἥρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων, ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος ἔλεεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον ἐπέστελλε Μαικίην συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτει, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἔξ.

[53] When Octavius returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, the reputation he had gained at Philippi having made him popular. Octavius considered himself far superior to Antony, to Pompeius, and to Ahenobarbus in the number of

troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had no ships and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while he had the choice of many virgins in marriage, he wrote to Mæcenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavius without delay. Then Octavius, on various pretexts, sent away, to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were under suspicion.

[54] Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπὶ μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκῶς ἴδιον τὸ ἀμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίῃ περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. ‘ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων,’ ἔφη, ‘Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φίλων διώκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἑμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας.’ ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οἶα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε: ‘Φουλβίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερώς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γεγόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ’ ἐπιλέγοιτο κἀκεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σέ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι: τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος καὶ γένους.’ ὥδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασεν ἀφανῶς:

[54] Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude if, after meeting such a favor from himself, he should now refuse to confess concerning the aims of Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony,

so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly.” He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, “I knew that Fulvia was in favor of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother’s soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I would go to join him, either openly or secretly, and would fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. If he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you are not trying to establish a monarchy. I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family.” So spake Lucius. Octavius, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would intrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, which were now under the command of his lieutenants, Peducæus and Lucius. So Octavius dismissed Lucius with honor, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants.

[55] Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλειπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσία πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθεῖσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον ἦν γὰρ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων, ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπιβὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ’ ὅζεϊας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος, ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστῶς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πεῖραν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἰρεῖσθαι παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σῶζεσθαι δειλὸς ὄφθεις, ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν προῤῃραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστῶς, εἴτ’ ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ κάκεϊνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντῶσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθήρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεῶς περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβω καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

[55] Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the

Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Cæsar's murderers, and had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavius at the time of the battle of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than to be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and continued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood on the prow as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Palæis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

[56] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβῳ μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμῖφ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μηνοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ εὐκαιρα καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδῶ Καίσαρος οὕσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν συμφοροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὐσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν.

[56] From thence they sailed to Brundisium, which was garrisoned by five

cohorts of Octavius' troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant. Considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavius' garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbor. Now the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbor, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius to move against Italy with his fleet and to do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavius, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

[57] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὐσονίδα ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγεν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμη τὰ γινόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὁμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὐθις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνωκισμένους ἤγεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίῃ, Καίσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ὧν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετελιγμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γινόμενοις ἐρήδρευεν.

[57] Octavius, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succor the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what had happened had been done at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavius was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundisium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavius into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavius. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundisium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it

and await events.

[58] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὥς πολὺ μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἐσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλήθους, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον ὀπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἤδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ ἐσπέραν ἑκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβὼν, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλθη προσίων τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἰππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' ὧν εὗρεν ἐτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἰππέων τετρακοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ πόλιν Ὑρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

[58] Antony was enabled by means of his intrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers. He summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime he resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, which returned, one after another, the next day, in sight of Octavius, bearing armed men, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavius, since he was not able to defend them. Toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavius with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Uria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundisium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as an invincible man still inspire terror.

[59] αἱ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἤκοιεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλοῦντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἤκουσι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προύφερον, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ

τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὐσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεῖ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῶ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμυνόμενοι. καὶ τότε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρὰ κώμασι προύλεγον.

γίγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκοῦσα ἐπιτρίψαι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου: νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἐωράκει. ἐδόκει δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναικοῦ φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τότε γὰρ μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι.

[59] Antony's praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavius in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves, they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundisium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him. The others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundisium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavius' men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavius, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavius against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works. While these events 'were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick; and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

CHAPTER VII

The Mediation of Lucius Cocceius between Antony and Octavius — Interview between Cocceius and Octavius — Cocceius argues for Antony's Rectitude — Octavius writes to Antony's Mother — Antony and Octavius reconciled — They make a New Partition of the World — Antony marries Octavia

[60] Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήιος ἐκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καϊκίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καϊκίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενε. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθεῖς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἦρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκήιου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος 'νῦν μὲν,' ἔφη, 'τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλοι διὰ Καϊκίνα: καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα.' ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ Κοκκήιος οὐκ εἶα τῷ τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἔς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγενημένον. ὁ δὲ 'ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με,' φησίν, 'ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὖνους μόνοις: οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισφύζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν.' καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος, ἃ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ὄχλητο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

[60] There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with Cæcina, by Octavius, the previous summer, to Antony in Phœnicia, and had remained with Antony after Cæcina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavius for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavius which he could convey. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Cæcina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavius an enemy after his generous behavior toward Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundisium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavius.

[61] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ θάσσον ἔλθοι: 'οὐ γάρ,' ἔφη, 'καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν, ἴν' ἐχθρὸς ἦς μοι, περιέσωσα.' ὁ δὲ 'πῶς,' ἔφη, 'τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν

στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;’ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ‘οὐ γάρ,’ ἔφη, ‘Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ μεираκίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδί γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου: αἷς καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος γειτονεῦντες ἐχρῶντο καθ’ ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον: οἱ γοῦν ἱππέες αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν.’ καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος ‘ἐτέρως,’ ἔφη, ‘τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος.’ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάζαι ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ’ ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολέμιων προσδοκῆσαι, Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπολειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάμβου καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλείσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

[61] When Octavius saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. “I did not save your brother,” he exclaimed, “in order that you should be my enemy.” Cocceius replied, “How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?” “It was not fitting,” replied Octavius, “that after the death of Calenus such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus’ son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry have actually gone to Sicily.” “These matters have been told differently,” said Cocceius; “but Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundisium as an enemy.” “I gave no order on that subject,” replied Octavius, “nor did I know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundisians themselves and the præfect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father’s murderers, who has been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundisium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy.”

[62] ὁ δὲ ‘σπένδεσθαι μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘συνεχωρήσατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε: καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπέισατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἡ δὲ ψήφος αὐτῷ κατ’ ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ’ ὥς φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν

ἅπανι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπήϊω δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσῃν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμούμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξῃν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις: εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν.' καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν 'τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν,' ἔφη, 'κάμει σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανίος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Αεύκιος ἐπολέμουν: ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου.' καὶ ὁ Κοκκήϊος 'οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν,' εἶπεν, 'ἀλλὰ ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεμφθεὶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς.' ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ 'οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος' ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον εἶπεν: 'ἀλλ' οὐ χαίρησαι Πομπήϊος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθεῖς.' καὶ ὁ Κοκκήϊος τὰ ἀμφύλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὥς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον: ἐκποδὼν δὲ κάκεινης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη "πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε."

[62] "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honor than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers. The vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavius repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you agree to peace." Octavius, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are."

[63] οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐπιστεῖλαι τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενῆς οὖσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ' υἱοῦ. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιώντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκηίῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδεῖν πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Αἰηνόβαρβον δὲ ποι πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιτο. παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον 'γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίῳ, ἡσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήιον αὐθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοῖν. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκηίου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπίζομένου τι πλεόν εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκεκριμένων, καὶ Αἰηνόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

[63] In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavius and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavius said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honor by Octavius, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his artful way of opening a correspondence OCTAVIA Cameo owned by M. le Baron Roger (Duruy)

by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until a treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian gens. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

[64] ὧν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανόμενοι πρέσβεις εἵλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρῖναι σφίσιν,

ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκελλοῦ τεθνεώτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίας πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἅπανστοι δι' ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

[64] When Octavius' soldiers learned these facts they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as she common friend of both, together with Pollio from" Antony's party and Mæcenus from that of Octavius. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavius for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavius' sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavius embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

[65] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυριδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑὼ πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδῆσεως. Ἀγνοβάρβῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον.

αἶδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπε, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος. ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβηνὸν τὸν Λαβηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

ἃ μὲν δὴ Λαβηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφὴ:

[65] Now Octavius and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavius. Lepidus was to

govern Africa, as Octavius had given it to him. Octavius was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavius was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers. These were the last conditions of peace between Octavius and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles. What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history.

[66] Ἐλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὁρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὐθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπήιον. ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλευῆσαι καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τότε ἐξεῖπεν: οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυῆς ὢν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὖνοιαν: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι μόνου χρήζων καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὐθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατόν ὡς ὑποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

[66] In the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavius, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavius was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavors to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavius the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavius' army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundisium. This secret Antony revealed, not with universal approbation, but because of his frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavius instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome, pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavius confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

CHAPTER VIII

Sextus Pompeius cuts off the Supply of Corn — Famine in Rome — Riot in the Forum — Octavius is stoned by the Mob and rescued by Antony — Negotiations with Sextus Pompeius — Sextus puts Murcus to Death — Sextus goes to Puteoli, and has a Conference with Antony and Octavius — They come to an Agreement — Banquets on Shipboard and on Shore — Great Rejoicing at Rome — Antony returns to the East — Spends the Winter in Athens

[67] Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπέβη, οὔτε τῶν ἐφ' ἑσέως ἐμπορίων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένων ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὥς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἡξίου ταχύνειν γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὀρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπούμενους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὀρμῇ μανιώδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ' ἐς ἐπὶ κτήτων ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίου ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανάδυνον γεγονέναι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτοῦς.

συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνισταμένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπεύλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν,

[67] Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. There was great dearth of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavius would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They

were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property. They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, until the whole populace was aroused.

[68] ἕως τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἅπαν ἠρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπάσπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμνην ἐκλογίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθύς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἡδυντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἑτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέονας, οἱ ἦσαν ἕξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὡς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχειροῦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνῆρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρήλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καῖσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξεῖλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλῆθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερριπτεῖτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὁρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ περιδυνόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα ὡς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστεινε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

[68] Octavius with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favor of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and

snatched Octavius from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid a shocking spectacle. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property. This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs. The famine grew worse. The people groaned, but did not stir.

(Y.R. 715)

[69] ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μείζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὠρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν Αἶναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὐθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνείς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἡξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὥς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξήεσαν ἐς Βαῖας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

[69] Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they (B.C. 39) should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law, and to accomplish something more important; and he promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Ænaria. When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavius with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also threatened to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, if she did not communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavius and Antony went to Baiae.

[70] Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδορος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπέστελλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὥς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καταδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μοῦρκόν τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὥς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διὰ τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην ἐγκρατῇ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι Μοῦρκῳ προσεῖχεν, ἕως ὃ μὲν Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς

Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει καὶ τινὰς ἰδὼν φύλακας ἐπομένους ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερώς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδορεῖ. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου διαφθείρας ἔπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεραπόντων ἀνηρῆσθαι: ἔς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάνθανε δευτέρον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μῦθος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐγκρατῆ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπήιον εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἐκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

[70] All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with Murcus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and induced them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime, — the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus, — Murcus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily. Such was the death of Murcus.

[71] Μούρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοία τοῦ δεσπότητος μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχει στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων: ἅμα δὲ ἔφ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστροφμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ρεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦκειν ὤτετο ἀντὶ Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἐκατέρων προκλήσεσιν. ἦται δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἱ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους Γαίου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς

ὠνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήιος ὥς καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὥς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὖνουν ἀνεκάλει.

[71] His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Ænaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavius and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, but not preventing them from hearing each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Cæsar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest an honorable recall to their homes, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavius and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he had been betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as his most competent officer and his only friend.

[72] Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουσῶν, αὐθις οἱ τρεῖς συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορισῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσὶ, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἐτέρων Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ,

πέμποντα Ῥωμαίους τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σῖτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπάτεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται: καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

[72] Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavius, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored around it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms: That the war should cease on both land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not assail with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavius should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been previously required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition; that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the priesthood of the first rank. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself. Members of the nobility who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of court for participation in the murder of Gaius Cæsar. The property of those who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, should all be restored except movables. Proscrits should receive one fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius should be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavius and Antony.

[73] ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημῆναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες, πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐξήρους Πομπηίῳ περιωρμὴς μένης ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἐστιῶντο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἱ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρῶρμουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεζωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμαρτίας,

ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῶαν δι' ὁξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδένα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως· 'εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ.' Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἤρμωσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δεῖπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδῆν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὁμῶς Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν βούλοιο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἴτα Ἀγνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἴτ' αὖθις Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπίζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

[73] Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony. The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On succeeding days Antony and Octavius gave banquets in tents pitched on the mole, on the pretext that thus all might participate, but perhaps really for their better security and to quiet apprehensions; for they did not even then neglect precautions. Their ships were moored alongside and guards were stationed around them, and the banqueters were girded with concealed daggers. It is said that, while the three were feasting in the ship, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs of his father and his brother, and to avail himself of this most favorable occasion to resume the sway that his father had exercised, saying that he, with his own ships, would take care that nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied, in a manner worthy of his family and his position, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my knowledge. False swearing may become Menodorus, but not Pompeius." At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavius. On the following day they designated the consuls for the next four years, viz., for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavius and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sossius; and, finally, Antony and Octavius again; and as they would then have been consuls the third time it was expected that they would restore the government to the people.

[74] τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὠδεύον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαϊανίζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὥς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἰῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πῖεσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτήρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστὺ ἐμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός,

ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχῆκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικῆσεν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιοκρατείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

[74] Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius SEXTUS POMPEIUS Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

going to Sicily by sea, Octavius and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news 3 there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. As the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honor as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only ones disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

[75] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ ἄλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἴστη δὲ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρόδην, Ἀμόνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγγειμᾶσιν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμᾶσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπεμπε, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπειρῷ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχη, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Αθήναις χειμᾶσιν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον ἀφηρησθαι Σεξστίου.

[75] After these events Octavius set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was

in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates; in Idumea and Samaria, Herod; in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were forever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all within reach, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sestius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sestius of the command of these troops.

[76] ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὐθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἡρεμούσας. ἐξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολουθοῖς δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἢ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδία μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας: πολλὸς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρῦη, ταχὺς ὢν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ἐτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἢ τε ἐσθῆς αὐθις καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἢ ὄνις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως: πρεσβεαῖα τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἡρέμουν κεκελευσμένοι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθεύκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

[76] Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and without formal company. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being (Y.R. 716) by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the (B.C. 38) winter he was like another man. He changed his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his

orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

CHAPTER IX

Peace broken between Sextus and Octavius — Antony returns to Brundisium — Defection of Menodorus — He delivers Sardinia and Corsica to Octavius — Octavius makes war against Sextus — Sea-Fight at Cumæ between Menodorus and Menecrates — Menodorus wounded and Menecrates killed — The Fleet of Octavius worsted — A Second Victory for Pompeius — Octavius driven ashore and retreats to the Mountains

[77] καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γινόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ μὲν αἰτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἐτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἶδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὤφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτὸν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι: χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἶθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἐτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζειν, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὐνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ληστήριά τε αὖθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ Πομπήιον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι: καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

[77] While Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavius and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavius, which were the following: Antony had ceded Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that the former should wait till the collection had been made. Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavius said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships, and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Private robbery again infested the sea, and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavius having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them

out, and Octavius proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus.

[78] ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνოდώρῳ, Κύρνον καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνოდώρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνოდώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὐνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνოდώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνოდώρου: ὑπισχεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειριεῖν Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἕτερον. καὶ τότε ὃν ἔργον εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μὲν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὁμως, ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου: ναὺς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὁξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὥς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκῇ.

[78] Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavius, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus. About the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavius, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavius to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavius accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundisium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about the war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundisium and Puteoli, intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him.

[79] ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὐρὼν οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὥς παράσπονδον εἴτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἰδὼν πολλὴν οὔσαν 'οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἢ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ, εἴτε τι σημεῖον

δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὐρέθῃ δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλειμμένον, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ἦσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἔω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἠπειλεῖ Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγέννητο γὰρ Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίου.

[79] Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavius there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavius' great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. 'It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavius not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for the latter had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

[80] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχειρίζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὐθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἐτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολλὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλνυρίδος μετεπέμπετο· Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἠγάγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουισίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλεονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμῶν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρχὴς ἡ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λησταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατεῖποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

[80] Octavius sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new

triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed, and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavius himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavius sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus.

[81] ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουσίσιος δὲ Σαβῖνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· περιήει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνოდώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος ἦσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουσιῶ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἑχθιστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσετασεν ἅπαντᾶν ἐπὶ στολοῦ πολλοῦ. ὁδὲ οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δεῖλῃν ἐσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἰναρίαν παρήλθεν· ἡοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῶ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν μνηοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκπλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγκρίμπτων ἐξεώθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμάχοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησις τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλοιντο, καὶ σκαφῶν ἐτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἕκ τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκινήσιας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἐώκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχοντες.

[81] When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius, with Sabinus and Menodorus, sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavius was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavius at Messina, and ordered his freedman Menecrates, who was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. Menecrates was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They

retired into the bay near Cumæ, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Ænaria. At daybreak they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking through it. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like infantry contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

[82] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέντες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσῃν ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἢ μὲν τὸν ἔμβολον τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἢ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἄθροα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἱ τε καταρράκται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τεθνεώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατατετρωμένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι Ἴβηρικῷ ὀλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπέξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὧς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεώς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριπεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

[82] In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grapplingirons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valor. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passageway for his daring crew, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however,

drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

[83] καὶ τὸ μὲν λαὶὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μὲν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαϊόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουισίου συμπεσόν, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουίσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανίων τὰς τε φευγούσας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανάγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἠλίσσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὔχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ· Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὥς ἐπὶ ἥττη μεγίστη 'δύο γὰρ οἶδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδορος', ἅπαντα μεθεὶς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλὼν.

[83] This took place on the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own fleeing ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night was approaching, all returned to their former station. Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea captains), abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, mediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole, fleet.

[84] ὁ δὲ Καλουίσιος ἕως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ ὥρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἱ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπήιον περὶ Μεσσήνην

κατελήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπέθετο, Καλούσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὐβουλον εἶναι τὸ ριψοκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκῇ.

ὥς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Απολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους:

[84] Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavius, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavius' friends advised him to improve this most favorable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements. When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates.

[85] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμὸν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ Καλουσίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλεόν καὶ Στυλὶδα ἦδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προukaλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐνοχλούμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καῖσαρος οὐκ ἐῶντος, εἴτε δέισαντος ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεγνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουσίου: γνῶμη δὲ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλεινον καὶ κατὰ πρῶραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπionτας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἦδη, πρὸς τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο: καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἶδε ὥσπερ αἱ περὶ Κύμην, ὁρμοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

[85] When Octavius heard of his disaster at Cumæ he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance and while he was passing Styliis and turning into Scyllæum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavius' fleet did not give battle, since Octavius did not permit it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered to his first

determination not to fight without Calvisius. He gave orders, however, that all should hug the shore, cast anchor, and defend themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumæ, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

[86] ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐστῶτας ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προκεῖσθαι. τόλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἐτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιοῦτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλουσίσιος τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἐώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατείδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῇσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέεσθαι.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται:

[86] Octavius leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. The latter leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavius' men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men. This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties.

[87] νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὓσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁμοίως ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἔω κακοπαθήσαι. τάλαιπωρομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλουσίσιος μὲν οὐδ' ὥς ἐγινώσκετο προσπλέον, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολουμένων περὶ τὰ ναύγια: ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρου δαίμονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε

διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς κρημνοὺς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους ἄλλη διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτῶν παρόντων, ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῶδε ταράχῃ διερριμμένων. περιπέμψας δ' εὐθὺς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι σφύζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλοῦσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς καὶ ἀδοκίτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

[87] At nightfall, those who had reached the shore from the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavius fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything thing needful be obtained from the ships in their wrecked condition. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of the road by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest.

CHAPTER X

Terrible Storm in the Straits of Sicily — Destruction of Octavius' Fleet — Great loss of Life — Octavius retreats to Vibo — Pompeius does not pursue — Octavius appeals to Antony for Aid — Antony comes to his Assistance with Three Hundred Ships — Meeting of Octavius and Antony — Antony returns to his Parthian Expedition — Menodorus deserts to Pompeius

[88] ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμέναις τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας ἰστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεον τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σωζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουισίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα: τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἡρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουίσιον εἴτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνώκωτον. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἑκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κῦμα βίαιον ἐν ῥοῳδῃ καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

[88] The next morning, when Octavius looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and furniture, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, turning them on their sides, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbor of Messana. The ships of Octavius were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control.

[89] Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλειεν: ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κῦμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσίᾳ ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾷ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἔαρῃ, τὰς ναῦς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξεώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι: βοή τε ἦν παμμυγῆς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμωζόντων καὶ παρακελεύόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀνήκοον: οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο

ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης ιδιώτου διέφερεν οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὁμοιος ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων: ἔγμεν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἰστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπᾶσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὁ συνηθὼς ἐπιγίγνεται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξέπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκοτῷ διόλλυσθαι.

[89] Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor where, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore. Some of the others followed his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually did in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors on either side, landward and seaward, and thrust out poles to prevent collisions with each other. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were upset on the shore one after another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard. There was no distinction between pilot and common sailor. Knowledge and authority were alike unavailing. The same destruction awaited those in the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber. The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf. When the convulsion seized the water, as is usual in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed to it, and then their vessels were whirled around and dashed against each other worse than ever. As night came on the wind increased in fury, so that they perished no longer in the light but in the darkness.

[90] οἰμωγαὶ τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρηγνούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὥς ἀπολωλότας: ἔμπαλιν τε ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ κῦμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἑκατέροις: καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἦσσαν ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κῦμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπων, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτω καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστήναι: ἡ γὰρ στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιτεσῶν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ τῶν περικειμένων ὀρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα

εἰλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε: τὸ τε σκότος ἡνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης: ὅθεν ἔθνησκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυβοῦμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὥς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοῦς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνεται. καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγωρίων ποτὲ τηλικούτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι: γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλεόν.

[90] Groans were heard throughout the entire night, and the cries of men running along the shore and calling their friends and relatives upon the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost when they could hear no responses; and anon the cries of others lifting their heads above the waves and beseeching aid from those on shore. Nothing' could be done on either land or water. Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but the danger from the storm was almost as great on land, lest the surf should dash them against the rocks. So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest that those who were nearest the land feared the land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid collision with each other, for the narrowness of the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together with the force of the waves, the rotary motion of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains, and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were utterly lost. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavius' ships and men were destroyed by it.

[91] ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραιίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ συνενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰπώνειον εὐθὺς ἦει διὰ ὁρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδὴν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφορὰν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μὴ τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ὥς ἐν κατοπραγίᾳ γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζωννυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ Ἰπώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν

οἱ νομίζων εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἶθ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας.

[91] Octavius, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided. On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were tying their ships together with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favorable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and cared only to defend himself against assailants.

[92] Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινὰς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ἦει δυσφορῶν: οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὐθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ' ἔχρηζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐώντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικίηναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἑναγγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὀλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεῖς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεων τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχυοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνὴ καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγγυτο:

[92] Less than half of Octavius' ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had

devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent (Y.R. 717) Mæcenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting (B.C. 37) the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Mæcenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa. His friends and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them. Accordingly, Octavius cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones.

(Y.R. 718)

[93] ἀρχομένου δ' ἤρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὐθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἄρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προὔφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἡ αὐθις ἐπιμεφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὅμως καὶ αὐθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγία τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὁκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελειφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλεῦσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικίνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουλευθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδῶσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδὶ Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὠμολόγητο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ Ὁκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλίαν ἔπεμπε, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὲν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίζειν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπόνυμον.

[93] At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavius as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated (Y.R. 716) with Octavius again, because the expense of his fleet was (B.C. 36) burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated

exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavius' army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavius. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavius complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits. She replied that that had been explained through Mæcenas. Octavius said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him. She replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavia had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavius with permission to put him to torture [in order to learn the truth]. Octavius would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is a river of the latter name between them.

[94] κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ρέματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορὼν ἕξ τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμμεῖτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἐκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἐτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἦξον ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθέ τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχῆς ἡ μεταβολή, πρὸς τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

[94] They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavius, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavius saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavius prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

[95] τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο: ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὅμως ἀλλήλοις, Καῖσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ δισμυρίους Ἱταλοὺς ὀπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιπέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο: ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταουία τὸν ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα

παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασήλοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἕκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίοις λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαίτο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔλγηε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐνῆφιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἐτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὥριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες. οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἡπείγετο, τὴν Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ θυγατρὸς ἥδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

[95] However, Octavius postponed his expedition against (Y.R. 718) Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavius 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavius promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the favor from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli — a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel — and Octavius gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them.

[96] Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὢν φύσει παλιμπροδότης εἴτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου, ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι νομίζων παρ' αὐτῷ προσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότην καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελθεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἠτύμολησε πρὸς Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ ναυσί, Καλούσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν Ἀγρίππαν.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοῦ περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρις ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τὰδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ ἀπαΐσια τραπῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἄπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικά καθαίρουσιν.

[96] But Menodorus, — either because he was an habitual traitor, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return, — now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it,

deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavius' admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavius dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place. When the fleet was ready, Octavius performed a lustration for it in the following manner. Altars were erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude were ranged around them in ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who performed the ceremony offered the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carried the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times around the fleet, the general sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet. Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burned them, while the multitude chanted in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet.

CHAPTER XI

New Expedition against Sextus Pompeius — Lepidus brings a Fleet from Africa — Another Storm damages Octavius' Ships and causes Delay—Sextus fails to take Advantage of these Occurrences — Menodorus turns Traitor again — Surrenders his Ships and himself to Octavius — Disposition of the Forces of Octavius — Disaster to Lepidus on the Sea — Agrippa occupies the Island of Hiera — He attacks the Pompeian Fleet, and wins a Victory

[97] ἔμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὥς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προείρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτῃ τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἣν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰουλίου ἀντὶ Κ्वιντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γεγόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον εἰ Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὀπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἔω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναῦσταθμα γένοιτο εὐκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅτῃ δεήσειεν.

[97] It was intended that Octavius should set sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, to Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavius' sailing had been previously communicated to all. It was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honor of the first Cæsar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavius fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plennius at Lilybæum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbors and naval stations for Octavius and Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messana watching its chances. In this way they made their preparations on either side.

[98] οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνῆγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἡοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίας ὀλκάσι καὶ μακραις ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα καὶ ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρα παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἐξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύων

ἄμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίῳις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσῃ, συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρώων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύνων, καὶ Ἄππιος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἶπετο. τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὀλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε πολλάς, ὠρμίσθη δὲ ὁμῶς ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἐτέρας ἐβιάζετο: ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀπίου δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρίφθησαν οὐκ ἄσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἑλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ διελύθη: λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκάτο, ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀνεωγμένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἀτοπώτερον.

[98] When the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavius sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Neptune, the guardian, and to the tranquil sea, that they should be his assistants against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plennius in Lilybæum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavius took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a southwester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and the confusion became worse confounded by night.

[99] ἐνδόντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδυε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἐτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ'

αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἥδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπέξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπεν. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικίναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλειπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰπώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ περὶ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

[99] When the tempest had subsided, Octavius buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnicas had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships that he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Mæcenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavius himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Thence he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand.

[100] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ εὐκαιρίᾳ τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους παῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαννούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι γλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανὴν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιούμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὥς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἦγαγεν ἔπεμπε κατασκευνόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἠξίωτο ὧν ἦγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολίαν.

[100] Pompeius did not deign to seize the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavius would now desist from his undertaking, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavius and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was intrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

[101] ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὥς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσία τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίους καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγουμένων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἤρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σῖτον ἔφερον, ὁρμούσας ἢ παραπλευούσας κατέδυεν ἢ ἀνεδεῖτο ἢ ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλην ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἐκὼν ἐς ἔρμα γῆς ἀπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καταθορόντων ὥς ἐπὶ Μηνოდώρου θήραν ἔτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ὄχρετο σὺν θαύματι.

ὥς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἐχθρὸς τε καὶ φίλος εἶη, Τρέβιλον μὲν ἐλὼν, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνῶμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον.

[101] Conceiving that, however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valor, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and sailed, by rowing three days, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavius' shipyards, and darted away to an unseen place carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes. He also sunk, or captured, or burned some merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavius and Agrippa being absent. The latter had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus ran his ship upon the soft ground, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in

the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains as to a certain prey, when he backed away, laughing, and left the soldiers of Octavius the victims of both chagrin and astonishment. When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebillus, having a view already to the future.

[102] Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἐταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γερονῶς αὐτομολίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλευεῖν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἡξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐξ τινα νησίδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβρίζομενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουσίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαι τινα τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ αἰσχυρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἢ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ἡττομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἡξίου συγγνώναν μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς: ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνωκε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοῦς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοιν.

[102] During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavius, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavius, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harass the forces of Octavius as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated on account of the baseness of the transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavius. Menodorus at once deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavius, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavius conceded his safety on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

[103] ἐτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὐθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἰπώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺς Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὄρος, ὃ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τὴν τε γῆν ἰππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἰππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἰπώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, τάς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσε ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

[103] When the fleet was ready Octavius set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there. He sent three legions to Styliis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail around from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, the cavalry reconnoitring by land and the liburnicas by sea. While he was making this movement Octavius, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing-places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

[104] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὐθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὀλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθεῖλκοντο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὀλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνεντράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

[104] Such were the preparations of Octavius and Pompeius in this quarter. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus later, and

when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions reëmbarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

[105] ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἰππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἔν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἵκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππα διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἰππώνειον αὐθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἰππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ὥς Ταυρομένιον αἰρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἰερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ἰερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης. ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἐβδομήκοντα.

[105] Octavius crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle, one of the five Æolian islands, having made a reconnoissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylæ, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hieræ, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylæ, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa, and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

[106] Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἰερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχήσων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἤγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἰερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατὰ τε πρῶραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένηντο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε

βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίου μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ περίπλους, καίσαρι δὲ μείζω καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὁμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρότεροι: καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κόπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἥσσονα: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυνον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινότερας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικά τοῦ Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν,

[106] Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavius at once that Pompeius was at Mylæ with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavius were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavius, but the latter were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, in breaking oar blades and rudders, cutting off oar handles, or separating the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavius sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the corvus and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians, whenever they were overpowered in this manner, leaped into the sea and were picked up by their small boats, which were hovering around for this purpose.

[107] ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἔτετο μάλιστα εὐθὺς τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν: ἡ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσεύσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστροφμα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐπῆει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὅρων ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ

ἐπωφελούσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖν, Ἀγρίππα δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες αἱεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγῶδη πεποιήκεσαν.

[107] Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking a hole in the keel. The men in the towers were shaken down, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits.

[108] καὶ Ἀγρίππας, κωλύόντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμῳι θαλάσσει, μόλις ἐσπέρας ἀνεξεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάβαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν ἢ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππα καὶ Παπία γενομένης:

[108] Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary; but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbors, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they

were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. Such was the result of the naval battle at Mylæ between Agrippa and Papias.

CHAPTER XII

Octavius crosses the Straits and demands the Surrender of Tauromenium — He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius by Land and Sea — Octavius' Fleet is beaten and dispersed — Cornificius is left in Camp near Tauromenium — Octavius escapes to the Shore and rallies his Land Forces — Cornificius marches across Sicily — Terrible Sufferings of his Troops — He is rescued by Agrippa — Octavius effects a Lodgement on the Northern Coast of Sicily — An Eruption of Mount Etna — Pompeius challenges Octavius to a Naval Engagement — The Challenge is accepted — A Stubborn and Protracted Contest — Agrippa gains the Victory — Pompeius flees to Messana — He departs from Sicily — Lepidus plunders Messana

[109] τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δειπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπὼν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρήλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουράς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἐμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομενίον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκώς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιουῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππα παραμένειν. κατασκευάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει στρατόν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπὼν, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομενίον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαζόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποικισμένοι.

[109] Pompeius suspected that Octavius had gone to the camp of Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the fact. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylæ so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as his army was sufficiently rested, bestirred himself and set sail for Tyndaris, which had offered to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening. In the meantime, Octavius had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that Pompeius

had gone from Messina to Mylae on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

[110] ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεῶς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤλισθε καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον: ᾧτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμηθῆαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλαυνε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἐτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππῆες εὐθὺς ἠνώχλουν οἱ Πομπηίου χαρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος: εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἂν τι μείζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπηίῳ. νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ θορύβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ δέλην ἐσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον ἄκραν ὤρμισαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο. τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππῆες χωρὶς ἵππων πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

[110] When Octavius disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet — an astounding spectacle, since Octavius believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side. The forces of Octavius were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavius himself was alarmed because Messala could not join him. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavius' men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavius, and hesitating

to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on they went to rest, and Octavius' soldiers finished their camp, but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet.

[111] τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα Κορνικίῳ παραδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὃ τι ἐπείγοι: αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμοιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαὶὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας παρακαλῶν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὦν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀλίσκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἰστίων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαι: καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἤρουν ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορνικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορνικίος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων μόνους: οὐ γὰρ εὐκαιρον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων περὶ μὲν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

[111] Octavius placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carcius, and embarking himself on a liburnica, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavius' ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

[112] Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρητικοῖς ἐς πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ

βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορνιφίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Λβάλαν λιμένα παρήνεγκε μεθ' ἐνὸς ὀπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλαθοί, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθεράπευτος, ἔς τε Κορνιφίκιον ἔστελλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σφίζοιτο, Κορνιφικίῳ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμπειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπανσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξήκει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη: καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἡξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνιφικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρόνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας: καὶ τινες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἰπώνειον.

[112] Octavius spent the greater part of the night among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbor of Abala with a single armor-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him suffering in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he despatched a liburnica to Cornificius, and sent word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Styliis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail for Lipara, to which place he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Mæcenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the so-called first legion to Vibo.

[113] Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχεσαν: ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον φυγών, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνησάμενος νῦν ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῇδε συμφορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ περιέσφζε.

Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς

πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προukaλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὥδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνὸπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

[113] This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact in honor of Roman magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander. Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled darts from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

[114] τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἦν ρύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνῃς ὀδεύουσι νυκτός, πνιγώδῃ τε οὖσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδῶδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε νυκτός ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῃ μάλιστα, ἰέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξήεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἑτεροὶ κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπὶδῶν ἐς τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμῃ παραβόλῃ καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως. κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὖσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἑτεροὶ δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελῆς ἤδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

[114] On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as

far as the sea and dried up all the streams in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure the daytime, because of suffocation. Moreover, the bottoms of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer. On account of the tormenting thirst they could not delay. They could no longer charge upon their assailants, but received wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and barefooted companions, dashed at the defiles with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defiles occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely.

[115] ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφοίς, οὐπὼ μὲν ἐνδηλος ὢν, ὅτι φίλος εἶη: ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος αἰετοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὐθις αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως: ὅσοι δὲ ἡμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον.

οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Μύλας:

[115] While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as they had been all the time hoping for something of this kind, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength. When the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess. Some who neglected this advice died while drinking. In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and what was left of his army, escape to Agrippa at Mylæ.

[116] ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντό τε αὐτῷ πάντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν τέλει, ἰππῆες δὲ δισμύριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπὶ τε Ναυλόχους καὶ

Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου κατεῖχον, αἱ φόβω μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὥς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν ὁρῶν ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον. Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπελεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας; καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ἧ φασὶ τὰς Ἥλιου βοῦς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.

[116] Agrippa had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither Octavius transported his infantry and cavalry. He had in Sicily all together twenty-one legions of the former, 20,000 of the latter, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylæ, and all the places from Mylæ to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighborhood of Tauromenium and around Mylæ were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavius when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylæ; and Octavius occupied them and also Mylæ and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep.

[117] ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ Πομπήιος ἡσθεὶς τῶν στενῶν ἀφηρημένος καὶ Τισιηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῷ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ πάντα καὶ διημάτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὅρος τὸ Μυκόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκητος ἐνυκτέρευσε: ὄμβρου τε πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἵτης σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ εὐνίων ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δὲ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Αἵτης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ρύακα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνη παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφοτέρω.

[117] When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles, and he called to his assistance Tisienus with his army. Octavius sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armor-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by

flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if a torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavius ravaged the territory of the Abacæniæns, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

[118] γιγνομένων δ' ἂν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικοπτεῖν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχη μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ πάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχίᾳ κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεκρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχροὺν δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσαι νῆες ἐκατέρων ἰδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἄρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἐκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἶχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἄρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλῶδία πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἄρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεὼς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.

[118] As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavius sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavius if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavius, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the harpago, a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the harpago, an iron claw, to the other numerous ropes, which drew the harpago by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

[119] ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἄμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγνυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστα εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάζει τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργότεραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι· καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη

κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἕκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλῳδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω: κοπῆναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὐπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλῳδία ἐποίει: οὐδὲ τὸ μηχανήμᾳ πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι: ἐν δ' ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκῆτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

[119] When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the crew and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power. The generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The harpago achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, especially when the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the harpago did its work.

[120] ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὐπορον: ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῇ, τὰ τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πείραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ: τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἐξακοσίῳ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκατέρωθεν.

[120] Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other completely, and meanwhile the fighting and the sea were a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships. They left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

[121] μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναίς διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐθις ἐμπεσῶν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὀρμιζόμενας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδουσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠγάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῶμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ναυλόχων ἀναθορῶν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπειγέτο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκήψας· ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισιηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱπάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

[121] Judging from the colors of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their

enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavius who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on the land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself, darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving no orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavius received the surrender of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavius' ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground, and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

[122] καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἥλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά: παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιον τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἠπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ' ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι: καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ σπονδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἡξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα ἐς ἔω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχῶρει διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπάζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ:

[122] Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plennius from Lilybæum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plennius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait for Plennius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, whose mother he had saved in similar circumstances. After his departure Plennius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavius himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plennius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival of Octavius, but Lepidus

granted terms, and, in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plennius to himself, allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city. They had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards.

CHAPTER XIII

Lepidus lays Claim to Sicily — Octavius tampers with his Troops — Conflict in the Camp of Lepidus — He is deserted by his Soldiers — Lepidus deposed from his Command — Octavius does not pursue Pompeius — Mutiny in the Army — It is suppressed by Octavius — Octavius rewards his Soldiers and returns to Italy — Unbounded Honors bestowed upon him at Rome — He refuses to punish Lepidus — Robbery suppressed — Octavius elected Tribune for Life

[123] ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσῃν ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίῃ τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο: ἔς τε τὰ φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἱ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτὴν: ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρησθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὄνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα αἱ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν: ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.

[123] Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry. He was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavius, and he seized all the defiles. Octavius arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavius, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavius, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavius was exasperated. He came to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavius were anchored away from the shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them.

[124] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αἷθις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς

αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἡσσημένοις καταστάντες. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραινέοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρato πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῆει μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἐκάστοις ἅκων ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὀρώντων, οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ πρῶτοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάρato, καὶ συγγῶναι σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πρᾶσσουσιν οὐπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἤρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἔλυνον ἔτεροι.

[124] The soldiers were angry at the thought of engaging in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavius and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavius, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus. They also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavius learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavius did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavius came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents.

[125] καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. βολαὶ τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη: τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρουρίον ἐπετώασε τῷ δρόμῳ: καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἐτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καῖσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἱππέων μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος περιέπεμπε ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους: καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὐνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐθις οἱ Πομπηϊανοί, ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη: Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς

κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἡπεῖλει καὶ ἐδεῖτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἶχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δεῖσας μεθήκεν.

[125] When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were exchanged and one of Octavius' armor-bearers was killed. Octavius himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavius was so angry that he could not restrain himself from dashing upon them with his horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavius, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reenforcements in all directions; but when these very reënforcements went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him. They transferred themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed others to prevent them from going, but the very ones who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavius with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

[126] οἱ δὲ ἱππείες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν. οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκῆτω πάντων ἀπιστία συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε ἐγένετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθιε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέα τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἦν σχήματος, ιδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλήν ἱερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης.

ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφίνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσοῦσδε ὁμοτίμους, ιδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε.

[126] The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavius to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus was Lepidus deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He changed his

costume and hastened to Octavius, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavius started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held. And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favors of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period.

[127] Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὥς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἑξῶν διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίνοντο ὅου γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν, εἰθ', ὥς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνῆγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἱππέες δισμῦριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κουφοὶ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί τε νῆες ἐξακόσιαι: τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλῆθος, καίπερ ὄν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίαις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδούς, τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπηίου.

[127] Octavius neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavius said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse, and some 40,000 light-armed troops. He also had 600 war-ships and an immense number of merchant vessels, which he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honors to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

[128] ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσῃσε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναί τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ἥδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευομένοις, ὅτε κάκεῖνος ἀφίκηται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίνησκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὀρκῶν καὶ κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε

ἀπολύσειν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἕτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλιάρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα: καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικάιους.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τότε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφανῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγίνωσκετο:

[128] Fortune became jealous of his great prosperity. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavius knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when the latter should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honors of the previous wars. He said that he would not postpone the honors. So he distributed many prizes, and gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofilius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out, "Well said"; whereupon Octavius descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered around the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them. Ofilius said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause, but after saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

[129] ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μὲν, ὑπὸ δέουσιν, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἓνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφειῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεῦσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἐτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσις ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιπορκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπῆνει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσῃ, καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελίᾳ μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξακόσια, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπε ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν προῦπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

[129] The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but they joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavius conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20,000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only AUGUSTUS In the Braccio Nuovo, Vatican Museum, Rome

who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolt, who had been dismissed contrary to the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would be sorry, and that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed proprætors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

[130] ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἢ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτὴν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε: καὶ ὑπῆντων ὅτι πορρωτάτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι ἔς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουληγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε καταλέγων: καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν

τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομνηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἣς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἐστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὐπὲρ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων. καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι “τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν”.

[130] When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honors, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and distributed in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honors voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column surrounded by the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription: ““PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE REESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA.”“

[131] τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευόντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντας ἀνειλήσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡτῇκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾷς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο. καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἀπέδρασεν.

[131] When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed upon one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a designated day and to execute the orders contained therein. These orders related to the slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and the treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavius returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave

back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

[132] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἑς τότε ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυνον. ληστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἀρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ ληστεία λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον εὐοκίτων, Σαβῖνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολὺν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, ἐν αὐτῷ δ' ὁμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περιήγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκίτου διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαie, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῇ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κάκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφημοῦντες εἴλοντο δήμαρχον ἑς αἰεὶ, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστήναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἑς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἑς Ἴλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

[132] This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavius was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavius to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavius excited astonishment by having put an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the fathers. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would abdicate entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to their government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavius. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavius had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

CHAPTER XIV

Sextus Pompeius flees to Antony — Forms Plans to assist Antony or supersede him according to Circumstances — Sends an Embassy to Antony — Antony sends Titius against him — Antony hears the Ambassadors — He captures the Envoys sent by Pompeius to the Parthians — Double-dealing of Pompeius discovered — He begins Hostilities against Antony's Lieutenants — Antony sends Reënforcements against him — Pompeius deserted by his Friends — A Battle in the Night — Pompeius offers to surrender to Furnius, who refuses to accept him — Pompeius refuses to surrender to Titius — He is captured by Amyntas — He is delivered to Titius, who puts him to Death

[133] Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρα Λακινία προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεις διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαῖω Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδία Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἢ φήμη μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὐθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὥς ἡ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθύμιός τέ οἱ συνεχές ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθόν. καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἔς τε Θράκην καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἐτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δεξέσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τάς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

[133] Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Cæsar, had bestowed him with his mother, when he was still a boy, and where his father had recovered him after his defeat. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to intrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been worsted, and this result was confirmed by the reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming with

both projects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavius, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

[134] ο δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ἤρητο καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν οὕτως:

ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλεῦσαι, φίλην οὖσαν αὐτῷ πατρώθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἰρούμενος δὲ εἰρηνεῦειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προὔτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὗτ' ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας 'οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχες', οὗτ' ἂν σὺ ἤττησο ἐν Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, ὃν συνέθετο: ἐκράτεις δ' ἂν ἦδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ τότε μάλιστα' ἂν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπήϊο τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

[134] As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honor if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the ambassadors who had arrived, and who addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he was without a place of refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account and which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, or, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued

your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavius with ships against him), nor would you have been defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavius, not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavius' words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against the latter after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided no part of it with you.

[135] λοιπὸς δ' ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπη: ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἐτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἰρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγάλοφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμεται σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπομινῆσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἐαντὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα περισφύζεις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα.

[135] "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for. He would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of goodwill, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavius against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you that those soldiers were not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, unless, to be sure, it has already come."

[136] τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ἃς ἐντείλειτο Τιτίῳ: καὶ εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοίῃ Πομπήιος, ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθυαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα μαθὼν

ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυνεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς παρηγοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοίτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι: δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

[136] When the ambassadors had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he should come in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

(Y.R. 719)

[137] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὦν οὔτε πῶ τὴν γνώμην εἰδῶς τὴν Ἀντωνίου: γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρᾶν κατέλεγε τινὰς ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἐτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγοῦνται τὸν πρέσβει ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὁμῶς ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαίῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτεψε τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς. ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζικῶ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο: καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζικῶ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τροφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

[137] In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he (B.C. 35) mustered a

force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, colonized there by Gaius Cæsar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because there was a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbor of the Achæans and collected provisions.

[138] Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, ἀεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἔδντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθῶν. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλούς· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίου ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὄμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσδεχομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντιδος καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς εἰσφοράς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπήϊῳ κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι γενομένης νίκης, ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπύθετο ἵλην ἱππέων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τινας ἐς διαφθοράν τῆς ἵλης μετὰ χρυσίου.

ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διένειμεν:

[138] Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain,

which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While they were waiting for assistance from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, the inhabitants, who were distressed by continual exactions, enlisted gladly under Pompeius, especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbor of the Achæans. While Pompeius was deficient in cavalry, and was thus crippled in procuring supplies, he learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop, but Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry.

[139] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ἤϋξετο παρ' ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥρος ἀρχομένου, νῆες ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι 'μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν, ἤκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἐτέραις ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ κατήσαν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δεισας οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὥπλισεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ Νασιδίος καὶ Σατορνίνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀντίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρήσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμώτατος αὐτῷ Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Λίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τίτιου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παυόμενον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετήλθον.

[139] Pompeius took Nicæa and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reënforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavius against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavius had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

[140] ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὢν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει,

λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναξέζοντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὃ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας. συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὥς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίαις καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκτείνειν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδώντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχροῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἢ αὐθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἄλισθέντες εἶποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἡξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιωτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

[140] Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight in a state of nudity. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by a god, he gave no heed to these opportunities, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut off his supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

[141] ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μὲν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. 'ὕμεις δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλευέται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ προορῶν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρεσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην ἢ λαβόντας ἄγειν ἤδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπιτρέψω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶον ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον·' ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίῳ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῷ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνᾳ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιδῶς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡμεῖναιτο:

ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν ἑαυτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτόν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περιμένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δέ, ἃ πεποίηκας

ἅπαντα: τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδὸτα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνωκας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τιτίῳ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν: Τιτίῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου: καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αἰτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐν σοὶ καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν. κεκέλευσαι δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολεμοῦντα μὲν σε κατακανεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως.

[141] Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and nobody supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you have fought against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wished to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done. Why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been intrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honorable manner."

[142] ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμέμῳ πολεμήσειν πρὸς αὐτόν: ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἡδόξει, Πομπήιος ὢν, ἐπὶ Τιτίῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάννυ ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπώπτευεν αὐτὸν ὥς οὐ βέβαιον ἔς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καὶ τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίῳ δ' αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι παρεκάλει. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ: ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλπικτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξεληθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἷ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔλθων ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐτίνοιαν οὐκ ᾔδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν Ἀμύντας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν,

οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερώς. μονοῦμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντα, ὁ Τίτιος μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

[142] Pompeius was angry with Titius as an ingrate, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity to be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had intrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not been previously advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

[143] οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Πομπήιος Σέξτος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μειράκιον ἤδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα ληστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου παῖδα, ἐλήστευέ τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἤγειρε πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἴλε, καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύοσις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούση γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλοὺς, οἱ τότε δι' αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς οὐ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἡμύνετο μόνον.

[143] Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and

of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Cæsar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered to the proscribed in Rome exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with mental aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner.

[144] καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἐαλώκει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκτανεν, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ, μηνίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστεῖλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὖνως ἔχουσαν τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαξάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατράναιεν.

[144] Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Others think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favorable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Still others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the coöperation of Cleopatra, should breed dissension between Antony and Octavius.

[145] ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὐθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτεψε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριοῦς, οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καί μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνῶριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος

ιδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἐτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

[145] After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavius made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end), and added them to the history of the neighboring Macedonia.

The Biography



'The Grand Canal from Palazzo Flangini to Campo San Marcuola' by Canaletto — the first major edition of Appian was printed in Venice in 1477 by Erhard Ratdolt.

INTRODUCTION TO APPIAN by Horace White



The historian, Appian, was a native of Alexandria, Egypt. All that we know about him as an individual is gleaned from his own writings and from the letters of Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. It is supposed that he was born about A.D. 95 and that he died about A.D. 165. A fragment of his works found in recent years speaks of a war against the Jews in Egypt in which he had an adventure. This was probably the war waged by the Emperor Trajan to suppress the Jewish insurrection in that country, A.D. 116. In the preface to his history he says that he reached a high station in his own country and afterwards became a pleader of causes in the court of the emperors at Rome (probably as *advocatus fisci*) until he was appointed procurator by them. In order to be qualified for the latter office he must have been a Roman citizen of equestrian rank. The time of writing the preface is indicated as 900 years from the founding of the city, which would be during the reign of Antoninus Pius. A letter of Fronto to Antoninus is extant asking the appointment of his friend Appian as procurator, not to gratify his ambition, or for the sake of the pay, but as a merited distinction in his old age. Fronto vouches for his friend's honour and integrity. Appian says also in his preface that he had written an autobiography from which persons wishing to know more about him could obtain information. This work was not known to Photius in the ninth century, although Appian's historical works were all extant at that time.

Appian's plan is sketched in section 14 of the preface. It was not chronological but ethnographical, being in detached parts, corresponding to the wars carried on by the Romans with other nations and among themselves. The earliest detailed account of his works that has reached us is that of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 891. He wrote an encyclopedia of literature entitled the *Myriobiblon*, containing notices of 280 authors whose works were then extant. Those of Appian which he recorded were twenty-four in number, of which eleven have come down to us complete, or nearly so, namely: the Spanish, Hannibalic, Punic, Illyrian, Syrian, Mithridatic, and five books of the Civil wars. Extracts from other books have been preserved in two Byzantine compilations made by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus about A.D. 950, one entitled *Concerning the Embassies* and the other *Concerning Virtues and Vices*. Each of these books contains extracts from Appian and other ancient historians on the subjects named. Those of Appian from the former of the two compilations were first collected in a slovenly manner by Fulvio Orsini (Ursinus) in Rome and published in Antwerp in 1580. Those from the latter were reproduced with great fidelity by Henry^o de Valois at Paris in 1634, from a MS. belonging to

his friend Peiresc. A few detached sentences have been found in the lexicon of Suidas and elsewhere. The history terminates at the death of Sextus Pompeius in the year 35 B.C., shortly after the division of the Roman world between Antony and Octavian.

The first publication of any of the works of Appian in modern times was a Latin translation by Petrus Candidus, private secretary to Pope Nicholas V in 1452. The first printing of the Greek text was done by Carolus Stephanus at Paris in 1551. The most important critical revision and collation of the manuscripts was made by Professor J. Schweighäuser, of the University of Strassburg, published in 1785. The text used in the present translation is in the main that of Professor L. Mendelssohn, of the University of Dorpat, Russia, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1879-82. An important edition is that of Didot, Paris, 1877, which has a Latin version facing the text.

As the events recorded in Appian's history took place long before his own time, it is important to know what authorities he used. He makes mention of Polybius, Paulus Claudius, Hieronymus, Caesar, Augustus and Asinius Pollio as authors, in a way which implies that he is quoting from them. He mentions casually the names of Varro, Fabius Pictor, Cassius Hemina and Rutilius Rufus, but not in terms which imply any use of their works. He does not mention the writings of Livy, Sallust, Dionysius, or Diodorus,^o although the works of all these authors must have been within his reach. We are not without the means, however, of testing his narrative by those of other ancient writers. This has been a favourite hunting ground of German scholars for more than a century, and many learned treatises on the sources of Appian have resulted from their labours. That of Professor Schwartz, of the University of Göttingen, in the *Classical Encyclopedia* of Pauly-Wissowa, is the latest and best, and is a monumental work of its kind, but its author is more successful in demolishing the conclusions of his predecessors than in pointing out the true sources himself. He inclines to the opinion that they were Latin chiefly if not exclusively, and that for the republican era they were the official annalists whom he describes as "high born amateurs in whose hands historiography was placed," and says that "whenever they turned their leisure to give information to a public, ignorant and incompetent for criticism, to these amateurs, lying, particularly in a patriotic cause, was permitted even more than to the rhetorician."

Appian was a narrator of events rather than a philosophic historian. His style is destitute of ornament, but in the rhetorical passages, which are numerous, it is animated, forcible and at times eloquent. Occasionally he rises to the dignity of the best writers of the ancient world. The introduction to the history of the Civil Wars is an example of this kind. Here the events leading up to the tragedies of the Gracchus brothers move forward with a dignified and measured tread which has been imitated by later historians but surpassed by none. It is the only account of the agrarian controversy by an ancient historian giving both sides of that question.

The first book of the Civil Wars is perhaps the most valuable of the Appian series, since it spans the "twilight period" between Polybius and Cicero. Next to this in point of value is the history of the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage. It is the only detailed account of those events which has come down to us, and it is dramatic in a high degree. The source of this part of Appian may have been the lost books of Polybius, from whom a quotation is given in section 132 of the Punic Wars.

Appian has been severely censured for want of accuracy in details. According to modern canons of criticism accuracy is the first and indispensable requisite of the historian, but it was not so in the ancient world. General conformity to facts was, of course, necessary, but in most cases the aim of ancient writer was to make an interesting book or to furnish a setting for the political ideas, or the moral principles, which he entertained. Appian was neither better nor worse in this respect than the average historian of his time. Professor Schwarz says truly that Appian's account of the struggle between Antony and the Senate in book iii. of the Civil Wars is not history but "historical novel writing," but he adds that "with all its disfigurations and inventions the great lines are worked out correctly and keenly, the inventions contributing in part to that very end." This criticism may be safely applied to a large part of Appian's writings.

It was the habit of ancient historians to put speeches into the mouths of their leading actors in order to present the ideas that moved peoples or political parties or factions, and sometimes to deliver the author's moral lectures to mankind. Thucydides did so, and his example, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, was "a fatal legacy to two thousand years of history-writing after him." Appian followed the fashion. The speeches which he delivered in this way are the best part of his work in point of style. We feel that here we are listening to the practised debater, the trained pleader of causes in the imperial courts. Professor Schwartz even puts the edict of proscription of the triumvirs (book iv, sec. 8-11 of the Civil Wars) in that category, although the author says that he has translated it from Latin into Greek.

In conclusion it may be said that the writings of Appian embrace matter of exceeding interest that no student of Roman history can afford to overlook.

To Theodore Lyman Wright, Professor of Greek in Beloit^o College, the translator is deeply indebted for helpful service in the revision of his work, and for numerous suggestions for bettering the phraseology.

H. W.

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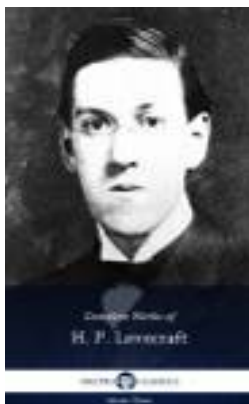
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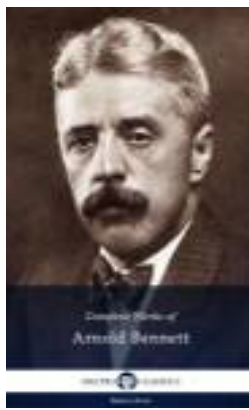
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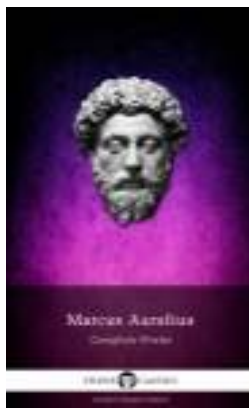
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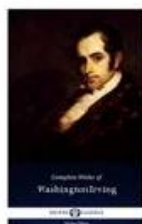
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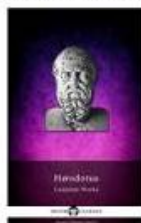
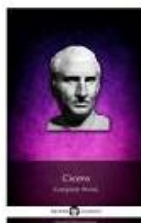
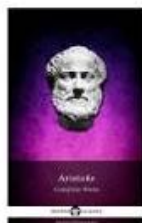
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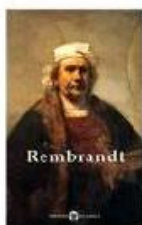
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Rome — believed to be where Appian spent his final days